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A
FOURTH COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE and VALUABLE
TRACTS,
ON THE MOST
Interesting and Entertaining Subjects :
But chiefly such as relate to the
History and Constitution of *these* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuscript*, in the ROYAL,
COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries.

Particularly that of the

Late LORD SOMERSET.

Revised by EMINENT HANDS.

V O L III.

*The Bent and Genius of the Age is best known, in a free Country, by the Pamphlets
and Papers that come daily out, as the Sense of Parties, and sometimes the Voice of
the Nation.* Preface to KENNET'S Register.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum, & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum
statuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld. COKE & JUST. Inst.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCLI.

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HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION OF THE

SEVERAL PARTS OF THE WORLD, IN THE ROYAL
COTTON, SILK, AND OTHER FABRICS, AS WELL AS IN THE

REMARKS OF THE

LORDS OF THE

REVISED BY EMINENT HANDS

VOL. III

THE FIRST PART OF THIS VOLUME CONTAINS
A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM
THE DEATH OF JULIUS CAESAR TO THE

DECLINE OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, BY
J. G. BURTON, ESQ.

LONDON:

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A

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OF
TRACTS.

*A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty: Or,
Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared. By
Daniel D'Foe. 1702.*

IN all the unhappy Contentions among Parties and Factions, in this
brangling Nation, the Champions of the Church of England, as they
wou'd have themselves call'd, have laid it down as the distinguishing Mark
of their Hierarchy, that it is her Practice, and has been deriv'd from
her very Constitution, as well as Doctrine, to fix in all her Members Prin-
ciples of unshaken Loyalty to her Prince, entire and undisputed Obedience
to all her Commands, and an Abhorrence of the very Thoughts of those
Hellish Principles, *That it can be lawful, on any Account, whatsoever to resist
the establish'd Power of their Kings.*

'Twou'd be endless to quote the Reverend Dr. B—ge, who, from the
Text in the ———— *Resist not the Powers, &c. for whatsoever
Powers are, be ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, re-
sisteth the Ordinance of God;* tells us, “That if the King shou'd, by his Royal
“Command, execute the greatest Violence upon either our Person or Estate,
“our Duty was to submit by Prayers and Tears first to God Almighty, to
“turn the Wrath of his Vicegerent from his Servant, and by humble En-
“treaty to beg his Majesty's Grace and Pardon; but *to lift up the Hand
“against the Lord's Anointed, or resist the Evil of Punishment he thought fit
“to inflict,* this were a Crime unpardonable either before God or Man, and
“a Crime (says the Reverend Doctor) which we bless God the very Prin-
“ciples of our ever loyal Mother, the Church of England, abhors and detests.”

“ Let Incendiaries, Phanatics, and bloody peace-breaking Whigs (says another learned Divine) nourish the vip’rous Principles of Treason and Rebellion, and let them meet the due Reward of their factious Doings in the Resentments of a righteous, but provok’d, Nation: But, God be prais’d, our Mother the Church of *England* has always brought up her Sons in an unspotted Loyalty and Obedience; none have been found lifting up their Hands against their Sovereign, or possessing the Rights of the Anointed of God, &c.”

“ The very Being and Life, the Original and Principles of the Church of *England*, (says another Thirtieth of *January* Sermon) is Loyalty and Fidelity to God as the immediate Supream, and to the King as the lively Image of Divine Authority, whose Power is immediately derived from, holds of, and is accountable to none but to God himself.”

To avoid Prolixity of Quotation, the Reader is desired to accept of these as sufficient Proofs of what I lay down upon this Condition; nevertheless, that besides the general Appeal which I might make to the Memory of most Men, I oblige myself upon Demand to produce ten Thousand fair Quotations out of the Writings of our late modern Authors since the Restoration, wherein the Doctrines of Non-resistance of Princes, Passive Obedience, and the Divine Authority of the Kingly Power, is own’d and declar’d to be an essential Part of the Profession and Practice of the Church of *England*; and upon this Foot, which I hold to be sufficient, I think I cannot be censured if I take it for granted.

Now, as this too much divided Nation has always been composed of two contending Parties, those Parties have been distinguished, *as in like Cases*, by Names of Contempt; and tho’ they have often chang’d them on either Side, as Cavalier and Roundhead, Royalists and Rebels, Malignants and Phanatics, Tories and Whigs, yet the Division has always been barely *the Church and the Dissenter*, and there it continues to this Day.

As the Church of *England* Party have boasted of their own Loyalty, so they have branded the Dissenter with Rebellion and Faction, not only in their Nature, but in their very Principles; they have laid it down in their Writing and Sermons, and Multitudes of their ignorant Hearers believe it, that *the very Doctrine of the Dissenter is made up of Principles, in their own Nature, tending to Confusion and Rebellion*; they wont be content that we should own there may be Men among all Parties of bad Designs, and who would, on all Occasions, embroil their Native Country, but it must be woven with the very Articles of Faith, and that ’tis the Religion of a Dissenter to disturb Government, kill Kings, and oppose Laws.

“ The Phanatical Enemies of our King and Church (says the learned Dr. P——n) drink in Rebellion as Water; ’tis the very Substance of their Schismatical Doctrine to overwhelm and destroy; and Common-wealths and Confusions are the Doctrines they preach.”

“ He that lays out one Groat with a Dissenter (says the worthy Sir Roger, in one of his famous *Observers*) contributes just so much as the Profits
“ of

“ of that Groat amounts to in Trade towards the Subversion of the Monarchy, and erecting a Commonwealth; for the very Nature and Tendency of their Profession is destructive of Kingly Power, and the Government of the Nation.”

This has been the Opinion of the Church of *England*, both of themselves on one Hand, and of the Dissenters on the other Hand. I should be glad if I could only say, *It has been*; for we find 'tis still too much their Opinion.

Let no Man say that the Author of these Sheets is either widening or keeping unheal'd the Breaches of this Nation; for if I can make it appear that there is really no Occasion of such unnatural Divisions, and that neither the extraordinary Opinion of themselves, nor the Contempt of their Neighbours, as to the Matter of Loyalty, is a becoming Principle, no, nor a rational one neither; (for that as to Loyalty, Passive Obedience, Non-resistance, &c. there is really no great Difference between one Side or other;) I go as far towards healing the Breach as any Man; for there can be no better Way to end the Strife on both Sides, than to prove that neither Side has any just Cause to contend.

To examine the Matter on both Sides seems very useful at this Time, in order to reconcile Parties, and to settle the universal Character of the Nation.

The Government of *England* is a limited Monarchy, composed of King, Lords, and Commons; each have their several, their separate, and their conjunctive Powers; which, acting in Concert, make the Harmony of the Constitution. I shall not invade the Province of those learned Gentlemen, who have undertaken to set forth the Branches of the Constitution in all their Powers, Limitations, and Prerogatives: 'Tis enough to say the Constitution is known, the Government is confin'd by Laws, the Crown limited by Statutes, and the People's Right confirm'd by the Concession of Ages.

To this Government, all Distinction of Names set apart, I am of Opinion all Parties have, in their Turns, been equally loyal; I was going to say equally disloyal: And if I were to use the Language of late Times, it would be a very proper Way of speaking.

Affirming without demonstrating is an absurd Way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to Particulars, and to examine the several Acts and Deeds of both Parties, when the Kingly Prerogative has shock'd or clash'd with the People.

In order to this 'tis needful to examine the Date of the Difference, and so to enter a little into History.

Our first Reformation from Popery was in the Days of King *Edward VI.* I call it the first, because 'twas under him that the whole Nation and the Government embraced the Protestant Reform'd Religion; this Protestant Religion was established by *that zealous King*, and by his Parliament back'd with the Force of Laws, and confirm'd by all the Sanction of Authority it was capable of; and here it began to be called the Church of *England*.

Some enquiring Christians were for making farther Steps, and carrying on the Reformation to a higher Degree; and if that good reforming King had liv'd, his Zeal and Integrity was such, that there was no doubt he would have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new Light or more Knowledge had encreased; but the Return of Popery under Queen *Mary* put a Stop to the Work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole Structure of the Reformation.

Queen *Elizabeth* restor'd it again; but as she was a zealous Protestant Queen, yet she was not for subjecting the Reformation to any Amendment. Not that she believ'd it perfect; but she was a politick Princess, surrounded with Enemies that were not to be dallied with, and she was loth to suppose such Defects in the Reformation as were alledg'd, because 'twas to lessen the Reputation of it, and consequently her Interest in the World.

Those who insisted upon the further Reformation were then call'd *Puritans*, because they set up for a greater Purity of Worship; and they separated themselves from the establish'd Church, because, as they said, their Consciences inform'd them they could serve God more agreeable to his Will.

I shall not meddle with the Arguments made use of on both Sides, either to defend or expose this Principle; 'tis sufficient to acquaint my Reader that this is the true Original of Dissenters: We are now to examine a little farther back. Before this Reformation there was no such Thing as Church of *England*; it was then the Church of *Rome* that was the establish'd national Church.

The Protestants, under the Titles of *Lollards*, *Wickliffians*, *Hussites*, &c. what did they do? Did they, as our modern People say every Body should, conform to what the Government commanded? No, the present Church of *England* Party were the Dissenters, the Schismatics and Phanatics, in the Days of King *Henry VIII.* were persecuted for not coming to Church; many of them put to Death, and always treated with Scorn and Contempt, as Enemies to the Government, Broachers of new Opinions, and Contemners of Authority; as in the Case of that famous Proto-Martyr of *Christ's Church*, *John Lambert*, and others.

In the next Ages these came to have the Power in their Hands, and forgetting that they had found it *righteous in the Sight of God to obey God rather than Man*, they treat those whose Consciences oblige them to dissent from them with the same Contempt which themselves had received from the *Roman Government*.

Thus far they are upon even Terms, as to Obedience to their Superiors.

The Dissenters have the first Occasion after this to shew their Submission under extraordinary Pressures. Queen *Elizabeth* discountenanced them continually; and as good a Queen as she was, put some of them to Death. King *James I.* hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, made Thousands of them fly into *Holland* and *Germany*, and at last to *New-England*.

During the long Reign of these two Princes we find no Charge of Treason or Rebellion upon them; they bore the Displeasure of their Princes with Patience.

tience and Passive Obedience, *if I may be allowed that ridiculous Phrase*; being persecuted in one City, they fled to another; they bore illegal Prosecutions, and Things contrary to their Right, as *Englishmen*, but never took up Arms against their Prince.

Under the Reign of King *Charles I.* the Case alter'd, the King and Parliament fell out about Matters of Civil Right, and Invasion of the Liberty and Properties of the People, the *Puritans* or Dissenters, call them what we please, fell in unanimously with the Parliament.

And here 'tis worthy Remark, that the first Difference between the King and the *English* Parliament did not respect Religion, but Civil Property; nor were the Majority of the House *Puritans*, but true Church Protestants, and *Englishmen*; who stood upon the Rights of the People as *Englishmen*; and none were more zealous in the first Disputes than the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and such as were afterwards deep Sufferers for the King.

But the Parliament finding the Puritan Party stuck close to their Cause, they also came over to them when Things came to a Rupture, and so the War begun on the Score of Right, Invasion of Liberty, Breach of the Laws, private Leagues, and Male Administration; a Game we have seen play'd over again by the very same Church of *England* that have exclaim'd so much against it, so damn'd it, and so damn'd themselves, by Oaths, Declarations, Tests, and God knows what, against it.

'Tis allow'd here the Puritan broke thro' his Loyalty, and his former Obedience, and fought his Way to the Liberty he demanded. Well, the War ended to his Advantage, he subdued his Sovereign, and brought him to the Block, to the Astonishment of the whole World.

I wont dispute here which or which Party did or did not do it; but to give the Enemy all just Advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largest Sense, that the Dissenters, or Phanaticks, or Whigs, call them as you please, did embue their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed, put to Death that blessed Martyr, King *Charles I.* whom a learned Divine, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, before the Parliament, compares both in the Manner of his Sufferings, and the People by whom, to our Saviour and the *Jews*, and boldly runs on in the blasphemous Parallel, to shew that the Indignities and Sufferings of King *Charles* exceed those of *Jesus Christ*.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair Adversary can desire; for I have yielded for Peace-sake to several Things which I could fairly disprove.

Nor shall I return to a Repetition of the ill Usage the Dissenters have received from the contrary Party on this Account for above thirty Years; the constant Reproaches they and their Children after them have met with from those Gentlemen, who on all Occasions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken Care to extol their own unshaken Fidelity to their Prince, till at last an Occasion presents to touch them in the same most sensible Part, *their Right and Property*; and alas! their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the *faithful, passively obedient, unshaken loyal Church*, returned to the original Nature

ture of their Neighbours, and did the same Thing exactly which the Whigs, *the factious rebellious Whigs*, had done before.

“ No, that’s false, (says a Disciple of Dr. *Sherlock’s*) we did not kill our King, we did not dip our Hands in Royal Blood, nor hurt the Lord’s Anointed.”

No, that’s true; but the Lord’s Anointed may thank himself for that; for my Part I think the Difference only lies here; the Whigs in 41 to 48, took up Arms against their King, and having conquered him, and taken him Prisoner, cut off his Head, *because they had him*: The Church of *England* took Arms against their King in 88, and did not cut off his Head, *because they had him not*. King *Charles* lost his Life *because he did not run away*; and his Son, King *James*, sav’d his Life *because he did run away*.

’Tis such a Jest, such a Banter, to say we did take up Arms, but we did not kill him: *Bless us, kill our King! we wou’d not have hurt a Hair of his Head!* Why, every Bullet shot at the Battle of the *Boyne* was a killing the King; for if you did not, ’twas because you could not hit him.

If a Highwaymen fires at you upon the Road, when he is taken, and brought upon his Trial, our learned Recorder, before he pronounces Sentence of Death, harangues him in this Manner: “ And besides all this, Sir, you are plainly guilty of Murder; for you not only assaulted this honest Man, in Order to take away his Money, but you endeavoured to murder him; for you shot at him in Order to kill him; and the Intention of Murder is equally criminal in the Eyes of God with the Act itself.”

Now who did we shoot at at the *Boyne*? ’Tis true, King *James* generally stood out of the Way; but who did we shoot at? What! was our Orders to fight against both small and great, and not against the King of *Israel*? Had your Bullets Commission to shew their Loyalty, and not to touch the Lord’s Anointed? If he had charg’d in the first Squadrons of his Horse, had you not kill’d him if you could? I think this needs no further Proof.

Nay, if Arguments may be allowed to have equal Weight on both Sides, the Whigs have been the honester of the two; for they never profess’d any such blind, absolute, and undisputed Obedience to Princes as the others have done.

It has always been their Opinion, that Government was originally contrived by the Consent, and for the mutual Benefit of the Parties govern’d, that the People have an original Native Right to their Property, the Liberty of their Persons and Possessions, *unless forfeited to the Laws*; that they cannot be divested of this Right, but by their own Consent; and that all Invasion of this Right is destructive of the Constitution, and dissolves the Compact of Government and Obedience.

They have always declared, that they understand their Allegiance to their Governors to be, *supposing they govern them according to the Laws of the Land*; and that if Princes break this Bond of Government, the Nature of it is inverted, and the Constitution ceases of Course.

Buchanan,

Buchanan, in Scotland, Algernon Sidney, in England, have set their Names, and the latter his Blood, to this Doctrine; and the Author of the *True-born Englishman* is worth quoting in the Case.

- “ The Government’s ungirt when Justice dies,
- “ And Constitutions are Non-Entities :
- “ The Nation’s all a Mob, there’s no such Thing
- “ As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King :
- “ A great promiscuous Crowd the Hydra lies,
- “ Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties ;
- “ A Chaos, free to chuse for their own Share
- “ What Case of Government they please to wear ;
- “ If to a King they do the Reins commit,
- “ All Men are bound in Conscience to submit ;
- “ But then that King must by his Oath assent
- “ To Postulata’s of the Government ;
- “ Which, if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
- “ And Power retreats to its Original.

True-born Englishman, P. 74.

This has been the avow’d Doctrine of the Dissenters, and is indeed the true Sense of the Constitution itself ; pursuant to this Doctrine they thought they had a Right to oppose Violence with Force, believing that when Kings break Coronation Oaths, the solemn Compact with their People, and encroach upon their Civil Rights, contrary to the Laws of the Land, by which they are sworn to rule, they cease to be the Lord’s Anointed any longer, the Sanction of their Office is vanished, and they become Tyrants and Enemies of Mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now it is no Wonder to find People of these Principles vigorously withstanding their Governors, when they tread upon the tender fore Places of the Constitution ; it is nothing but what they all along pretended to, and declared to be their Opinion.

But to find the Church of *England* Men, whose Loyalty has been the Subject of a thousand learned Authors, and numberless Sermons ; whose Character and Mark of Distinction has been chosen more for her steady Adherence and Fidelity to her Prince, than to God Almighty ; whose Obedience to her Monarch has been declared to be inviolate and immoveable ; and who pretends to be famous through the whole World for her Faithfulness to Kings ; for her, as soon as ever the King did but, as it were, seem to aim at crushing her Authority, as soon as he did but begin to call her Clergy to an Account, and clap up her golden Candlesticks for Disobedience, for her to winch and kick, fly to Foreign Princes for Protection, and rise in Arms against her Prince, O *Pelin!* O *Brady!* O *Sherlock!* O *Hominem!* O *Mores!*

Where

Where is the worthy Dr. B——ge's Loyalty now? His immoveable Loyalty, that, after all his absolute Submission, is so far from being a Martyr to his own Doctrine, that he could not lose a small Benefice for it?

Where is the famous Dr. S——k; who having stood out long in his old antiquated Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and confirmed the Faith of his suffering Brethren, by strong and wonderful Arguments, at last, at the powerful Instigation of a Wife, and a good Salary, *has sold all his Loyalty for a Mess of Pottage*, solving his Honesty with the wretched Distinction of a *Power de Faëto*, and a *Power de Jure*; as if the Church of *England's* Credit could be saved by such an impotent Shift, or as if he could make amends to the Prebendary for his helping him to sacrifice his Brethren, to father his Conversion upon reading honest Dr. Overall, whose Doctrine, it is well known, the Doctor knew before; but that he was loth Dr. South should have the Honour of bringing him over to such old Phanatick Principles?

Behold the Loyalty of the Church of *England*; now let us examine their Conscience, as to taking Oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all Whigs, and forty-one Men, or else prove them all perjured, then I do nothing.

The Clergy, all the Magistrates and Officers of the Household, of the Civil or Military Government, were Members of the Church of *England*, otherwise they could not be employed; the Sacramental Test has done the Dissenters this Kindness, that it is plain all the managing Hands in the Kingdom were Disciples of the Church; and as an additional Circumstance, the Oath of Allegiance which they took, and which was (God be praised) of their own making, bound them to that same absolute blind Obedience which they profess, and confin'd it to the King, his Heirs and Successors.

If this Oath be considered literally, I am content to be silenced, when one fair Argument can be brought to evade it. The Declaration followed it, wherein they detest and abhor that devilish Doctrine, that it is lawful, *on any Pretence whatsoever*, (*mark the Emphasis*) to take up Arms against the King; this (*equal to an Oath*) is declared in the Presence of God; and the Particulars being material to our Purpose, are as follows:

“ **I** A. B. do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence
 “ whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor
 “ that traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against those
 “ that are commissioned by him.

“ *So help me God.*”

Notwithstanding this, you have taken up Arms against, deposed, and, as far as you were able, put to Death your lawful King, the very King you swore Allegiance to.

Now pray, Gentlemen, give Commission to some worthy Champion of your Church's Loyalty to bring you fairly off of your Oath and Declaration, if you can; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of these Conclusions from the Premises, and you shall chuse for yourselves.

First,

First, That this Doctrine of absolute, passive, and non-resistant Obedience, is an Absurdity in itself, contradictory to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, and politically introduced by State Engines into the Church of *England*, to abuse her, and betray her Members into unforeseen Mischiefs and Inconveniences.

Or, *Secondly*, That the Members of the Church of *England* are all Apostates from the very fundamental Doctrine of their Church, perjured in the Sight of God and Man, notorious Hypocrites and Deceivers; who having sworn Obedience without Reserve to their Prince, are become Traitors, Rebels, and Murderers of the Lord's Anointed, and their lawful Sovereign, and not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, have deposed and traiterously dethroned their rightful King, God Almighty's Vicegerent, accountable to no earthly Power, Supreme under God, absolute, and from divine Institution, undoubted sole Lord of them and their Country.

Or, *Lastly*, That they only are the true Church of *England*, who according to their avowed Profession, have firmly adhered to their King in all his Sufferings and Solitude, have never blackened their Consciences, nor gone back from their Obedience, forgotten their Oaths, nor sullied their Reputation with the horrid Crimes of Treason and Rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair Disputant, I am willing the Respondent shall chuse which of these three Consequences he will stand by in Behalf of the Church of *England's* Loyalty; but if they would take Advice of *a Friend to the honest Part of them*, I would recommend the first Conclusion to be fittest for them for the following Reasons:

1. Because since humane Infalibility is (*and with good Reason*) disown'd by the Church of *England*, both for herself and every Body else, it can be no Diminution to her Reputation, which she has found herself mistaken, and imposed upon, to acknowledge her Error; *a wise Man will always own, rather than defend a Mistake.*

2. Because it is my Opinion that their Way is hedged up against any other Pretence, Evasion, or Reseryation, and therefore it is with me the only Thing that Charity can say for them, and must remain so, till I find something else said that is more to the Purpose.

But the Mischief of all is, that if this be honestly acknowledg'd (*as is doubtless most true*) that the Church of *England* was mistaken, and imposed upon, to espouse a senseless absurd Principle, contrary to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, &c. why then they come over to this Consequence.

That Government and Allegiance are both conditional, and Oaths of Subjects are always to be considered in a constructive Sense, with Conditions of Protection, and the like; a Thing which is without Question the real Meaning of all Oaths of Allegiance; otherwise Subjects may be put under an absolute Necessity of Perjury, or State Martyrdom, by often swearing what may be impossible for them to perform.

The Town of *Aeth* in *Flanders* has been about six Times, and the Town of *Rineberg* in *Gueldre* about 12 Times, taken and retaken; and as often as new Masters had Possession of the Place, so often the poor Inhabitants have sworn to their new Lords: What can the Meaning of such an Oath be, but that they will be faithful to them so long as they keep Possession of the Place? It would be ridiculous to imagine the Imposers of the Oath required any more.

If our zealous Churchmen worded an Oath contrary to the very Nature of swearing Allegiance, let them answer for it, who first made it, then took it, then broke it: But the Nature of the Thing can leave Room for no other Suggestion that I know of.

Till then some further Argument is produced, it must rest here, that the Church of *England* was mistaken, imposed upon, &c. that she finds when the Laws are broken, the Right of the People invaded, the Root of the Government struck at, Church and State undermined, and despotick Tyranny at the Door, the native Right of the People is Superior, and they may assume a Power to right themselves.

And so we are brought back to Whiggism and 41; and, Gentlemen, there is no Remedy for it, help it if ye can.

Where now is the Difference between Church Loyalty and Whiggish Loyalty, Roundhead or Chavalier, Churchman or Dissenter, Whig or Tory; all are alike, they are pleased, when legally governed; quarrellsome and unruly if oppressed, and will defend themselves if assaulted, tho' it be by their Kings, or any Body else.

Why then is the Difference kept up? Methinks they might be all Friends together, for they are all alike; the Dissenters have been in their Times as loyal, and the Church of *England* in their Time as disloyal as one another. *Vice versa*; the Dissenters have been as disloyal, and the Churchmen as loyal as one another upon the same Occasion; they have been both Sufferers, and have submitted to the Government; ay, and to the Oppressions and Persecutions of their Superiors and Sovereigns. And again, upon the like Occasions, they have both of them been Rebels, *if their own Language may be so far used*; they have both of them, in their Turn, taken Arms against, and deposed their rightful and lawful Kings.

So that in my Opinion, *with a Latitude to all that think as they please*, the Church of *England*, and their Neighbours the Dissenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about, as to Loyalty; as to other Matters I have nothing to say to them, nor shall not mingle it with this Discourse.

Nor do I think I am writing a Satyr against the Church of *England*, nor is it all intended to be so; and to stop all Pretences that Way, I take the Freedom to say here has been no Crime, the Church of *England* has been in the Right of it; not in taking Arms, but the Error was in espousing, crying up, and pretending to a blind absolute Obedience to Princes, be their Commands never so absolute, tyrannical or illegal; this neither the Doctrine nor Practice of the Church of *England*, nor of any Church or People in the Christian World, ever pretended to; and therefore the Fault lay in those
People,

People, who being themselves Members of the Church of *England*, suffered themselves to be deluded by State Ministers, to foster a Tenent upon the Church, which her original Constitution never pretended to, and then call it the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The first Beginning of their pretended Doctrine was found in *Manwaring's* and *Sibthorp's* Libels, in the Days of King *Charles I.* cajoling the King; and then to please him, endeavouring to wheedle the People into a Belief of the divine Right of kingly Government, and affirming, that the King was not obliged by the Laws in the Administration of the Government.

Upon this preposterous Foundation they built the illegitimate Structure of absolute undisputed Obedience; for if kingly Power were once proved to be immediately derived from divine Authority, absolute Obedience would be a Consequence no Body could dispute, since the same Obedience without Reserve would be due to the delegated Power, as to the Power delegating.

And tho' this is a Point easily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the present Dispute within as small a Compass as we can, I think our Argument has nothing at all to do with it.

Whether Government be of divine Original or not, seems not the Question here; for if it be not so, then, as before, the Church of *England* have been mistaken, and imposed upon; and if it be so, then the Church of *England* has trampled under Foot their own Doctrine, turned Rebels to God, and Apostates from the Faith they have profest, have sacrilegiously and traiterously taken up Arms against their Prince, assaulted the Lord's Anointed, *resisted the Powers which are the Ordinance of God*, deposed their lawful Sovereign, broken their Allegiance, and consequently *are a Parcel of perjured Rebels*; every Jot as bad as the worst Roundhead Regicide, and Rebel of the Year forty-one.

What more or less can be said I profess I know not, and am in great Expectation of something in the Matter, for I cannot find in all the Writings I have met with any thing to contradict it.

The bringing Government and Obedience to the proper Circumstances of mutual Compact between King and People, seems to me to be the only Method to unravel this Skein of entangled Principles; the Nature of Government has made it the necessary Consequence of all Argument relating to Power; and I could give Instances in all the Nations in the World, and some Time or other, even the Right of Succession to Government, *which must be as sacred as the Power*, has been interrupted and limited by the People, in Case of Tyranny and illegal Governing; and every Nation, *and this among the rest*, has oftentimes deposed their Princes for the Preservation of the State, when either Incapacity for Government, tyrannical Usurpation, or other Male Administration, has been the Cause.

But this I think also needless here; every one that is vers'd in History can read the numerous Examples in the *Roman, Grecian and Persian* Histories, even sacred Histories, where Kings were more particularly of Divine Right than any where, are full of them; the Histories of *Spain, Portugal, France, Lombardy*, the Empires of *Germany and Muscovy*, even the Papal Chair, have suffer'd Convulsions and Revolutions, the deposing and displacing their Sovereigns,

Sovereigns, when the People's Good, *which is, and ever was, the Soul, the Center, the End, and the Cause of all Government*, came to be in the Dispute.

But to return to the Principles of the two Parties we are now discoursing of; the Whigs, as before, have always asserted this to be their Notion of Government and Governors; and the Church of *England*, however some among them have topp'd an empty Notion upon them, have all along, and now at last once for all, own'd it by their Practice.

“ That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,

“ Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.”

True-Born Eng. Man, P. 47.

The Act for the further Limitation of the Crown past in the last Parliament, and the Right of the People therein declar'd and recognized, I would ask my Opponent whose Act and Deed it was? Will they say it was a whiggish Act, made by a phanatical House of Commons? *I dare say there was not ten Dissenters in the House*; let them descend with us into Particulars, let them draw out a *black List* of Members, who in that loyal, honest *English* Parliament gave their Hands to the last Settlement and Declaration of Right, and let us *tell Noses*, and put a Brand upon the *Phanaticks* among them.

Will they tell us it was a *Phanatical Parliament* that set the Crown upon the Queen's Head? I hope they will own her Majesty and their Lordships the Bishops, are Part of the Church of *England*; for if the Head and the principal Members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us, that Sir *E. S.* Sir *B. S.* Sir *J. B.* Mr. *H—y*, Sir *C—r M—ve*, and a Hundred more of that Side, were Whigs and Commonwealth-Men?

How comes it to pass in *England* that no Papist can inherit? *Divine Right* ought to supercede all Precautions, and the young Prince of *Savoy*, not the House of *Hanover*, ought to reign with a *Non Obstante* to all human Limitation, if all was from Heaven: Where are our Right-line Men now? Why, truly the Reason is plain, the Church of *England*, People of *England*, a Church of *England*, Parliament of *England*, have thought fit to declare, that for the Good of the People, to which all Right of Succession to Power must give Way, because from them all Power itself does derive, and by the Voice of that People (in which Authority sufficient is legally grounded) it is unanimously agreed, that we will not have a Papist to reign over us.

All this is too plain to admit of a Dispute; and now to me it seems preposterous, why any Man should keep up the Distinction between Parties as to Loyalty, when indeed there is no Manner of Difference in the Case.

I have talk'd several Times of Bearing, Suffering, being persecuted and oppress'd; as the Dissenters in their Time have been more than enough; and again, in their Turn, the Church of *England* have been persecuted too; for, as I noted before, they were once the *Schismaticks*, the *Whigs*, and the *Dissenters*. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my Argument to examine whether

whether of the two behaved themselves under their Sufferings with the greatest Submission, who shew'd most absolute Obedience to their Superiors, and who first or oftenest rebell'd against their lawful Sovereign.

The Protestants under *Henry VIII.* were the first Dissenters; they were kept under, persecuted, and put to Death as Rebels and Schismaticks. Now upon due Search it will be found, that under the Protection of two Protestant Queens, Wives of King *Henry VIII.* they had more than once form'd such Interest at Court, and in the Kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the Popish Powers then reigning; and the Fall of the Lord *Cromwell* was thought a necessary Policy in King *Henry*, to prevent the Plots of the *Phanatical Church of England Hereticks*; a long Account of which may be read in the Life of that Prince.

King *Edward VI.* a zealous and pious Prince, made no Scruple for the Propagation of the Church of *England*, which he was the glorious Founder, to set aside the lawful and undisputed Succession of his own Sisters, to establish the Crown in the Lady *Jane Grey*, who he knew would carry on the Work of Reformation.

There's an Instance for the Zeal for Succession in the right Line, in the first Protestant Head that ever the Church of England had.

After this, the Gospellers, that is, the Church of *England* Protestants of *Suffolk*, having some Sense of Injury done to the Princess *Mary*, and willing to have the Succession go on in the right Line, provided they could both preserve their Religion and Loyalty too, capitulate with her, and promise to stand by her, provided she would promise to preserve, and make no Alteration in their established Church of *England*.

Here the Church of *England* Men own'd the Liberty of their Religion to be superior to their Loyalty to her; and that they had a Right to submit, or not to submit, as their Liberty was, or was not secure; and accordingly conditioned with her, before they would acknowledge her to be their Queen.

And we see how Heaven punish'd them for venturing on the Word of a Prince when their Religion and Liberty were at Stake.

In this Queen's Time the Church having been again suppress'd, and Popery erected, Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, an honest Church of *England* Protestant, with a very good Body of Men, took up Arms against their lawful Prince, for breaking her Word in Defence of their dear Religion, establish'd by blessed King *Edward*, which were the very Words of the Manifesto they published: The *Londoners*, with 800 Men, sent by the Queen against them, thought it no Treachery to desert their lawful Popish Queen, and go over to their Protestant Church of *England* Brethren.

We have nothing to do with the Justification of this Fact; 'tis sufficient that so it was, and that these were Protestants of the Church of *England*, in the first and purest Part of their Principles, and let them justify the Fact if they please.

Queen *Elizabeth* succeeds, and the Church of *England* shone in its Meridian Glory, and then grew up some, who aiming, as I said before, at a further

further Reformation ; and the Church refusing to hearken to it, form'd a new Party of Dissenters, and these were call'd *Puritans*, and since that *Phanaticks*.

Now I challenge the Defender of this Cause to tell me one disloyal Act, one Plot against the Government, one Disturbance of the Civil Peace, among these Dissenters, from the Beginning of this Queen, which was their own Beginning, to the Reign of King *Charles I.* which was a continued Term of 80 Years, and yet, during this Time, they suffered all Manner of Indignities, Reproaches, Finings, Imprisonings, Banishment, Confiscations, and corporal Punishments.

So that hitherto the Passive Obedience of the Dissenters hath far exceeded that of the Church of *England*. These had but five Years Oppression under Queen *Mary*, and in that five Years they once capitulated with their Sovereign to make her Queen upon Conditions, and once took Arms against her after she was Queen ; and *by that* I must always understand, that if they did not depose and destroy her, it was because they could not ; *and if they had done it, no doubt they had Cause sufficient to justify them before God and Man.* The Puritans after this suffered all that their *too cruel Brethren* of the Church of *England* laid upon them during three tedious Reigns, before they so much as made the least Offer at doing themselves Justice ; and for 80 Years together exercis'd that Passive Obedience which they never pretended to.

At last they took Arms ; and when they did, they did it to Purpose, carried all before them, subdued Monarchy, cut of their King's Head, and *all that*.

After the Restoration Things began to return to their old Channel, and 30 Years more the Dissenters endur'd another *Egyptian* Servitude ; were persecuted, plunder'd, indicted, imprison'd, plagu'd with Impositions, stigmatiz'd with a Thousand Reproaches ; their Meeting-houses demolish'd, their Estates confiscated, their Persons excommunicated and anathematiz'd, sworn into Plots they never heard of, and into Crimes they never committed, dragg'd to Goals, Gibbets, and Scaffolds, and the like. *All this while Passive Obedience, if there were any such Thing*, was found among them more than anywhere else ; for here was no Rebellion, no Insurrection, nor breaking of the Peace by the Dissenters, notwithstanding all these Oppositions.

After this comes King *James* the Second to the Crown, and he turn'd the Scale, and, together with Invasion of Liberty, falls upon the Church, begins to rifle her of her Trophies, *for no Essentials had been touch'd* ; and how long did She bear it ? Not 80 Years, not 30 Years ; no, not so many Months.

What did she do ? Truly nothing but what she ought to have done ; defend her Liberty and Religion by Force, against unjust Invasion and Tyranny ; nothing but what all the Nations in the World have done, and would do again if they could.

The only Error we charge upon the Church of *England*, was setting up Pretences of what they really would not Practice ; crying up themselves for Fools, when we knew they were wiser Men ; calling themselves humble Slaves ; but when the Trial came, proving stubborn, refractory, *Liberty-Mongers*, even as bad as the worst Whig or Phanatick of them all.

For

For the future then, if a humble Moderator might be permitted to give Advice to the Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, it should be in these short and friendly Terms.

Pray, Gentlemen, never be imposed upon, to pretend to more Loyalty, and more slavish Principles than you intend to Practice.

Never pretend to more Obedience than your Sovereign requires. Our late King, who I am not ashamed to show as a Pattern for future Ages, requir'd; and her present Majesty, *without Affront to her Majesty's Authority it may be said*, requires no further Obedience from the People of *England* than the Laws of *England* requires.

To govern according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the People, and to obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the Sovereign. The Laws are the Test both of the Royal Authority, and of the Subject's Obedience; and to pretend to more Obedience than the Law requires, is abusing your Prince, and abusing yourselves.

Never be ashamed to own with your Brethren the Whigs, that you are willing to submit to Authority, but that you expect to be govern'd according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Let the Scotch Motto be set upon your Liberties, and according to your constant Practice, *as well as ours*: Let all Men know you design to make it Good. *Nemo me Impune Lacessit.*

And as it really never was the Principle of the Church of *England*, nor were a hundredth Part of the Members of the Church tainted with it; so for the future 'tis hoped you will not suffer such to mingle themselves among you, or to act in the Name of the Church of *England*, who pretend to a blind absolute Obedience to Princes.

And Lastly, Gentlemen, a little more Modesty to your humble Servants your Protestant Brethren, the Dissenters, or Whigs; I mean as to Matter of Loyalty: For in Truth, Gentlemen, we do not see any Reason you have to reproach us in that Matter, you being in every Particular as faulty that Way as you Neighbours.

Neces-

Some Necessary Considerations relating to all future Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, humbly offered to all Electors, whether they be true Sons of the Church of England, as by Law establish'd, or modest Protestant Dissenters; to which is added, A List and Account of one Hundred and sixty-seven worthy good Patriots, lately traduced in a scandalous Libel, commonly called the Black List. As also a List of two Hundred and twenty-three honest Gentlemen, who signaliz'd themselves in the Defence of the Rights of the Commons of England in the Point of Impeachments; with the Addition of a Preface in Answer to a Pamphlet called, A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, &c. By Dr. Drake. 1702.

THE PREFACE.

IF all Mankind were wise and honest, an Admonition from the Press would be impertinent: But no Age has yet deserv'd the Compliment of having them thought so; and this (according to the vulgar Notion of it) least of any. I have not, however, so ill an Opinion of it as some splenetick Writers would give me: I think it neither so wise nor so honest as it should be, and yet, perhaps, I think as well of it as of any that have gone before.

But of all the extravagant Follies of this Age, which are not a few, it is, perhaps, the most unaccountable, that while we pretend to more Sagacity, and a sharper Sight than our Ancestors, we are daily bubbled by Fools, and banter'd by Blockheads. I am afraid every one of us too often experiences this in his private and separate Concerns; but the Press almost overwhelms the collective Body of the People with Convictions every Day.

One most notorious Instance of this Kind we have in a Pamphlet, entitled, A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compar'd. The Writer of it, after having called all the Church of England Men Rebels, Traitors, Regicides, and perjur'd Men, protests he has not abused them, and pretends not to have affronted them neither.

Either

Either this Author is very stupid, or he presumes his Church of England Reader to be so. If the latter can without Resentment bear to have the Cap so impudently put upon his Head, he deserves to wear it; if he can't, it shall be taken from his, and put upon the Author's, which it will fit better.

I could quietly put up with the Insolence and Affront to the Church of England, if no other Malice, or the Design of Mischief were discoverable at the Bottom of it. But as it apparently tends to lessen the Reputation our Church has acquir'd among her Neighbours for her signal Fidelity to her Princes, so it is manifestly rais'd and levell'd to batter the pious Resolution which her Majesty has graciously declared herself to have taken in Favour of our Church.

Even this Effort too might be slighted, did not the Spirit of the Party glare unmask'd quite thro' it; I mean Calumny and Disingenuity. To wave a particular Discussion of the remoter Instances of the Church of England's Disloyalty, which he pretends to fetch from History, tho' he cites none, and to spare ourselves the Trouble of raking into Misrepresentations, foreign to, and too tedious for this Place, and to which, perhaps, want of Books, or want of understanding 'em, may be pleaded in mitigation of Damages; it may suffice to observe his Candour and Justice to the Church of England in the single Point of the late Revolution. Those of it, that did concur with others in promoting that Revolution, are revil'd and villify'd, as Men of no Faith or Principles, and therefore not fit to be trusted, countenanc'd or protect'd; and those that did not, as Men of pernicious Principles, inconsistent with, and destructive of the Civil Rights and Liberties of the People, and therefore fit only to be hang'd or drowned out of the Way. There's the Church of England provided for all at once, by an easy Expedient, and the Author has prepared a sufficient Justification of it. Hang some of the Rogues for adhering to King James, and kick the rest out of Doors as Rebels for not adhering to him. This Author, by his Principles and Justice, should be a New-England Author, where the godly Brethren are famous for commuting, and other quaint Devices, to get rid of unsanctified People.

But sure this Author does think in his Conscience, (if he has any) that either they did well who abandon'd the Interests of King James, or they who stood by them. Then why are they equally bespatter'd and render'd odious? Why, but because they profess themselves of the Church of England, and well or ill-doing is equal to him; 'tis all Abomination, if the Doer be a Church of England-man? And why should deserting the Interest of an unhappy Prince be imputed by him to the Sons of the Church as a Crime, which Act he not only justifies in the Dissenters, but extols as highly meritorious; because, (as this Author insinuate) the Church-man offends against the Light of his Conscience, sins against Principle, and stands Self-convicted and condemn'd; which t'other (as he pretends) does not.

But here his Conclusions out-strip his Arguments, and his Assertions go a great Way farther than his Proofs. There are two Things with which he very boldly charges the Church of England, and wherein consists the Force and Activity of all that Venom which he spits at her, which it will be very hard for him to make out.

First, That Passive Obedience was ever a Principle of the Church of England.

Secondly, That, if it was ever a Principle, the Church has since renounc'd it, laid it aside, or broke through it.

But so unlikely an Adversary is this Gentleman, to prove the Church false to her Principles, that he does not seem to know what it is that constitutes any Doctrine a Principle of the Church, nor how to distinguish between the Tenets and Opinions of private Doctors, and the Principles of the Church. To entitle any Church, religious Congregation, or Society, to any Doctrine, as a Principle, it ought to have been once, at least, enjoined to be received as necessary Matter of Faith, by such Person or Persons, as by the Consent of the collective Body of the Church, are vested with an Authority declarative of what is necessary to be believed.

It is not to our present Purpose to enquire with whom the Church of England has lodg'd that Power; it is sufficient to know, that all that she has enjoin'd as necessary to be believed, is contain'd in her nine and thirty Articles, and in her Canons; in which I dare venture to affirm, that there is nothing to be found, which does, either in a literal, or even constructive Sense, enjoin the Belief of Passive Obedience in such a Manner or Sense as he has charged it upon her; and therefore it is a malicious, and very ignorant Scandal, to charge her with falling from her Principles, even tho' she should have acted contrary to the Notion of Passive Obedience, as by him laid down.

It is true, the Notion of Passive Obedience has been frequently and vigorously inculcated into the Sons of the Church by divers of her Doctors; but then it was done without any other Power than that of Persuasion, or other Authority than such Arguments as they were able to bring from Scripture, Reason, and the Writings of the Fathers. It is not material to enquire whether their Doctrine was erroneous or not; because if it were, the Church is not answerable for it, and if it were true, it does no more thereby become a Principle of the Church, than that every equilateral Triangle is equal to two right ones, is a Principle of the Church. And yet I believe every individual Doctor of the Church, who has considered the Proposition, does believe it to be most infallibly true. The Church does not interpose its Authority for every useful Truth, but leaves her Sons at Liberty as to many great Points, concerning which they may differ, according to the several Convictions of their own Minds, and yet be equally her Sons. Of these, the now unfashionable Point is one; of which I shall only add, that were it as consistent with worldly Interest and Security, as it is conformable to the Gospel Spirit of Christianity, I see no Reason to quarrel with it.

But supposing a Belief of Passive Obedience had been enjoined by the Church; How does it appear, that the Church has revolted, or broken loose from the Obligation of that Principle, allowing it (for Argument sake only) to be a Principle of the Church? What did the Church do in Violation of it? Did the Church turn out King James? Did the Church, by any solemn Act or Declaration, renounce Passive Obedience, or declare King James deprived of his Regal Crown
and

and Dignity? Without some such Acts as these, by the Authority of the Church, or (to go somewhat farther than we are in Justice obliged) a general Desertion of the Members of the Church from their Allegiance, and of none else, if any Thing was criminal in the Transactions of that Time, it is not to be charged upon the Church.

The great and only Instance of the Church of England's pretended Disloyalty and Neglect of Principles, is the deposing (for so this Author will have it to be) of King James. I ask who did that? While it was a Recommendation at Court, the Dissenters or Whigs (which are synonymous Terms with him) laid sole Claim to it, as a meritorious Work, and were bountifully rewarded for it. Now the great Advantage is thought to be over, the Church is to be entitled to the Odium. But to ease the Dissenters as much as I can, I say it was the Prince of Orange's Army and the Convention that did it. The Army drove the King away, and the Convention declared his going away Abdication. I shall not here undertake to determine, whether this was or was not according to Law or Gospel; but we know who at that Time urg'd both against it. I suppose it may be doubted, whether the Church of England had a Majority in either; and therefore what they did, ought not to be charged as the Act and Deed of the Church.

But this Gentleman says they fought against the King in Ireland, and if they did not kill him, they intended it; for their Bullets had no Condition of Exception. It was, indeed, a Fault in the Church of England Men (if any there were) not to limit the Commission of their Bullets to three Miles, lest they should touch the Lord's Anointed. But how comes this to be the Fault of the Church? How does it appear, that a few Red-coats, Soldiers of Fortune (whose Religion is usually to be chosen) some Dutch, some Danes, some Swiss, some French, some Irish, some Scots, were the legal Representatives of the Church of England? Till he proves them to be so, the Church is not obliged to answer for what they did.

But after all, this Gentleman seems to have no Manner of clear Notion of Passive Obedience: It implies no more, than not resisting by Violence those whom God has set over us, without involving ourselves in the Intricacies and Difficulties of doubtful, or disputed Titles: Who made us Judges over Israel? We send our wise Men to represent and determine, and 'tis our Duty to submit.

It is hard to stop here; the insufferable Insolence of the Parallel between the Usage that King Charles I. met with from the Dissenters, and King James II. met with from the Church of England, is scarce to be borne. The Provocation is very great, and the Field unbounded; but we have not Room to prosecute the War here; but if this Author shall think fit to carry on the War, I promise to accept his Challenge.

In the mean Time this Author tells us, that he does not intend to widen Breaches, and means nothing but Reconciliation. We have met with Friendships indeed in History before, which have begun with Assassinations; but we never heard of their Reality or Duration. He that should spit in my Face publicly, and pretend afterwards it was meer Kindness and Respect, would have a hard Task to persuade me. I shall not pretend to advise the Gentlemen of the Church

of England, who, I presume, will be sufficiently aware of Men of this Writer's Kidney, who, while they pretend to make Advances of Kindness and Reconciliation, labour to sink the Reputation of their Probity, Virtue, and Understanding.

IT has been the hard Fortune of the People of *England* to be misrepresented, for some Years last past, both Abroad and at Home, and thereby to be render'd contemptible and odious to their Neighbours; as a People inconsistent with themselves, wavering in their Resolutions, fickle in their Alliances, unfriendly to their Neighbours; and to become jealous of one another, angry with their best Patriots, and fond of those who labour'd to subvert their Constitution, Church and Liberties, &c.

It may seem strange to those who have not sufficiently consider'd, or are not well acquainted with Matters of this Nature, that it should be possible for a People to become contemptible to their Neighbours, while they gave such manifest Proofs of their Strength, Courage and Wealth; or to be odious to those who subsisted chiefly by their Succours and Assistance.

Yet such has been the Artifice of some designing People, that our Allies have been made to believe, that tho' we had all those Qualities actually existent in us, yet we were a rude, indigested Mass, a Rabble of People that had no Soul or Form, but what the King, and a few of his Ministers, gave us; that, like Flints, we had no Fire but what was struck from us; and would exert none of our unactive, lazy Powers, but by their Inspiration.

This gave our Allies a very high Idea of the King, and those about him, that could move such a lumpish, inanimate Body to such great and noble Actions; but it fill'd them, at the same Time, with a Contempt of that People, who wanted Life and Soul to exert that Force that lay dormant in them, till it was rous'd and directed by others. They took us to be like Guns, that might do a great deal of Good or Harm as we were used; but that all the Thanks was owing to the Engineers and Gunners that mounted, charg'd, and fir'd at us; and that after the Service was over, it was no Matter whether we split or rusted. This was manifest from the little Regard that was shewn the *English* Nation, during the whole Course of the late War, and after it; and was owing to the Artifices of some People, who magnified their own Services and Affection to our Allies, and represented a House of Commons, (the Representatives of the collective Body of the People) as a weak Assembly, which they could either lead or drive as they pleased. By these Means they gain'd so far upon some of our Neighbours, as to be able to prompt them to interpose in Matters of the highest Importance to us, and to prevail sometimes against the manifest Interest of this Kingdom.

To support this Credit Abroad, they found it necessary to make some Figure of it at Home, and to keep a Party, which, tho' considerable for nothing but

but their Capacity of Conscience, and Confidence, were thought proper Instruments, by false Clamour, and forg'd Calumnies, to create Divisions, and foment Faction among the People; to maintain which Party, and to keep their Inventions warm, Millions, perhaps, of the publick Money have been unaccountably lavish'd, and one Mint has labour'd to encourage the other. By these Arts they so far poison'd a great Part of common People with Jealousies and groundless Apprehensions, as to render many of the Gentlemen in all Parts of *England*, who are most considerable for their Abilities, Integrity and Courage, as well as Quality and Estate, suspected and fear'd by them. No sooner did any of these signalize himself in the House of Commons but his Honour was attack'd, and he was branded with Popery and *France*, how unjustly soever; scandalous Stories, Libels, and malicious lying Accusations were spread of him throughout *England*, without either Proof or Author, and his Reputation was wounded by unknown Hands, that made their Markets at the Expence of his Fame.

It may be worth while to observe whither these Practices tended. *First*, By representing us a weak, irresolute People in ourselves, that knew not how to manage our own Strength and Wealth, they gave our Neighbours and Allies Courage to presume upon us, and to interpose in our Affairs, and to rest themselves secure, that having gained those few (whom they thought our Leaders) on their Side, they had nothing to do but to gain over the King to their Party, and the Business was done; the Asses would be tame, and might be driven to the Pound, or whither else they pleased; and by possessing them, that we were such malevolent ill Neighbours, as were never to be brought to any hearty or sincere Intentions towards their Allies, they provok'd them to hate us; and having wrought them to a Belief, that to them only they were obliged for all the great Services they received from *England*, prepared them to back all their Measures, and second their Designs, whenever they should signify to them their Schemes were ripe, and that the proper Season was come; which, had not Providence prevented, we might have seen ten Times more Foreign Soldiers in *England* than those we struggle so hard to send away, and as many fewer of our own at Home than we thought safe to keep up.

But as this Design was *bipartite*, it was as necessary to be well with one Party at least at Home as Abroad. The Gentlemen all over *England* were found unfit for their Purposes; their Principles were sound, and their Stakes too great, to give up either our Church or Constitution, and therefore a Party who had always laboured the Subversion of both, were advanced and carress'd, as the only true stanch Protestants. But these being a Party alone too weak to effect what they aimed at, they took in a Sort of mungil Church-goers, whose Conformity was not the Result of Principle, but of a luke-warm Compliance with the Humour of the Times; who could as readily have embraced any other Church and Doctrines, in which they cou'd find their own private Accompt. These they dignified with the specious Title of Men of Moderation and Temper, tho' they, and the Party they were now united with, were known

known, most of them, to be the Men who, in a Reign preceding, had like, by their great Moderation and Temper, to have ruin'd our Religion, Laws, and Liberty; yet now they were cried up as the only proper Persons to protect and assert them, their gross Railing magnified as Zeal, and their slavish Obsequiousness was made as Argument of their Affection to the Government, tho' they had given the same Proofs of both before to him, they then railed at.

By these a Comprehension was laboured, which might admit into the Dignities of the Church and State a Medley of Men, who, even since the first Spawning of their Sect, have been profess'd Enemies of both, some of which, however they may call themselves *Protestants*, have not yet been able to prove themselves *Christians*. To bring about this Project, on which the main home Strength of their Scheme depended, the principal Gentlemen all over *England*, whose Principles and Penetration they feared, were brought into Disgrace with the King and the Mob, whom they persuaded, whoever had the Courage to oppose their Party, was a Papist, a Jacobite, or a Favourer of *France*, and disaffected to the Government, as they called themselves. Instead of those, they brought into the Commissions of the Lieutenancy and Peace, almost all *England* over, a Set of Fellows of no Fortune, Honour or Reputation, or Gentlemen of known Aversion to the *Monarchy* and *Church* of *England*, that by these Promotions the Courage of the Dissenters might be roused, and the Ambition of the Mob elevated to aspire to the like Preferments, by insulting their best Patriots, and trampling upon Authority. How far they succeeded in these Attempts may be seen in the almost universal Corruption and Depravation of the meaner People throughout *England*, and the Affronts which were so openly put upon the last Parliament by that Party; and tho' we are highly obliged to, and ever ought to be sensible of the gallant Stand then made by many worthy Gentlemen of both Houses in our Defence, yet it is to Providence that we owe the entire Defeat of these curs'd Designs, if yet we may reckon that Work compleat.

The Countenance of the Court, the Hopes of Preferment, and the Clamour and Impudence of the mercenary Promoters of these dangerous Designs, prevail'd upon the Simplicity of the well-meaning People, whom it is necessary, at this Time, to undeceive, especially those who are truly of the Church of *England*. But seeing some, whom, from their outward Profession, they thought Churchmen, go into a wrong Interest, have been misled to bear them Company, without apprehending their true Intent and Meaning; to arm all such, and all Protestant Dissenters, who have no other Aim than the peaceable Enjoyment of their own Conscience and Worship, however erroneous, it may suffice to give such general Cautions as will distinguish with what Principle, and upon what Views Men act, without descending to personal Reflections, how well soever deserved by some People.

God has been graciously pleased to give us a Queen as truly *English* by Inclination, as by Birth, who, both by Principle and Practice, has given us undoubted Demonstration of her sincere Affection and Zeal for our Church and

and Constitution. If therefore we do not make use of this Blessing to second her pious Intentions, and establish both for ever, we should be guilty of a great Neglect of Providence, and perhaps put ourselves out of the Protection of it for ever hereafter.

This is not said to inflame any body against those who dissent from us in Opinion, but to warn against the Practices of those who (without any Regard to Religion) have By-ends to pursue, and encourage one Party only to the Destruction of both.

Reason and Experience have both taught, that our Church and Constitution must of Necessity stand or fall together; and that all those, of whatsoever Sect or Denomination, who have aim'd at the Subversion of one, have labour'd the Destruction of the other likewise. It will therefore highly behove all Protestants, Lovers of the *English* Constitution, whether they be Conformists to the established Church or not, to contribute their utmost Endeavours towards the Support of it; since with that the *English* Constitution and Liberty must necessarily sink. The Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Usurpation of the *Rump*, and the Tyranny of *Oliver*, have, to our Sorrow, manifestly evinced this long since; therefore they who aim only at Liberty of Conscience, of which they are now secure, while they continue quiet, can have no Interest to shake that Fabrick under which alone they can be sheltered.

I shall not enquire upon what Motives (but it is expected that upon the Conclusion of this Sessions) this Queen should dissolve this Parliament. Upon Supposition that it will be so, it may not be improper to shew how much it imports the People to be wise and circumspect in their next Choice: For if they shall hereafter be so unsteady, so loose, and so corrupt as they have been in many of their late Elections, they will lose the fairest Opportunity that they ever had to resettle both Church and State, and give such Head to Faction and Corruption, as may in Time give them Power to dismount their Constitution.

The People ought to consider, that when they have made Choice of their Representatives, they have parted with their Power, and lodg'd it in them for so long a Time as they continue to be such; and therefore they ought to be very cautious and wary in the Disposition of such a Trust, and to be very sure of the Fidelity of the Persons in whom they place it. To arrive at such a Certainty as seems necessary in so great a Case, appears from the Experience of many Ages to be very difficult, but more especially in this, when the pretended Principles, and real Practices of some Men (who were desirous to have been thought the only true Friends to the Government) have been found so little of a Piece, to establish such a Criterion as shall infallibly distinguish the Sound from the Unsound (if the Use of Terms may be allowed, by which a certain Party have affected to discriminate themselves) seems almost morally impossible; but it may not be very hard to assign some Marks, which may certainly shew that the Persons who bear them are altogether unfit for that Trust and Dignity.

The profess'd *Dissenters* from the Church here establish'd by Law, have (one would think) pass'd a Sort of a Bill of Exclusion upon themselves, and with their own Hands shut the Door of the House of Commons against themselves: But so supinely secure were the Church of *England* Men, that they have lent their Hands to their Enemies to force open that Door for them which they had sufficiently barr'd against themselves. This is what some Men, who would be thought Friends to the Church, and wise for it, labour'd hard for, under the Name of Comprehension, a Thing that wou'd let in every Man of what Sect soever that is not called a Papist, except the true Church of *England* Men, whom only they would exclude. There is little Need of Warning to those who are truly solicitous for the Church, and understand rightly wherein its true Excellence and Security consists; but as few are gifted with so much Penetration and Discernment, there are many who profess themselves her Sons, who have given her, thro' their Imprudence, many cruel and dangerous Wounds, not exempting some who have their daily Bread from her, whom we must in Charity believe to have acted what they did without any true Foresight of the natural Tendency of their Actions.

There are two Sorts of People who ought especially to be inform'd of some Errors both in Judgment and Practice, which (if pursu'd) may in Time prove fatal to them; the Persons hereby meant, are, *first*, such as think *Ecclesiastick Policy* and *external Forms of Worship* Things indifferent, that may without Detriment be altered, or changed, according to the Pleasure of the supreme Magistrate, the Humour of the People, or the Circumstances of the Times; and next, the modest *Protestant Dissenters*, (who, I hope, are the greatest Part of them) who, tho' dissatisfied with the Form of Worship establish'd in the Church of *England*, yet, by their Separation, aim at nothing more than the Liberty of serving God in their own Way.

It is not the Business of this Paper to convince either of these Parties of their Errors; let one think themselves right in their Indifference, and t'other in their Separation; let us wave the religious Part of the Argument, and consider only, how in Prudence both these Sorts of Mnn ought to act, in regard to the Civil Constitution of *England*; for otherwise they ought not to have the Benefit and Protection of it.

The first of these being indifferent as to the Form of Ecclesiastical Worship and Government, can't be suppos'd to concern themselves farther about it, than to secure the Ease and Quiet of the Laity, from the Imposition and Tyranny of Priests; what they offer farther, may justly be suspected of Self-design and Interest.

It were easy to prove, were the Matter to be contested, that the Church of *England* is the most reasonably constituted both to Doctrine and Discipline, for the Ease of the Laity, and the Ends of Religion, of any Christian Church in the World; for as our Church claims no implicit Faith, as that of *Rome* does, so neither do her Priests usurp any Power or Jurisdiction over the Consciences of those whom they are to instruct and take Care of, or pretend to determine of particular Election or Reprobation, as most of our Protestant

testant Dissenting Ministers do; and thereby gain an Ascendant over the Consciences of ignorant timorous People, which is scarce consistent with Freedom of Mind, or Liberty of Conscience. But should the Church of *England* be destroyed, some one of these must be set up; or I presume no Man would have us without a national Church of some kind or other: And let the Man of Indifference pitch upon which of the known Forms he pleases, and he will find himself infinitely more cramp'd by it, and more a Slave to the Priests, than ever he thought himself in the Church of *England*. But should the Church of *England* be dissolved, before the several Sects and Parties were agreed what to set up in the Room of it, what then were we to expect, but that they should fall together by the Ears, and that the crafty Priest that had the best Knack of leading the Mob by the Ears, must necessarily, in the Conclusion, have the sole Direction of all spiritual Matters; and consequently we should fall into a worse Sort of Popery than that of the Church of *Rome*? This is no Chimera, no melancholy Dream or Fancy, but such a Truth as Observation and Experience of former Times, even in these Kingdoms, have furnished. This, I suppose, may suffice to convince the indifferent Man, that it will be impossible for him to alter our Ecclesiastical Constitution for the better, according to his Notions:

As for the Protestant Dissenters, whose Scruples, whether just or unjust, hinder him from conforming to the Discipline and Worship of our Church, if he aims at nothing more than the Liberty of worshipping in Purity, according to his own Sense, he has already, and need not doubt the Indulgence of the Queen, so long as he behaves himself with that inoffensive Modesty, and peaceable Disposition towards the national Church, which is due from a private Separatist, who would not incur the Censure and Penalties of a turbulent Schismatick.

But supposing the Dissenters were not so modest in their Desires, (as it is hoped most of 'em are) considering the Number and Variety of Sects, and the Weakness of each of them apart, what Benefit can any one Party propose to itself from the Ruin of the establish'd Church, were they able to effect it? Does their Dissention from the Church of *England* unite them either in Doctrine or Discipline? Does it bring them nearer to a Conformity with one another? No, but so much the contrary, could they prevail against the Church, they would be bitterer Enemies to one another than ever they were to the Church. We have experienc'd this Truth in those unhappy Days when the Crown and Mitre were trampled upon, and God's House made a Den of Thieves, that fell out and were ready to cut each others Throats about the Possession and Division of it. Our Sectaries then saw how impracticable a Comprehension was, and that there was not one Sect among them that did not think worse of all the rest than of the Church they labour'd to pull down. But we have more recent Instances than that, which prove that they cannot bear even the Dawning of Hopes with any tolerable good Accord: We have seen the two Sticks which a false Prophet of theirs had pronounced

* Sermon on the Union of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, preach'd at *Pinner's Hall*.

to be made one for ever, soon sever'd, and made use of to break each others Heads. An Instance which plainly proves that Faction shall never be at Rest or Unity.

Such Dissenters as I have mentioned ought to be satisfied with the present Indulgence which the Church allows them, and resting themselves contented with the undisturbed Exercise of their Religion and Conscience, to give the established Church no Jealousy of their Ill-meaning or Designs, and thereby provoke them, and indeed, make it necessary to lay them under greater Restraints and Incapacities than are at present intended them, or by destroying (were they able) that Church which now protects them, to fall under the Tyranny of a Sect which would have no such Tendernefs for them.

But if they entertain any Hopes that they, even united, shall be able to bid Defiance to the established Church, they are extremely mistaken in their own Strength; for tho' they have been able to make a considerable Noise and Bustle in the World, yet were they themselves but weak and inconsiderable; the main Strength of their Party lay in an auxiliary Body of false Church-goers, who joined them, not out of any Love or Respect to them, but to their own private Interest. These were Men whose Eyes were always fix'd on the Countenance of the Court, Men that were always resolved to be on the sunny Side, be that whatever it was; these are a Sort of Court Weather-cocks that veer about with every Wind, and watch the Disposition of Ministers and Favourites so carefully, that they understand a Nod, or a Shrug, and are ready to execute their Pleasure, be it what it will, before it is plainly signified; however, they may thank their Stars, that they wanted not a Set of Ministers who could make very broad Signs, otherwise they might officiously have mistaken them, and followed the Words of their Directions contrary to their Meaning. It is hardly to be thought that the Dissenters will depend on these Sun-Flowers for their Assistance at this Time of Day; there is now the shady Side, and these are tender Plants, that cannot endure it. They had no other Reason for joining them before, than that they were favoured by the late Ministry; and they will leave them now, because they are not like to be so by the future. If therefore the Dissenters be Masters of any Temper or Prudence, they will not venture, by a vain Struggle at this Time, to urge those who are infinitely the Majority of the People, and have as well the Laws of the Land, as the Queen and her Court on their Side, to have them in distrust, and consequently under Guard; it may therefore be worth their while seriously to consider this, and not by a fruitless Opposition to expose at once the Weakness and ill Intentions of their Party, but peaceably to enjoy that Liberty of Conscience, and free Exercise of their Religion, which no good Church of *England* Man will repine at, while they appear to aim at no more.

As for the Church-goers, who pretend to be Sons of the Church, and yet have joined our Enemies in all their Votes, it is plain that Preferment, not Principle, was the Star that guided them; and it is to as much Purpose to reason with the Weather-cock at *St. James's* as them; the same Argument prevail

prevails with either, and a Court-blast turns them about with equal Facility; but there are some honest, true Sons of the Church, who, in the Simplicity of their Hearts, taking these Men for what they appeared to be, have been seduced to go along with them, and acted contrary to their own Intention and Meaning.

These are not a few, and therefore ought to be disabused, and have some Marks given them, by which they may discern and distinguish the Wolf in Sheep's cloathing. The Inclinations of these Men are several Ways to be discovered, by their avowed Principles, by their known Practices, by the Party they join, by their Conversation on publick Subjects, and by their Fixedness and wavering in their Resolutions.

It is hard to discover what Men's Principles really are, but not so hard to discern whether they act according to the Principles they pretend to own. We have lately known Men, who to the People have set a Value upon themselves, and have been well received by them for it, who have laboured to destroy those Rights as Champions for which they recommended themselves. We need not go far for Instances, the Opposers of the Triennial Bill, the Promoters of a standing Army in Time of Peace, the Obstructors of necessary Impeachments, and those who are lately willing to give up the Rights of the People in that Point, are recent and undeniable Instances.

All these Men pretended to be Protectors of the Protestant Religion, and the best Friends to the Government; but had they half the Merit of the *Roman* Geese that saved the Capital, had their Noise and Clamour been half so serviceable, or so innocent, they had deserved Consideration. It is true, they did like the Geese alarm those who were able to preserve the State, but it was so far from being meritorious in them, that they were the very Enemies against whom it was most necessary and most dangerous to defend it.

By this Clamour for Liberty and Property, and their slavish Obsequiousness to the Court, they wrigled themselves into Posts at *Whitehall*, and Credit with the Mob. Their Pretence was a great Zeal for the Government and Protestant Religion. What was meant by these Words may be worth enquiring.

According to our Constitution, no other Protestant Religion ought to be promoted here in *England*, than that of the Church, by Law established; and tho' a reasonable Indulgence be justly due to all Consciences truly, however erroneously tender, yet no such Encouragement ought to have been given to any Sectaries whatsoever, as to animate so far as to push at the National Church. But these Men of meritorious Zeal for the Protestant Religion were not content to raise Dissenters of all Kinds, even above the Church of *England* Men, unless they brought the latter into Disgrace likewise. They aspersed them unreasonably as Papists or Jacobites, and took Care to put all the distrustful Hardships upon them that they could invent; they displaced them as fast as they could, and put Men of opposite Principles or none into their Room, and perswaded the King that these were the only true fast Friends he had.

They were too sensible that by these Practices they did wrong to the Nation, and provoked the Gentlemen who understood they had, and were almost all the Men of the best Consideration in the Kingdom; and therefore they laboured to secure to themselves the misguided Rabble, whom they amused with idle Fears, and raised to an insufferable Insolence by the Countenance they gave them. They let fly the publick Money among their Emissaries, whom they employed to inspire the Mob with a Contempt of the best Gentlemen and Patriots; and set those to work who had no Religion to pull down that Church which only could protect all.

The Form of our Ecclesiastical Policy resembles so nearly that of the Civil State, that the Plea of *jus divinum* apart from either, no Man can have an Abhorrence for one, who has not a hearty Aversion to the other, how well soever he may dissemble it. We ought therefore to observe very carefully those Men, who, in their late Conversations and Discourses, whether publick or private, have expressed a Contempt or Dislike of our Church Government and Discipline; for as the Authority of the Church in Spirituals stands almost on the same Foot, and is disposed in the same Manner, with that of the State in Civil Matters, those Arguments (if its Enemies had any such) that were of Strength to beat down one, would batter the other very sorely, were they levelled against it. And we have no Reason to believe that any Man, who considering and understanding the Nearness of Relation between the Church and the State, and how much they stand on the same Bottom, yet thinks fit to assault the first, but he would attack the latter likewise, if he did not think the temporal Sword was longer and sharper edged than the spiritual one.

But it is not from Men's Writings, or Talk only, that their Principles or Inclinations are to be collected; their Actions are yet a much surer Guide to their real Sentiments. To dissemble in Words is so easy, and grown so familiar with most People, that it is scarce safe to trust to verbal Professions, especially when those that make them would recommend themselves to the Persons to whom they are made. The surest Method to form a right Judgment, is to retrospect Men's past Conduct, and enquire how they have behaved themselves on such Occasions heretofore. If a Candidate for Parliament has ever set in the House before, the Electors ought to be satisfied how he attended, and how he voted, especially in all critical and important Questions, wherein Men more particularly distinguish themselves, either for Affection, Wisdom or Courage, or all of them. If they have misbehaved themselves upon such Trials, they ought not to be trusted any more, except a less obnoxious Person is not to be found.

If the Candidate has never been a Member before, the next certain Indication is, his Conduct in his Country on all publick Occasions. The Electors should examine what sort of Men he constantly favoured, what Party he has always joined; and for want of surer and closer Information, they may weigh him in their Standard, without Danger of committing any Error of Consequence; but if he has been unsteady in his Management, wavering in his

his Resolutions, and often changing Sides, it is then the Duty of the Elector to inform himself as well as he can of the true Reasons and Motives of his Inconstancy; and if he finds it not to proceed from any Consideration of the publick Good, he ought to hold him inexcusable. He may then be sure that it is want of Judgment, Levity of Temper, or private Interest, or particular Pique, or Affection, none of which are honest warrantable Excuses, except those which carry an Incapacity for such Service along with them. For there is no Corporation, how inconsiderable soever, so low or vile in their own Esteem, as to think Fool or Knave a Qualification to represent them.

There is yet another plain Characteristick by which not only the Leaders, but all the active Men of the Party, whom we ought at this Time to beware of, are most essentially distinguished, that is, Lying and Defamation. By Virtue of this single Quality has their Faction been propagated, and their Projects carried on: By these Arts have great Numbers of our bravest Gentlemen, and the Nation's best Friends, been aspersed, and rendered unpopular in most Parts of *England*, and many Thousands of simple credulous People bantered almost out of their Faith and Principles, to the endangering of our Church and Constitution. When therefore any of the Electors hear these Men lay about them with the tremendous Noise of Popery, and *French Gold*, those Bug-bear Words, which fright the poor silly Vulgar out of their Senses, they may prepare themselves to hear some egregious Lie without Proof or Author to defame, and blast the Credit of some honest Gentleman or other; but when in the modestest Fit they find it convenient to stick to Generals, and deal out Slander by Wholesale, even then it is not without some Glance of particular Direction and Application, by which those that hear them may be led into their Meaning and Purposes, and themselves left at Liberty to disown it, if repeated again to the Persons concerned, and refuted by them. This Sort of Profanation there is scarce any kind of Thing or Place so sacred as to have escaped; even the Pulpit itself has been prostituted to these unhallowed Practices, and God's House employed in the Service of the Devil. We have been told from the Place from whence we were wont to hear sacred Truths, *we must take Care at this juncture whom we chuse, and beware of a popishly affected Party; for such a Party there is, who clogged the Prosecution of the late War, and hung upon the Wheels of the Government; who would tear from the King oppressed Patriots, and true and faithful Ministers; and are now contending for Power, that they may, (as I believe) make a Present of us to a Foreign Tyranny.* These and the like Words have been heard from the Pulpit a little before an Election, out of the Mouth of one who had no Foundation of Truth for it, or other Authority than a dishonest Forwardness to gratify the Lusts, and to serve the Purposes of an obnoxious Patron. It were scarce worth the while to have taken Notice of this Practice in particular, were it not to prevent the spreading of so scandalous an Abuse, and the Contagion of so foul an Example, and to warn People, that they may sometimes be surpriz'd, unless they be very careful, from a Quarter whence they would least of all suspect it.

^b Sermon preached at *Cambridge* before the last Election, *October 1702.*

It may be just Matter of Wonder, that Practices so detestable, and so notorious, should yet meet with such Success, contrary to the true Interest and Meaning of the Generality of the People. But there were two Things which, besides their Confidence and Lying, were their main Support; first, a furious pretended Zeal for the Protestant Religion in indefinite Terms; and next, a singular and meritorious Affection for the Government: By these they recommended themselves to the People, the less discerning Part of whom took their Noise and Confidence for certain Demonstrations of their Heartiness and Integrity; but as they were indefinite in their Terms, so were they likewise in their Actions; for they took care only to shew that they were neither Papists, nor the true Church of *England* Men; whom, because they found them the most understanding Part of the Nation, they represented as equally dangerous: For the rest, they took care to avoid appearing particular to any one Sect, but in the whole, very well and kindly disposed towards them all; and tho' the Principles of many of them were as opposite to each other as Fire and Water, yet they were equally welcome to them, and caress'd by them at several Times, provided still they would oppose the Church of *England* upon all Occasions. All this while they went themselves to Church, and were as godly conformable Men, as the best that came there. Their Exceptions to the Liturgy and Church Service were slight, just enough to confirm to their Party, they did not heartily like them, and yet to support the Credit of their mercenary Instruments, the false Church-goers, that they were Lovers of the Church, tho' they were Men of Moderation. It had been much for the Reputation of their Moderation, if they had shewn themselves as cool in the Pursuit of Riches, Power and Honours, as they have done in the Interests of the Church of *England*.

But as the Protestant Religion and Moderation, are Terms that have been made Use of to seduce Numbers of People, and shake their Resolutions for, and Adherence to, the Church of *England*, it may be worth while to enquire, in a very few Words, what these Terms naturally import, and what has been the Abuse of them.

The Word *Protestant* signifies no more than a Protester, and was first appropriated to Religion after the Defection of *Luther* from the See of *Rome*, when the Followers of him and other Reformers entered into a solemn Protestation against divers of the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. The Name then included no more than those who had actually protested; but came in Time to be given indiscriminately to all those who embrac'd the Doctrines of the several Reformers in Opposition to the Church of *Rome*. But it has since been extended to all Sorts and Sects of Men that call themselves Christians, how opposite soever to one another in Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, if they did not communicate with the Church of *Rome*.

The chief, and perhaps the only distinguishing Marks upon which they assume the Denomination of Protestants are, *Denying of Transubstantiation, and rejecting the Supremacy of the Pope*. These give us only a negative Idea of the Word *Protestant*; nor has it any positive one, but that the Persons that lay

lay Claim to this Name do protest against these two Things; so that the *Jews, Mahometans* and *Pagans*, Men of any or no Religion, have a Title to the Name in the full Extent of it, *Papists* alone excepted. For tho' the first Beginners of that Name were undoubtedly Christians, yet the Name itself implies no Consent to any one Fundamental of the Christian Faith; and we have lived to see great Bodies of Men lay Claim to it, who would be hard put to it to prove their Title to Christianity. It is, therefore, a dangerous, and may be a fatal Error, equally to recommend and encourage all those that lay Claim to the Name, as if they were equally orthodox. The natural Consequence of such a Mistake is the Propagation of Heresies and Schism, which has too much disturbed the Christian Church, and sometimes shaken and overturned the Civil Government of this Nation. It therefore highly behoves all those who think themselves at present upon a Christian Bottom here, not to trust the Power of Representation to such Persons as are any Way to be suspected of Disaffection to our present Establishment, whether in Church or State, as they will answer to their own Consciences for any Misfortune that may befall either upon their contrary Conduct.

Moderation, which is the other Term, of which many People seem not to have a right Notion, deserves likewise to be considered. The Word imports no more than not to be violent or unreasonable in the Pursuit of any Thing whatsoever. As it is applied to Religion, it means only, that we should have a Christian Charity for our Brethren that dissent from us, how much soever we think them mistaken, and not to prosecute, with Rigour and Severities, simple Errors of Judgment, whatever is the natural Result of them, unless they tend to the Disturbance of our Peace and Security. Force is an Argument that never alters Men's Opinions, whatever it may do by their outward Profession; and those that are proselyted that Way through Fear, are made Hypocrites, not Converts: For this Reason it is, that Liberty in Point of Faith and Worship ought to be allowed; but they are mistaken that think Moderation requires any more. True Christian Zeal allows no more than Compassion for erroneous Consciences, and Indulgence in Matters purely spiritual, such as relate only to the Worship of God after their own Way. They that demand more, under Pretence of Moderation, are either ignorant of the Extent of the Word, or indifferent to the Profession which they outwardly make; or, which is worse, betray some evil Designs which they cover with that Pretence. For it is absurd to pretend a true Love and Zeal for any Faith, Discipline, or Worship, while we knowingly labour to put those into Power who wish the Destruction of them, or such as particularly favour those that do.

The History of the last threescore Years here in *England* sufficiently inform us how little we are to trust to the Mercy of any of our Protestant Dissenters, of whatsoever Denomination, whenever in Power; and how little Candour or Justice we are to expect, whenever they have but a Dawning of Hope to arrive at it. Those therefore, who have any true Love or Value for their Church, or Civil Constitution, ought to be very cautious that they be not
betrayed

betrayed, by a false Notion of Moderation, into such a Neglect as may in Time prove fatal to both.

The Moderation which some Men have recommended, has heretofore, in plain *English*, been called *Trimming*, by which is meant, professing for one Side, and acting for the other. This has been an Art in much Esteem and Reputation of late Days, and has kindled such Flames and Animosities among us, as are not, without great Care, to be quietly extinguish'd; and therefore it is hoped the People will be so careful in all future Choices, to elect such Persons as lie under no Suspicion, and will afford no Precedents, nor give any Authority to Ministers that may hereafter come to the Helm, by their Example, to play us a double Game, or put us into such a doubtful Condition as we have in former Times experienc'd.

By the Government they acted as they did by the Church, and while they bellow'd for the Government, laboured hard to overthrow our Constitution. In this Case also they kept themselves to indefinite Terms; they were (as they said) for the Government, and others, (if you will believe them) against it; yet they never thought fit to explain what they meant by the Government. The Government of *England* should be in the King, (when we had one) Lords, and Commons, and is now, God be thank'd, in the Queen, Lords, and Commons; but this is not the Sort of Government which they meant; for by themselves, or the Party they had espoused, they had at several Times endeavoured to baffle, and render insignificant every individual Branch of the Sovereignty of *England*: *First*, the King was a Chip in Porridge, and Prerogative was a Trifle and a Piece of Usurpation; next, the House of Lords was a presuming, arrogant, unnecessary Body; and *lastly*, the House of Commons (their Idol, while some of them had the leading of it) was an unreasonable, assuming, encroaching, tyrannical Assembly, that had no Sense or Honour, and neither were, or ought to be entrusted with any Powers. It is easy to guess where these Men would have lodged the Government, when they could not be content with any one, or all the three Estates. Any one of them that would have acted by them, would have been accepted and recommended by them; and this was their Meaning, when they represented many of our best Patriots as disaffected to the Government, by which, among themselves, they meant no more, than no Friends to their Ministry; but as they had upon their own Score very little Credit with the People, they found it necessary to embark the King on the same Bottom with themselves; and to persuade him, and by him a great many People, that his and their Interest stood and fell with them, and both that the Nation was ruin'd whenever they were out of Credit and Employment.

It pleased Providence, however, to render them so secure of the Success of their Projects, as to lavish and insult at such a Rate, as to open the Mouths of many, who saw before how Things went, whatever the Hazard of it was to themselves, and thereby to open the Eyes of many who had for some Time been lull'd into a false Security. They saw them resolve the Government purely into themselves and the King, and endeavour to baffle the
the

the Authority of the two other Estates: And they saw as plainly why they allow'd the King a Share; and that it was because that under the Shelter of him they could act what exorbitant Irregularities they pleas'd, and come off with a Pretence of extraordinary Affection for the Government, and Zeal for the Protestant Religion; the first of which they knowingly labour'd to subvert, the latter thro' Indifference and Imprudence.

Their main Cunning was shewn in this, that keeping themselves to their indefinite Terms of the Protestant Religion and the Government, they left every Man to understand them in his own Sense; and consequently to believe them of his Party: This, and the lavishing of Money very freely, engag'd to them a numerous Party, who, in Opposition to the established Church, being fond of their Patronage, and bold upon the Countenance and Favour of the Court, push'd hard for themselves, in Opposition to the Interest of the Nation.

They that would know who these were, may enquire, who opposed the Triennial Bill; who promoted a standing Army in the Time of Peace; who obstructed the taking of the publick Accounts; who were against enquiring into the Misapplication and Embezzlements of forfeited Estates and publick Money; who made and signed Treaties to the Dishonour of *England*, and to the Injury of her Allies; who were the Abettors of the Affronts that were put upon the late House of Commons, and the Injuries that were offered to the Rights of all the Commons of *England*; who they were that lately delivered up the Right of Impeachment, the great Bulwark of the common Liberties of *England*; who made great Estates for no Service to the Nation, out of small Places; and who pretended a great Love to the Government, while they were destroying the ancient Government of *England*.

Let them consider who did this, and what they got by it; how much they had to get, and did get, and how little they could lose, or do lose; how much they have pretended to, and how little they have done; and what Proofs they can make for themselves, of what they value themselves upon, if they would but speak plainly and honestly; and let them demand what they please of the Nation, when these Proofs are made out; but till these Things are made appear, and they answer what is objected against them, it behoves them to be silent, or at least very modest, lest they imprudently pull upon themselves those particular Proofs, which, if they be wise, they would avoid.

And since the Queen has declared War against *France*, in Confidence of the hearty Assistance of those very Men whom the late Ministry have so much misrepresented, and they have answered her with so much Alacrity, and with true Zeal manifested their hearty Affections to her, and the old *English* Constitution, 'tis to be hop'd, that no body can have the Impudence now to attempt to disturb the good Understanding between her and her People, or offer at those Misrepresentations which have been heretofore so much in Practice.

*A LIST of divers worthy good Patriots, who were
slander'd last Year in a scandalous Paper, call'd the
BLACK LIST.*

Of whom the Reader is desired to take this Notice,

THAT they are most of them Gentlemen of the best Account for Estates, Quality, and Principles, among the Commons of the whole Nation.

That they are true Sons of the Church of *England*, as by Law Established.

That they have been strenuous Asserters of the Liberties and Rights of the People.

That they were Promoters of the Triennial Bill, a great Security against the Corruption of Parliaments.

That they promoted to their utmost, a just Account to the Nation of the great Charges they have of late Years been at.

That they were for the enquiring into the Mis-application and Embezzlement of forfeited Estates, and publick Money.

That they were for calling to Account the Authors of Treaties, to the Dishonour of *England*, and its *Allies*.

That they were the Asserters of the Honour and Rights of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of *England*, in Opposition to the insolent Affronts and Injuries that were lately offer'd to both.

That they were the Persons, who, by their Courage and Prudence, preserv'd us from the Danger of a Standing-Army in Time of Peace.

That they were the Men who gave up those grievous Privileges which gave them Means of Exemption from paying their just Debts.

That they were the Persons who voted Supplies to the *Dutch*, above a Year before they were oblig'd to it by the Articles stipulated between *England* and the *States*.

That they were the Persons who promoted the Act of Limitation for the Security of a Protestant Succession, and of our Church and Civil Constitution.

That they defended the Right of the Commons of *England* in the Point of Impeachments.

That they have provided for the Deficiencies of the publick Funds, and the Payment of the publick Debts, and the Preservation of Parliamentary Credit.

That they have shew'd an extraordinary and singular Zeal and Affection for her Majesty's Person, Interest, and Government.

All which, (it is hop'd) are Recommendations to their Countrymen, whenever they shall have Occasion for their further Service.

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liz'd themselves in the Defence of the Rights of the Commons of *England*
in the Point of *Impeachments*.

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Divers other worthy Members concurring with these, had been comprehended in this List, had not their necessary Affairs detained them from being present at the Occasion of it.

The Presbyterians Plea: Setting forth their great Services done to the Church of England, and good Correspondence between them, from the Reign of King Charles I. to the present Time. Humbly address'd to the Right Honourable the P—s of England, with their dutiful Acknowledgments for their late Goodness towards them, in rejecting the Bill against Occasional Conformity. 1705.

My L—s,

TH E late extraordinary Marks of your Piety and Goodness towards us, with the Concurrence of the L—s S—l in rejecting the Bill of the House of Commons for *Preventing Occasional Conformity*, have put us upon these two main Considerations: *First*, Whether your L—ps flung out that Bill upon the Christian Principles of true Piety and Justice, with regard to the Purity of the Doctrine we profess, as being sound Members of the true Catholick and Apostolick Church? Or, *Secondly*, Whether it was the Effect of some temporal and worldly Consideration, in order to serve a Turn in this present Juncture, and to make use of us at this Time, with Intentions

to animadvert more severely upon us hereafter, when our Assistance may be thought less necessary, and the Success of this chargeable War shall so far answer your Hopes and Desires, that you shall think yourselves under a settled and permanent Security, not to be dangerously interrupted, either at Home, or from Abroad?

My L——s, we have thought ourselves under some Obligation to make some Enquiry into these two Points impartially, that we might take the more steady Resolutions of paying our just Acknowledgments (in some Measure) proportionable to the Benefit received, even with a due Regard to your L——s good Intentions.

In order to satisfy ourselves concerning the first Point we have taken into our Consideration (as being nearest at Hand) with how much Zeal the Bill against *Occasional Conformity* was promoted in the last Sessions, and how narrowly it then escaped being passed into an Act; we consider'd that the H—— of C——— being the great Representatives of the Nation, it seemed to be the universal Desire of the People that the Bill should pass; it came up to your L——ps House with a kind of *Judente Populo*, and the Queen herself, being not only profess'dly of the Church of *England*, as by Law established, and had given repeated Assurances of supporting that Church by all reasonable Methods that could be propos'd, but she seem'd very desirous and solicitous that the former Bill (at least) should have pass'd; yet notwithstanding all this (and more that might be said) they both miscarried in your House. It is certain, that your L——ps Goodness, in Concurrence with the Divine Providence, warded this dangerous Blow from us. But, My L——s, we must acknowledge ourselves struck with a kind of Admiration, when we consider'd how great a Majority of the L——s S——l joined with your good L——ps in our Preservation.

It is true, we ever look'd upon your L——ps and valued you as Persons indu'd with all the Qualifications becoming your great Characters. We know you to be eminently *pious, just, and honourable*; and in short, most worthy of the Honours you possess, and the high Places you fill: But give me leave to say, that *Learning*, especially in ecclesiastical and spiritual Matters, seems to be more particularly the Partage of the L——s the B——ps: They are the Persons appointed (as they say) by Divine Institution, to be our Spiritual Guides, they are our Spiritual Governors, they have their Cities and their strong Holds, they are fortify'd with strong Bulwarks and Ramparts, well garnish'd with Store of Ecclesiastical *Canons*, heavy charged with Ecclesiastical *Censures*, and *Penal Laws*; they have their inferior Officers, their Deans and Chapters, and many others too well known among us; they had long kept up their darling *persecuting Power*, and all these furnished, and preserv'd to them by Law.

Now, my L——s, it seems wonderful in our Eyes, how it should come to pass, that these very Lords, the Bishops, should voluntarily, and against the Sense of the whole Nation, dismantle their own Garrisons, throw down their own Bulwarks, and permit us, who had been look'd upon as their
 Enemies,

Enemies, and had been the chief Objects of their persecuting Power, to enter in among them (not to say upon them) by the same Breach which they themselves had made. This Amusement of ours was raised by so much the more, by how much they seemed to have acted contrary to the universal Sense and Practice of all Mankind; no Rule or Principle has been adher'd to with less Exception to it, than that of being *true to our own Interest*, whether in single Persons, or Societies, in Spiritual, or in Civil Affairs; and yet, my L——s, (if we may believe their own Friends) *after fourscore Millions given to preserve their Church, and one of the best Bills brought in to defend it*, that this Bill should be thrown out by the B——ps themselves, who were looked upon as its great Conservators, seems (as we said) to contradict the most natural, and, by Consequence, the most unquestionable Principle of Mankind.

For our own Parts, we shall make no Difficulty to assure your L——ps that we have been, and are, and shall be eternally *true to our own Interest*; and tho' we have sometimes remonstrated against Acts of *Conformity* and *Uniformity* in other Cases, yet no Society of Men are more *uniform* in maintaining this Principle than ourselves, whether we regard our temporal or our spiritual Concerns. What Interpretation then shall we make of so unprecedented, and unaccountable an Action? We have thought sometimes (upon this Occasion) that those great, pious, and learned Men, the L——s S——l, might be touched with a true Sense of our Merits, as well as of the Purity of our Doctrine, who are now admitted into their Communion: And indeed, my L——s, (speaking without Vanity) we may presume to say, that we are not altogether undeserving this Mark of Justice and Gratitude, which we hope your L——ps had in your Thoughts, when you twice cast out the Bill of Occasional Conformity.

Give us Leave therefore to remind your L——ps of some few remarkable Instances wherein we have been highly *serviceable* to the Church of *England*; we shall not go beyond the Memories of some now living, nor the Knowledge of any that has been never so little acquainted with our modern Histories: We shall therefore date our Services from the Beginning to the End of the Reign of King *Charles* the First.

It is well known, how that unfortunate Prince (being much influenced, as 'twas thought, by the Queen and the Priests which she had about her) became universally obnoxious to his People, upon the Pretence of his being (at least) *popishly affected*. The often suspending the penal Laws in Favour of Priests Convict, and other Favours shewn to Papists, encreased the Peoples Fears and Jealousies, together with their Animosities, till at last he was look'd upon to be a very *Papist* himself, and most of the L——ds S——l *popishly affected*: We beseech your L——ps to recollect with yourselves, *who or what Party* it was, that delivered your Church and the People from that most imminent Danger of (the worst of all Evils) Popery. Who they were that ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes, and the Loss of their dearest Blood, for your Security; and (in a Word,

when all other Means seemed either impracticable, or unsatisfactory) who they were that brought that unhappy Prince to the Scaffold, rather than suffer Popery to over-run the Protestant Church of *England*? We could remind the L——s the B——s also, of some of their own Predecessors who came much to the same End, upon the same Account; and lest there should remain any Relicks of Popery among them, to the Disturbance or Danger of the Church of *England*, who were they, my L——s, that turned their whole Order and Ordination out of House and Home (as we say) for the Preservation of the whole Body, which had not yet been tainted with that dangerous Infection of Popery.

We beseech your L——ps to remember also, whether during the Government of the Protector, Popery was not persecuted with more Violence than ever, and whether the Church of *England*, or the People, had any Manner of Apprehension of Popery during his whole Administration.

We acknowledge, my L——s, that we have since been much censured by some among ourselves, for being in those Days over officious in the Pursuit of your Security, and that Things were carried on with too much Violence, even to the last Extremity; it is true, these hard Censures grated a little upon us, especially from People who had reaped the Benefit of our Mis-carriages. But, my L——s, to make some Atonement for what might have been done before amiss, please to consider again, who it was that restored and settled his Son, King *Charles II.* upon the Throne! We must ever own, that (howsoever he treated his old Friends) he was ever grateful to us; we were put into Places of Trust, Honour, and Profit; and during our Administration of Affairs, we were so solicitous for the Establishment and Glory of the Church of *England*, that we permitted the good B——ps to be recalled and seated in their Places, and their Lands (which had been alineated, and bought by some of our own Party for valuable Considerations, tho' we were but in a Manner their Trustees) to be restored *gratis* to them.

These, my L——s, were our just and generous Proceedings in Relation to the Church of *England*, till at last, that very Church (forgetting the Obligation she had to us) their L——ps got so much Credit with that King, (which they used to our Destruction) that his Majesty turned us all out of his Favour and Employments, set the Church of *England* Party over our Heads, and at last (taking the Advantage by *Quo Warranto's* and Forfeiture of Charters) he had made such large Steps towards the new modelling the Government, that our Destruction seemed almost inevitable, when it pleased God to take him into another World. This, my L——s, is Matter of Fact, and truly known to you all.

Upon the Death of King *Charles II.* his only Brother, the Duke of *York*, known by many, and believed by all, to be a zealous Papist, yet, by the general Consent of the Church of *England*, as well as of ourselves, he was admitted, proclaimed, and crowned King of *England*, and anointed by the Hand of his Grace the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himself; all Things went prosperously with that Prince for the first Year of his Reign; your L——ps and
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the Parliament stuck close to him ; but his Majesty, having duly and well considered our former Behaviour and Defects, and being of a Principle averse to Persecution for Conscience Sake, in Matters purely spiritual, (which he had learnt from our Saviour himself and his Apostles) he demanded of his Parliament, (after a Manner a little more peremptory than usual) that the Penal Laws might be taken off, that Liberty of Conscience might be granted in a parliamentary Way ; and in order to facilitate this, his Majesty thought fit to put out his Royal Declaration in Favour of Liberty of Conscience, enjoining the Bishops to read, or cause it to be read, in their several Diocesses all over the Kingdom, that his People might know (as it were from his own Mouth) the Truth and Sincerity of his pious Intentions.

Your L——s remember very well, that the Bishops generally refused to read, or cause his Majesty's Declaration to be read, which was a Kind of *spiritual Rebellion* ; and that the Bishops incurred a *Premunire* for their Disobedience to their supreme Ordinary, and in a most particular Manner, *Head* of their Church, over all Things, and in all Cases, and over all Persons, Ecclesiastical as well as Temporal. Their L——ps could not, or ought not to be ignorant, that all Sovereign Powers have an undoubted Right and Authority within their own Dominions, to *command* or *restrain* whatsoever is not positively forbidden or commanded by the express Law of God. They might have consulted the learned *Grotius*, a Protestant, upon this Point, in his Treatise, *De Imperio summarum Potestatum circa Sacra*, where he declares positively for what has been already said, and gives many Examples, both of *Pagan* as well as *Christian* Emperors, who have, by their own Authority, and *de Jure*, commanded or forbidden Things in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which were not contrary to the express Law of God ; and this had been frequently done, as a Right inherent in the Pagan Emperors, even among their Christian Subjects ; so that their L——ps would have stood Self-condemned before all the World, if they had not found out (by their quick and exquisite Sense in such Cases) that this Declaration smelled rank of *Popery*.

Now it was, that the super-imminent Danger of *Popery* began to touch their L——ps ; *Popery* was in our Councils, *Popery* was in our Houses, *Popery* was a-top of our Houses, and a professed *Papist* at the Head over all. Several of the Bishops were summoned before the King and Council, and admonished of the *Premunire* they had incurred. They adhered to their Disobedience ; upon which they were informed, that they must give in *Bail*, or at least pass their Words, that they would submit to a Trial at Common Law, at the *King's-Bench Bar*. They refused ; upon which they were told, that by the Course of Law they would be committed to Prison, and earnestly desired not to bring Things to Extremity ; this is what they would be at, and accordingly some of them were sent to the *Tower*.

We all know, my L——s, how heinously this was taken, as the Effect of *Popery*, and its Design to destroy the Church of *England* ; the whole Body, generally speaking, repented this Act to the last Degree, and look'd upon it as an open Invasion upon their Church. The B——ps themselves managed the

the Order for their Imprisonment with all the aggravating Circumstances imaginable, the better to raise the Indignation of the People against Popery and a Popish King. They turned off their Servants, sold their Goods, took their last Farewell of their Friends, and made their last Wills and Testaments, as if they had gone directly to Martyrdom, in Defence of their Church, against the visible and violent Invasion of *Popery* upon the Nation.

Your L——ps must need know how active we were, (contrary to our own Interest, and the Gratitude we owed the King, who then, and afterwards, suffered for our Sakes) your L——ps, I say, must needs know how we cryed up the Zeal of the Bishop's for the Support of the Protestant Religion, how we clamoured against the Violence done to their sacred Order by a Popish King, and his Popish Council; how we animated our own Party, and encouraged yours, and at length, when their L——ps were brought to their Trials at the *King's-Bench Bar*, let it never be forgotten how our Party filled the *Palace-Yard*, and *Westminster-Hall* itself, how we made a Lane for the towering Bishops to come, as it were in Triumph, to their Trials, and how we ourselves, who had never as yet bowed the Knee to *Baal*, yet nevertheless, upon this Occasion, we fell all down upon our Stumps, and received the Blessing which their good L——ps generously gave us, when upon another Occasion we should as soon have received *holy Water* from the Hand of an *Idolatrous Papist*; so we stuck at nothing to secure the Church of *England* from this pressing Danger of Popery.

Soon after this, when their L——ps were at Liberty, and had gained this Point, but still wonderfully apprehensive of *Popery*, one of them, together with some of the L——s T——al, invited the P—— of O—— into *England*, to be their *Saviour* and *Protector* against *Popery*. This appears by his Highness's Declaration, which could not contain any Untruth. All this while we concurred with their L——ps, we never abandoned them, and were ourselves a Kind of a Guard to defend their *sacred* Persons, until at length (to pass by many material Circumstances) his Highness landed, the King retired, was made a Prisoner, and at last made his Escape into *France*.

Now it was that several of the Nobility and Clergy assembled at *Guildhall*, in the City of *London*, where our Party was most prevalent, and there solemnly invited the P—— of O—— to Town, in order to take the Protection of the Church and State upon himself. So zealous were their L——ps to prevent the great Danger of *Popery*, and to establish their own Security by our Assistance, that they did not so much as reflect that they invited a Prince to *protect* their Church, who was a reputed E——y to it, and a natural born *Dutchman*, and a S——t (tho' a P——ce) to a Commonw——th (always our most powerful R——al, and oftentimes our declared E——y) to defend our Liberties and Properties, and to advance the Honour, Wealth, Trade and Prosperity of a Nation which they always h——d.

We desire your L——ps to consider after what Manner we gave you this our considerable and seasonable Assistance, not as heretofore, by running into open Rebellion for your Sakes, we had been sufficiently snubbed for that by yourselves;

yourselves; but, my L——s, we only assisted you with our *Councils* and *Countenance*, we made you the immediate Instruments of your own Preservation, and resigned entirely up to you the Honour, as well as the Advantage, of so glorious an Action. I hope, my L——s, it will not be denied that this was a high Piece of Generosity, and well becoming the best of your Friends; and that you will not reproach us henceforward so grievously as you formerly have done, with the odious Crimes of *Sedition*, *Rebellion*, or *fighting against*, or *deposing* our lawful Kings, if we believe them guilty of *Male Administration*, and especially if we will think our Religion is in Danger.

We remember indeed, and were not a little surprized, to find some among yourselves declaring, and publishing, that you had given the most fatal Blow to your Church, that ever had fallen upon it since the Reformation, and your Establishment; (some have made much the same Reflections upon your late just Proceedings, in rejecting the Bill of occasional Conformity; but let that pass for the present) and that this was done by your backsliding and relinquishing your most glorious and distinguishing Principle of Loyalty, and indispensable Adherence to the next Heir in the right Line, whether Protestant or Papist, Jew or Pagan; you had declared that the Government of such a King was *de Jure Divino* supported by the Laws of God and Man; that his Person and Character, or Office, were not to be separated; that neither of them was to be violated, nor Violence committed against them, upon any Pretence or Cause whatsoever; you had confirmed this by publick Acts in the Case of King *Charles I.* upon the Restoration of his Son, and in Pursuance of this infallible and sound Doctrine, your Pulpits, almost all over the Nation, beat up the Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance; the Presses of *London* were almost totally employed upon the same Subject; your *Theban Legion* was set up, as a Light upon a Mountain, to guide and direct us in the true Way of Loyalty, they were well nigh ador'd as Martyrs and Confessors, in that they made no Resistance, tho' they had it in their Power, when themselves and their Religion also were both unjustly persecuted by Heathen Emperors; yet, my L——s, it must be confest, that immediately upon the Revolution, your Doctrine of Passive Obedience was turned into ridicule, your *Theban Legion* was kicked down Hill with Indignation and Contempt, and themselves look'd upon as Sots and Fools for not resisting the Violence of their lawful Emperors.

My L——s, we should not have touch'd upon this Sort, if we had not some Reason to believe that (by a kind of *Inuendo*) these Reflections are like to fall upon us, and our Party, as if we had given our Assistance and Countenance with no better Intent, than to make yourselves the Instruments of your own Destruction, and to bring so great a Scandal upon that very Church which we had so often endeavoured to preserve; and in short (to use a course Expression, but common Cant) that in Effect we had bubbled your good L——p's. God knows our Hearts, how any such Design was remote from our good Intentions.

But, my L——s, to clear this Point, and free ourselves from such an odious Aspersion, we could bring many parallel Cases and Examples, which
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would more than absolve us ; but we shall fix upon one, because it is an adjudging Case. The Monkey, my L—s, took by Force the Cat's Claw to pull a Chesnut out of the Fire, which, when done, was of no Benefit to Grimalkin, or the Puss ; the Cat brings her Action against the Monkey. The Question was, whether the Action was well laid ? And it was judged by the whole Body of the Law for the Plaintiff ; and that the Action was well laid, inasmuch as the Monkey entred *vi & armis* upon the Body of the Cat, by which she was mutilated in her Members, without any Prospect of Advantage ; but, my L—s, it was also then and there declared for Law, that if the Monkey by Persuasions, or any good Reasons, or Counsels, had prevailed upon the Cat voluntarily to have done the same Act, in order to oblige the Monkey, the Action had not been well laid ; and notwithstanding any Mischief suffered by the Plaintiff, the Defendant had been acquitted, and the Cat must have paid Costs and Charges ; we shall only mention one Case more, and the rather, because it was solemnly debated by the Doctors of both Faculties, I mean of the Canon and Civil Law. It was the Case of poor *Ophelia*. The Question was, she being found dead in a River, whether she was *felo de se*, and by Consequence ought to have a Christian Burial ; but the Case being, we suppose, as well known to your L——ps as to ourselves, we shall trouble you no farther with it.

Thus, my L—s, you see that we stand fully acquitted in the Judgment of the Law from that foul Aspersions, at least as far as parallel Cases can clear us.

And now, my L—s, give us leave to proceed to the glorious Reign of that invincible Monarch and Hero, K——W——, in which we shall give two such notable Instances of our Zeal and earnest Endeavours to preserve the Church of *England* from Popery, that the most malicious Tongues must withdraw themselves into their foul Mouths, except to publish our eternal Glory, and sincere Affections to your Church, established by Law.

Soon after our great K——W—— was crowned, his first publick Action, in relation to Ecclesiastical Affairs, was to establish our Brethren, the Kirk in *Scotland*, which now became the Church of *Scotland* established by Law, (a sure Mark that it is the true Church) as yours had been before of *England*. After this (well knowing our great Merits, both as to our Loyalty and the true Principles of our Religion) his late Majesty, K——W——, made it his Business to introduce us into his Court, into his Councils, and into his Parliament, till in a short Time we filled Court, Council, and Parliament.

About that Time it was, that the late K——James, not believing that he was legally abdicated, but had still a Right to recover his three Kingdoms, he made a Descent into *Ireland*, which he left much as he had done *England*. *Scotland* was soon up in Arms, and his Party began to look dangerous ; the dreadful Design of *La Hogue* came violently upon us. All which put the C—— of E—— into so great an Affright for fear of Popery, and
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an injured King entering upon us, that in order to secure themselves against so near and visible a Danger, they once more made their Application to us, now in great Esteem and Power. We received them, my L——s, with a tender and brotherly Affection, and being informed by themselves what was to be done for their Service, they all agreed, that nothing could prove more effectual for their Security, than to get an Act passed to exclude the said King *James*, and all his Popish Successors, and to settle the Crown upon the next Protestant Heir by Name, that the Danger of Popery might be removed quite out of their Sight. My L——s, we did not so much as boggle at it, but obtained an Act of Settlement *verbatim*, according to their Desires, and they now enjoy the Blessing of it.

The next great Instance of our Security for your Preservation (which indeed may be called the Crown of all the rest, being accompanied with extraordinary Circumstances) happened to fall out soon after the Death of the late King *J——s*; your L——ps knew very well (and the Nation was highly sensible of the Affront) how the *French* King, almost as soon as King *J——s* expired, took upon him, very arrogantly, to declare that young Gentleman King of *E——d*, whom he had acknowledged to have been the true P. of *W——s* during his Father's Life; and by Consequence the rightful H—— and K—— after his Decease. This, my L——s, gave occasion to so many Addresses, and, in short, brought in a great Measure this just War upon us, to revenge the Affront done to the whole Nation, and particularly to his late Majesty King *W——*.

This Accident, my L——s, alarmed the Church of *England* to the last Degree; for when they had considered that the *F——b* M——h was very powerful, and had now drawn the Succession of that vast Monarchy of *Spain* into the House of *Bourbon*, in the Person of his Grandson the Duke of *Anjou*, and that most probably they would both unite, to the Support of a Prince whom they had both owned and declared, and had actually made their Compliments accordingly; then it was, my L——s, that your Church was under no less Apprehensions of the Return of Popery, both as to the Nearness of the Approach, as its terrible Effects, than the dreadful pretended *Irish* Massacre, about the Time of the Revolution.

Well, My L——s, What did the Church of *England* do in this Extremity? Why truly she did as she oftentimes had done before; she made her Applications to us, her steady Friends, and in few Words she let us know, that nothing now could secure her, or at least prevent her Fears, but an Act of *Abjuration*; that is to say, that we should pass an Act to *renounce* and *abjure* the pretended *Prince of Wales* by Name, that God himself might now be brought in as a *Witness*, as well as a *Judge*, of our just Endeavours to preserve the true Catholick and Apostolick Church of *England* from the Invasion of Superstition and Idolatry. We must confess, my L——s, that this was a great *Trial*, and our Stomachs began a little to *grumble* upon the Point, for hitherto we had had little to do with *G—— Al——y*: But however, that nothing might be wanting on our Parts to oblige you, and assist you in your greatest

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Distress,

Distress, a Bill was brought in according to your Desires, and it pass both Houses with as much Expedition as most had ever pass before. But it so happened, that our invincible M——h lay at that very Instant upon his Death-bed, and could not possibly come to your House to give the Royal Assent. Your L——ps seem'd then to be in a very deplorable and desperate Condition, not knowing, or rather much fearing what might happen in the next S——on, upon the irreparable Loss of our Protector and Saviour.

Now, my L——s, who was it but *ourselves* that relieved *you* in this your last Extremity? It was *we ourselves* that prevailed with the expiring M——h, who (according to the Judgments of his Physicians) had scarce Time to look after his own e——nal S——tion, yet nevertheless we obtained of him, for your Sakes, to grant a Commission, and appoint Delegates to pass that very Bill into an Act, which accordingly was done; soon after which, that great M——h gave up the Ghost.

We should now finish, with his never too much lamented Death, this long Account, which, with Modesty and Truth, we have laid before your L——ps, of those signal Actions committed by us in Favour of the Church of *England*, and which we hope we may well call meritorious; but we beg your L——ps Patience for one Moment longer, that we may mind you of a very friendly and endearing Office which we performed from Time to Time, during the whole Reign of K—— W——, in which we scarce miss'd any Opportunity of serving you.

We found, my L——s, that the many Occasions which you had to consult with us, and ask our Assistance, began to be not only troublesome to you, but also suspected, and some of your weaker Brethren began to be jealous, and not a little sc——zed at the intimate Correspondence which they perceived had been carried on between you and us; to prevent therefore all Manner of Difficulties and Reproach which might have fallen upon you, and yet put ourselves in a better Posture to serve you, it is evident, my L——s, that out of pure Friendship to you, we promoted from Time to Time, during the whole Reign of K—— W——, the most addicted and devoted to our Interest and Religion, to all Places and Employments, both in Church and State, even from the highest to the lowest Degree, as far as it was in his M——y's Power to prefer them; and all this we did to the very Intent and Purpose, that they being intimately near and dear unto your L——ps in all Places, they might, as it were, by certain Pipes and Channels, convey your L——ps Commands to us, as the great Receptacles of Favour and Power, and after such a Manner, that few did, or could take Notice, much less Offence, at the strict Correspondence between us.

This, my L——s, is a high Strain of Courtesy and Goodness, which can hardly be paralleled; and we appeal to your L——ps, whether, upon her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, you did not observe Men of our Principles very numerous in your House, as well as in many other great Employments, generally throughout the whole Kingdom.

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We need not mind your L——ps after what Manner we have acted since her present M——y's happy Ac——on to the Th——ne, her own great Goodness towards us is a sufficient Evidence of the good Opinion she is pleased to conceive of us, and our sincere Affection towards the Church of *England*. We might offer many Instances to prove this Truth; but, my L——s, let this last Mark of our Integrity, and special Care for the Preservation of the Church of *England*, be *Instar Omnium*. Your L——ps are very sensible of the great Divisions and Schism in the Church of *England*, and their Animosities are grown to that Heighth, that they are in a fair Way to endanger the whole. Now, my L——s, what can be the Reason of our great Diligence and Practises, (for which some of us may be called to Account) but to procure a Majority of worthy Members to serve in this next Parliament, except it be to strike in, and join with that sound Part of the Church of *England*, according to her present Establishment, in Opposition to your high Fliers, your Non-Jurors, Jacobites and Papists? This is so evident, that we think it needs no Proof.

We shall not question your Opinions concerning the Purity of our Doctrine, since you have solemnly admitted us, or at least qualified us to enjoy any Manner of Employments whatsoever, among you; we shall therefore end our Enquiry into the first Consideration, which might serve also as a sufficient Answer to the second; yet, my L——s, we must once more crave Leave to speak one Word or two as to that Point, and we have done.

The Question is, *Whether your L——ps flung out the aforesaid Bills upon any worldly or temporal Design, in order to serve a present Turn, &c.* My L——s, we think ourselves obliged to purge you from any such mean Thoughts, either of yourselves or us. It is not that we make any great Doubt, whether your L——ps, for the publick Good, might not think fit to cast some fine specious *Lures* before us, in Hopes to bring us down, and then take us upon your Fist, and hood-wink us at Pleasure; but, my L——s, we have not accustomed ourselves to stoop to any imaginary Prey instead of the real one. Your L——ps know very well, or at least we have given you sufficient Reason to be persuaded, that we are ever true to our own Interest, and, of all other Societies, the least capable of being made a Property, or (in the vulgar Cant) to be made Bubbles to any one. From whence it must follow, in order to justify the Sincerity of your L——ps Proceedings, that if we had thought it our Interest to support the p——t G——ment in this present Juncture of Affairs, it is certain, my L——s, that if you had passed a hundred Bills against us, we should have stood by and supported the Government, from the immutable Reason of believing it our Interest so to do. On the other Side, if your L——ps had passed as many more Bills in our Favour, yet, if we should think it our Interest to decline our Assistance at any Time, we should no more bite at your Annuities, though you had enlarged them from three Lives to three hundred Lives, than we should voluntarily dash upon a Rock, or run our Vessel upon a Quicksand, in Hopes to have saved a poor miserable Life; and all this, my L——s, from

the most sacred, the most inviolable, and eternal Principle of being *true to our own Interest*.

But give us Leave also to tell your L——ps, that we are not altogether of so mercenary a Spirit, as to mind only our worldly Interest. No, no, my L——s, we have a more excellent and sublime Mark that we aim at, we have a more glorious Race to run, and a Prize set before us infinitely more precious to obtain; to which our worldly Concerns are chiefly subservient, and in the Pursuit whereof we never have, nor never (by God's Grace) shall faint or be discouraged. To be plain with you, my L——s, the great End we aim at is, the *E——ment* of our Apostolick Church in the Purity of the Doctrine which it professes; not after a precarious Manner, ever wanting to be bolstered up with Dispensations, Tolerations, and Bills of Occasional Conformity; but, my L——s, we hope to see it Triumphant, as it has been long Military, in this World, and all Glorious in the World to come.

Be not alarmed, my L——s, at this our frank Declaration, which you have sufficient Reason to believe is sincere. Nor need your L——ps be under any Apprehension or Consternation at the Steps we have made, and ever shall be making, towards the attaining this inestimable Treasure; the Glory of God, and our own Consciences, oblige us be indefatigable in the Pursuit; for, my Lords, you may depend upon us, that we will shew the same Favour and brotherly Charity towards the Church of *England*, as she has ever shewn to us; we will mete to you in the same Measure that you have meted unto us. Enlarge your Steps then towards us, as we have done towards you; let Peace and Righteousness kiss each other in this our Age; all Things seem depose to such a blessed Union, we are already in your Bosoms, and you are obliged to nurse us in it; you cannot shake us out. Be not guilty of a dangerous *Opinitretè* and impotent Obstinacy; we have *fought a good Fight*, and your L——ps have made a great and long Defence; hitherto you have well deserved the Title of Courageous; but, my L——s, to suffer yourselves to be taken by Storm, when you may have honourable Capitulation, is quite contrary to the Law of Arms, and you will be look'd upon as criminal Instruments of your own Misfortunes, rather than gallant Defenders of a Post which you came into by a Kind of In——on, and which you cannot much longer f——ly m——tain. As to any R——tion in Prejudice of the *Act of S——t——ent*, believe us, we fear it as little as yourselves.

Thus, my L——s, we have ended our Enquiry into the two aforesaid main Considerations, and upon the whole Matter, we have given the Cause entirely for yourselves; that is to say, that your rejecting these Bills of *Oc——nal Co——ty* was not the Effect of an effeminate Compassion, nor any little worldly Respect to serve a Turn, but that it proceeded from your Gratitude, Piety, and Justice towards God, and towards Man. Do not imagine, my L——s, we think ourselves dispensed with from the Obligation of paying you our profound Acknowledgments. No, my L——s, they are by so much the more enhanced, as you have fixed whatsoever Favour you intended

intended us, to the Pillar of Justice, which being eternal, we return your L——ps proportionably, our everlasting Thanks. We humbly beg Leave, in a more particular Manner, to salute the Right R——d and the R——d the L——s S——al, who gave their Votes for passing the fore-mentioned B——s, in the Words of St. *John* the Evangelist, dictated by the Holy Spirit to the Church of *Ephesus*, *Rev. ii. 5. Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first Works, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candlestick out of its Place, except thou repent.*

The Massacre of Glenco; being a true Narrative of the barbarous Murder of the Glenco-Men, in the Highlands of Scotland, by Way of military Execution, on the 13th of February, 1692. Containing the Commission under the Great Seal of Scotland, for making an Enquiry into that horrid Murder: The Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland upon it: The Report of the Commissioners upon the Enquiry, laid before the King and Parliament. And the Address of the Parliament to King WILLIAM, for Justice upon the Murderers: Faithfully extracted from the Records of Parliament, and published for undeceiving those who have been imposed upon by false Accounts. 1703.

S I R,

*I*N Answer to yours of the first of October, I herewith send you, from the Records of our Parliament, a true and authentick Account of the Massacre of Glenco, as you righteously call it. I wish this Matter could have been forgotten to Eternity; but since you say it is altogether needful for the Vindication of the Justice of our Country, against many false, slanderous Accounts that are daily given of that Business in England, I am willing you print what I now send you; and that you may be furnished to answer all Objections against the Truth of this Narrative, you may inform any Englishman of Quality, that is willing to be satisfied in the Matter, that the Report of the Commission, the Address of our Parliament, herewith sent you, and the Duplicates of the Lord Stair's Letters, are, or were at least, in the Scots Secretary's Office at London; or, if they should happen to be withdrawn from thence, they may inform themselves fully

fully in the Truth of this from Mr. Johnston, who was at that Time Secretary of State for Scotland, and had particular Directions from the late Queen Mary to push on this Enquiry, and search into the Bottom of that horrid Murder; for her Majesty was grieved at the Heart, that the Reputation of the King her Husband should have suffer'd so much by that Affair. I would not, however, that Mr. Johnston should know any thing of your Design to publish this; for tho' you know as well as I, that his Diligence to serve and obey the Queen in this Matter, was always judged here to be one of the chief Causes of our Nation's losing that able and honest Minister; yet he is so nice in Point of Honour, that he chused rather to be unjust to himself, and to lie under Imputations, than to give any Part of those Papers to be published, tho' frequently urged to it; because he said it would be undecent in him, that had once been his Majesty's Secretary, to do any such Thing; therefore, tho' you are carefully to conceal this Matter from him till it be published, yet as soon as it is, I must pray you, if you think it proper, to go and tell him that I beg his Pardon for making this Appeal to him without his Leave: And tho' I may suffer in his good Opinion by what I have done, yet, if this Publication may any ways oblige him to do himself, his late Master, and his Country further Justice, by telling what he knows more of the Matter, I shall be the easier under his Displeasure. I had almost forgot to notice, that the Duke of Athol, the Lord Chancellor, and Marquis of Annandale, all now at London, were Members of the Commission, who made the inclosed Report; and however scrupulous they may have been in Point of Honour, to communicate any Papers relating to this Matter, they cannot in Honour but own, that this History is authentick, if any of the English Nobility think fit to enquire at them about it; but you must be careful to let none of them know any thing of your Design to publish it, or which Way you have this Information; tho', if they should come to know it, I chuse rather to incur their Displeasure, by appealing to them, than to omit any thing that lies in my Power, to vindicate the Honour and Justice of our Country.

Edinburgh,
Nov. 1, 1703.

*Commission for the Trial of the Slaughter committed at Glenco, upon
the 13th Day of February, 1692.*

GUilielmus Dei Gr. Mag. Brit. &c. Omnibus probis hominibus, ad quos præsentes Literæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem. Quandoquidem nos considerantes, quod etiamsi nos, Anno Dom. 1693, per expressam Instructionem, potestatem concessimus, demortuo Gulielmo Duci de Hamilton, aliisque, pro examinando & inquirendo de cæde quorundam Cognominis de Macdonald aliorumque de Glenco, An. Dom. 1692, & de modo & de methodo Commissionis ejusdem. Nihilominus Inquisitio quæ tunc facta erat in prosecutione dictæ Instructionis defectiva erat, nosque etiam perpendentes, quod

quod Methodus Maxime efficax pro plena Informatione accipienda de veri^s Circumstantiis Rei antedictæ, erit Commissio in hunc effectum, cumque Nobis abunde satisfactum sit de facultatibus & aptitudine personarum Infra nominatarum in fines supra expressos: Sciatis igitur nos Nominasse & Constituisse tenoreque presentium nominare & constituere fidelissimos & dilectissimos Nostros Consanguineos & Consiliarios, Joannem Marchionem de Tweddale supremum nostrum Cancellarium, & Guliel. Comit. d'Anandale & fideles & dilectos Nostros Consiliarios Joannem Dominum Murray, Dom. Jacobum Stuart, Advocatum Nostrum, Adamum Cockburn de Ormiston nostrum Justitiarium Clericum, Magistrum Archib. Hope de Rankeiller, & Dom. Guliel. Hamilton de Whitelaw Senatores Nostri Collegii Justitiæ, Dom. Jacob. Ogilvy Sollicitatorem Nostrum & Adamum Drummond de Meggins (quorum quinque Numerus erit legitimus ac cum potestate iis Clericum suum eligendi) Commissionarios Nostros pro capienda precognitione & Inquisitionem faciendo de Cæde prædicta, per quos & quomodo, & per quam Colatam Authoritatem Commissa erat, atque in ordine ad detectionem ejusdem cum potestate dictis Commissionariis, requirendi omnia Warranta seu directiones quæ eatenus concessa fuere, atque etiam examinandi omnes personas, quæ in re antedicta Negotium habuere atque etiam Testes prout Necessarium invenietur, sive per eorum Juramenta, sive Declarationes, & tunc postea dicti Commissionarii Nobis transmittent Verum statum rei antedictæ una cum Probationibus & Testimoniis coram ipsis adducendis, uti post debitam & plenam Informationem, necessarias Directiones, eatenus Concedamus prout Nobis Congruum videbitur. In cujus Rei Testimonium, presentibus, Magnum Sigillum Nostrum appendi Mandavimus apud Aulam Nostram de Kensington, Vigesimo Nono die Mensis Aprilis, Anno Domini Milesimo Sexcentesimo Nonagesimo quinto, Annoque Regni Nostri Septimo.

Per Signaturam Manu. S. D. N. Regis Suprascriptam.

Written to the Great Seal and Reg. May 20, 1695.

DON. RANNALD, *Deputy.*

Sealed at Edinburgh, May 20, 1695.

JO. DICKSONE.

In English thus:

WILLIAM, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c. To all good Men to whom these Presents shall come, greeting. Whereas We have taken into Consideration, that tho' in the Year of our Lord 1693, We gave Power, by express Instructions, to William Duke of Hamilton deceased, and others, to examine and enquire into the Slaughter of certain People of the Name of

of Macdonald and others in Glenco, in the Year 1692, and into the Way and Manner how the same was committed; yet, nevertheless, the Enquiry then made, pursuant to the said Instructions, was defective; and considering likewise, that the most effectual Method for receiving full Information of the true Circumstances of the Matter aforesaid, must be by a Commission to that Effect; and being very well satisfied of the Abilities and Fitness of the Persons under-nam'd, for the Ends above express'd, know ye, therefore, that We have nam'd and constituted, and by the Tenor of these Presents do name and constitute, Our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, John Marquis of Tweddale, Our High Chancellor, and William Earl of Anandale, and Our trusty and beloved Councillors John Lord Murray, Sir James Stuart, Our Advocate, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Our Justice Clerk, Mr. Archibald Hope of Rankeiller, and Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw, Senators of our College of Justice, Sir James Ogilvy Our Solicitor, and Adam Drummond of Meggins (of whom five shall be a Quorum, and granting them Power to chuse their own Clerk) Our Commissioners, to take Precognition and make Enquiry into the Slaughter aforesaid, by whom, and how, and by what Colour of Authority, the same was committed: And in order to the Discovery of the same, We give Power to the said Commissioners to send for all Warrants and Directions, granted for that End; and likewise to examine all Persons, that had any Hand in the Business aforesaid, and likewise to examine Witnesses as shall be found necessary, either upon Oath or Declaration; and afterwards the same Commissioners shall transmit to Us the true State of the Matter aforesaid, together with the Proofs and Evidence that shall be brought before them; that, after due and full Information, We may give such Declarations thereupon, as to Us shall seem meet and necessary. In Testimony whereof, We have commanded Our Great Seal to be appended to these Presents.

Given at Our Court of Kensington, the 29th Day of April, 1695, and of Our Reign the Seventh.

Superscrib'd by the Signature of the Hand-writing of our most serene Lord the K I N G.

Written to the Great Seal, and registered the 20th Day of May, 1695.

DON. RANNALD, Deputy.

Sealed at Edinburgh, May 20. 1695.

JO. DICKSONE.

Upon the 23d of May, 1695, this Commission was read in Parliament, and the House voted, *nemine contradicente*, That his Majesty's High Commissioner transmit the humble Thanks of the Parliament to his Majesty, for ordering

ordering an Enquiry into that Matter, whereby the Honour and Justice of the Nation might be vindicated.

It being urged that the Commission should proceed with Diligence, as being a national Concern, and that the Discovery be made known to the House before its Adjournment. His Grace assur'd them, that he doubted not of his Majesty's giving Satisfaction to his Parliament in that Point, and that before they parted.

The Commissioners proceeded according to Order, and made the following Report :

Report of the Commission given by his Majesty, for enquiring into the Slaughter of the Men of GLENCO, subscribed at Halyrud-House, the 20th Day of June, 1693.

JOHN, Marquis of Tweddale, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland; William Earl of Anandale; John Lord Murray; Sir James Stuart, his Majesty's Advocate; Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk; Sir Archibald Hope, of Rankeiller, and Sir William Hamilton, of Whitelaw, two of the Senators of the College of Justice; Sir James Ogilvy, his Majesty's Solicitor, and Adam Drummond, of Meggins, Commissioners appointed by his Majesty, by his Commission under the Great Seal of the Date the 29th of April last, to make Enquiry, and to take Trial and Precognition about the Slaughter of several Persons of the Sirname of Mackdonald, and others, in Glenco, in the Year 1692, by whom, and in what Manner, and by what pretended Authority, the same was committed, with Power to call for all Warrants and Directions given in that Matter; as also to examine all Persons who had a Hand therein, with what Witnesses they should find necessary either upon Oath or Declaration, and to report to his Majesty the true State of the Matter; with the Evidence and Testimonies to be adduced before them, as the said Commission more amply bears. Having met and qualified themselves by taking the Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, conform to the Act of Parliament, with the Oath *de Fideli*, as in such Cases, did, according to the Power given to them, chuse Mr. Alexander Munro, of Beircroft, to be their Clerk; and he having also qualified himself as above, they proceeded into the said Enquiry, to call for all Warrants and Directions, with all such Persons, as Witnesses, that might give Light in the said Matter; and having considered the fore-said Warrants and Directions produced before them, and taken the Oaths and Depositions of the Witnesses under-named, they, with all Submission, lay the Report of the whole Discovery made by them before his Majesty, in the Order following: And, *first*, of some Things that preceded the said Slaughter. *Secondly*, Of the Matter of Fact, with the Proofs and Evidence taken, when, and in what Manner, the same was committed. *Thirdly*, Of the Warrants and Directions that either really were, or were pretended for

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the committing it. And, *lastly*, the Commissioners humble Opinion of the true State and Account of that whole Business.

The Things to be remarked preceding the said Slaughter were, That its certain the Lairds of *Glenco* and *Auchintriaten*, and their Followers, were in the Insurrection and Rebellion made by some of the Highland Clans, under the Command first of the Viscount of *Dundee*, and then of Major General *Buchan*, in the Years 1689 and 1690. This is acknowledged by all. But when the Earl of *Braidalbin* called the Heads of the Clans, and met with them in *Auchallader*, in July 1691, in order to a Cessation, the deceased *Alexander Macdonald*, of *Glenco*, was there with *Glengary*, Sir *John Maclene*, and others, and agreed to the Cessation, as it is also acknowledged: But the deceased *Glenco*'s two Sons, who were at that Time with their Father in the Town of *Auchallader*, depone that they heard that the Earl of *Braidalbin* did, at that Time, quarrel with the deceased *Glenco*, about some Cows that the Earl alleged were stolen from his Men by *Glenco*'s Men; and that tho' they were not present to hear the Words, yet their Father told them of the Challenge; and the two Sons, with *Ronald Macdonald*, Indweller in *Glenco*, and *Ronald Macdonald*, in *Innerriggin*, in *Glenco*, do all depone, That they heard the deceased *Glenco* say, that the Earl of *Braidalbin*, at the Meeting of *Auchallader*, threaten'd to do him a Mischief, and he feared a Mischief from no Man so much as from the Earl of *Braidalbin*, as their Depositions at the Letter A, in the Margin, bears. And *Alexander Macdonald*, second Son to the deceased *Glenco*, doth farther depone, That he hath often heard from his Father and others, that there had been in former Times Blood betwixt *Braidalbin*'s Family and their Clan, as his Deposition at the same Mark bears. And here the Commissioners cannot but take Notice of what hath occur'd to them in two Letters from Secretary *Stair*, to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, one of the first, and another of the third of *December*, 1691, wherein he expresses his Resentment from the marring of the Bargain that should have been betwixt the Earl of *Braidalbin* and the Highlanders, to a very great Height; charging some for their Despise against him, as if it had been the only Hinderance of that Settlement: Whence he goes on in his, of the third of *December*, to say, That since the Government cannot oblige them, it is obliged to ruin some of them to weaken and frighten the rest, and that the *Macdonalds* will fall in this Net. And, in effect, seems even from that Time, which was almost a Month before the expiring of the King's Indemnity, to project with Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, that some of them should be rooted out and destroy'd. His Majesty's Proclamation of Indemnity was published in *August*, 1691, offering a free Indemnity and Pardon to all the Highlanders who had been in Arms, upon their coming in and taking the Oath of Allegiance betwixt then and the first of *January* thereafter: And in Compliance with the Proclamation, the deceased *Glenco* goes about the End of *December*, 1691, to Colonel *Hill*, Governor of *Fort William*, at *Inverlochbie*, and desired the Colonel to minister to him the Oath of Allegiance, that he might have the King's Indemnity: But Colonel *Hill*, in his Deposition, marked with the Letter B, doth farther depone,

depone, That he hastened him away all he could, and gave him a Letter to *Ardkinlas* to receive him as a lost Sheep; and the Colonel produces *Ardkinlas's* Answer to that Letter, dated the ninth of *January*, 1691, bearing, that he had endeavoured to receive the great lost Sheep *Glenco*; and that *Glenco* had undertaken to bring in all his Friends and Followers, as the Privy-Council should order; and *Ardkinlas* farther writes, that he was sending to *Edinburgh*, that *Glenco*, tho' he had mistaken in coming to Colonel *Hill*, to take the Oath of Allegiance, might yet be welcome, and that thereafter the Colonel should take Care that *Glenco's* Friends and Followers may not suffer, till the King and Councils Pleasure be known, as the said Letter, marked on the Back with the Letter B, bears; and *Glenco's* two Sons, above-named, do depone in the same Manner, That their Father went about the End of *December* to Colonel *Hill*, to take the Oath of Allegiance; but finding his Mistake, and getting the Colonel's Letter to *Ardkinlas*, he hasted to *Inverary* as soon as he could, for the bad Way and Weather; and did not so much as go to his own House, in his Way to *Inverary*, tho' he past within Half a Mile of it, as both their Depositions at the Letter B bears: And *John Mackdonald*, the eldest Son, depones farther, at the same Mark, That his Father was taken in his Way, by Captain *Drummond*, at *Barkaldin*, and detained twenty-four Hours.

Sir *Colin Campbel*, of *Ardkinlas*, Sheriff-Depute of *Argyle*, depones, That the deceased *Glenco* came to *Inverary* about the Beginning of *January*, 1692, with a Letter from Colonel *Hill* to the Effect above-mentioned; and was three Days there before *Ardkinlas* could get thither, because of bad Weather; and that *Glenco* said to him, That he had not come sooner, because he was hinder'd by the Storm; and *Ardkinlas* farther depones, That when he declin'd to give the Oath of Allegiance to *Glenco*, because the last of *December*, the Time appointed for the taking of it, was past, *Glenco* begg'd with Tears that he might be admitted to take it, and promised to bring in all his People within a short Time to do the like; and if any of them refused, they should be imprisoned or sent to *Flanders*: Upon which *Ardkinlas* says, He did administer to him the Oath of Allegiance upon the sixth of *January*, 1692, and sent a Certificate thereof to *Edinburgh*, with Colonel *Hill's* Letter to *Colin Campbel*, Sheriff Clerk of *Argyle*, who was then at *Edinburgh*; and further wrote to the said *Colin*, that he should write back to him, whether *Glenco's* taking of the Oath was allow'd by the Council or not, as *Ardkinlas's* Deposition at the Letter B testifies; and the said *Colin*, Sheriff Clerk, depones, That the foresaid Letters, and the Certificate relating to *Glenco*, with some other Certificates relating to some other Persons, all upon one Paper, were sent in to him to *Edinburgh* by *Ardkinlas*; which Paper being produced upon Oath by Sir *Gilbert Elliot*, Clerk of the Secret Council, but rolled and scor'd, as to *Glenco's* Part, and his taking the Oath of Allegiance, yet the Commissioners found that it was not so delete or dashed, but that it may be read that *Glenco* did take the Oath of Allegiance at *Inverary* the sixth Day of *January*, 1692; and the said *Colin Campbel* depones

depones, That it came to his Hand fairly written, and not dash'd, and that with this Certificate he had the said Letter from *Ardkinlas* (with Colonel *Hill*'s above mentioned Letter to *Ardkinlas* inclosed) bearing how earnest *Glenco* was to take the Oath of Allegiance; and that he had taken it upon the sixth of *January*, but that *Ardkinlas* was doubtful if that the Council would receive it, and the Sheriff Clerk did produce before the Commissioners the foresaid Letter by Colonel *Hill* to *Ardkinlas*, dated at *Fort William* the 31st Day of *December*, 1691, and bearing that *Glenco* had been with him, but slipped some Days out of Ignorance, yet that it was good to bring in a lost Sheep at any Time, and would be an Advantage to render the King's Government easy; and with the said Sheriff Clerk, the Lord *Aberuchil*, Mr. *John Campbel*, Writer to the Signet, and Sir *Gilbert Elliot*, Clerk to the Council, do all declare that *Glenco*'s taking the Oath of Allegiance, with *Ardkinlas*'s foresaid Certificate, as to his Part of it, did come to *Edinburgh*, and was seen by them fairly written, and not scor'd or dashed; but that Sir *Gilbert*, and the other Clerk of the Council, refused to take it in, because done after the Day appointed by the Proclamation. Whereupon the said *Colin Campbel*, and Mr. *John Campbel*, went, as they depone, to the Lord *Aberuchil*, then a Privy-Councillor, and desired him to take the Advice of Privy-Councillors about it; and accordingly they affirm, that *Aberuchil* said he had spoke to several Privy-Councillors, and partly to the Lord *Stair*; and that it was their Opinion that the foresaid Certificate could not be received without a Warrant from the King; and that it would neither be safe to *Ardkinlas*, nor profitable to *Glenco*, to give in the Certificate to the Clerk of the Council; and this the Lord *Aberuchil* confirms by his Deposition, but doth not name therein the Lord *Stair*: And *Colin Campbel*, the Sheriff Clerk, does farther depone, That with the Knowledge of the Lord *Aberuchil*, Mr. *John Campbel*, and Mr. *David Moncrief*, Clerk to the Council, he did, by himself, or his Servant, score or delete the foresaid Certificate, as it now stands scored, as to *Glenco*'s taking the Oath of Allegiance; and that he gave it in so scored, or obliterate, to the said Mr. *David Moncrief*, Clerk of the Council, who took it in as it is now produced. But it doth not appear, by all these Depositions, that the Matter was brought to the Council-Board, that the Councils Pleasure might be known upon it, tho' it seems to have been intended by *Ardkinlas*, who both writ himself, and sent Colonel *Hill*'s Letter for to make *Glenco*'s Excuse, and desired expressly to know the Councils Pleasure.

After that *Glenco* had taken the Oath of Allegiance, as is said, he went Home to his own House, and, as his own two Sons, above-named, depone, He not only lived there for some Days quietly and securely, but called his People together, and told them he had taken the Oath of Allegiance, and made his Peace, and therefore desired and engaged them to live peaceably under King *William*'s Government, as the Depositions of the said two Sons, who were present, mark'd with the Letter E bears.

These

These Things having preceded the Slaughter, which happened not to be committed until the thirteenth of *February*, 1692, six Weeks after the deceased *Glenco* had taken the Oath of Allegiance at *Inverary*. The Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men was in this Manner, viz. *John* and *Alexander Macdonalds*, Sons to the deceased *Glenco*, depone, That *Glengary's* House being reduced, the Forces were called back to the South, and *Glenlyon*, a Captain of the Earl of *Argyle's* Regiment, with Lieutenant *Lindsay* and Ensign *Lindsay*, and six Score Soldiers, returned to *Glenco* about the first of *February*, 1692, where, at the Entry, the elder Brother *John* met them with about twenty Men, and demanded the Reason of their coming; and Lieutenant *Lindsay* shewed him his Orders for quartering there, under Colonel *Hill's* Hand, and gave Assurance that they were only come to Quarter; whereupon they were billeted in their Country, and had free Quarters, and kind Entertainment, living familiarly with the People until the thirteenth Day of *February*. And *Alexander* farther depones, That *Glenlyon*, being his Wife's Uncle, came almost every Day and took his Morning Drink at his House; and that the very Night before the Slaughter, *Glenlyon* did play at Cards in his own Quarters with both the Brothers. And *John* depones, That old *Glenco*, his Father, had invited *Glenlyon*, Lieutenant *Lindsay*, and Ensign *Lindsay*, to dine with him upon the very Day the Slaughter happened. But on the thirteenth Day of *February*, being *Saturday*, about four or five in the Morning, Lieutenant *Lindsay*, with a Party of the foresaid Soldiers, came to old *Glenco's* House, where, having called in a friendly Manner, and got in, they shot his Father dead with several Shots as he was rising out of his Bed; and the Mother having got up and put on her Cloaths, the Soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the Rings off her Fingers with their Teeth; as likewise they killed one Man more, and wounded another grievously at the same Place: And this Relation they say they had from their Mother; and is confirmed by the Deposition of *Archibald Macdonald*, Indweller in *Glenco*, who farther depones, that *Glenco* was shot behind his Back with two Shots, one through the Head, and the other through the Body, and two more were killed with him in that Place, and a third wounded and left for dead: And this he knows, because he came that same Day to *Glenco's* House, and saw his dead Body lying before the Door, with the other two that were killed, and spoke with the third that was wounded, whose Name was *Duncan Don*, who came there occasionally with Letters from the Brae of *Mar*.

The said *John Macdonald*, eldest Son to the deceas'd *Glenco*, depones, the same Morning that his Father was killed there came Soldiers to his House before Day, and called at his Window, which gave him the Alarm, and made him go to *Innerriggen*, where *Glenlyon* was quartered, and that he found *Glenlyon* and his Men preparing their Arms, which made the Deponent ask the Cause; but *Glenlyon* gave him only good Words, and said they were to march against some of *Glengaries* Men, and if there were ill intended, would not he have told *Sandy* and his Niece? Meaning the Deponent's Brother and his Wife; which made the Deponent go Home, and go again to his Bed, until his Servant, who hindered him to sleep, raised him; and
when

when he rose and went out, he perceived about twenty Men coming towards his House, with their Bayonets fix'd to their Muskets, whereupon he fled to the Hill, and having *Auchnaion*, a little Village in *Glenco*, in View, he heard the Shots wherewith *Auchinriaten*, and four more were killed; and that he heard also the Shots at *Innerriggen*, where *Glenlyon* had caused to kill nine more, as shall be hereafter declared; and this is confirmed by the concurring Deposition of *Alexander Macdonald* his Brother, whom a Servant waked out of Sleep, saying, it is no Time for you to be sleeping, when they are killing your Brother at the Door; which made *Alexander* to flee with his Brother to the Hill, where both of them heard the foresaid Shots at *Auchanaion* and *Innerriggin*: And the said *John*, *Alexander*, and *Archibald Macdonald*'s do all depone, that the same Morning there was one Serjeant *Barber*, and a Party at *Auchnaion*, and that *Auchinriaten* being there in his Brother's House, with eight more sitting about the Fire, the Soldiers discharged upon them about eighteen Shot, which killed *Auchinriaten* and four more; but the other four, whereof some were wounded, falling down as dead, Serjeant *Barber* laid hold on *Auchinriaten*'s Brother, one of the four, and asked him if he were alive? He answered, that he was, and that he desired to die without rather than within: *Barber* said, that for his Meat that he had eaten, he would do him the Favour to kill him without; but when the Man was brought out, and Soldiers brought up to shoot him, he having his Plaid loose flung it over their Faces, and so escaped; and the other three broke through the back of the House and escaped; and this Account the Deponents had from the Men that escaped. And at *Innerriggin*, where *Glenlyon* was quartered, the Soldiers took other nine Men and did bind them Hand and Foot, killed them one by one with Shot; and when *Glenlyon* inclined to save a young Man of about twenty Years of Age, one Captain *Drummond* came and asked how he came to be saved, in respect of the Orders that were given, and shot him dead; and another young Boy of about thirteen Years ran to *Glenlyon* to be saved, he was likewise shot dead, and in the same Town there was a Woman and a Boy about four of five Years of Age killed; and at *Auchnaion* there was also a Child missed, and nothing found of him but the Head. There were likewise several killed at other Places, whereof one was an old Man about eighty Years of Age: And all this the Deponents say they affirm, because they heard the Shot, saw the dead Bodies, and had an Account from the Women that were left; and *Ronald Macdonald*, Indweller in *Glenco*, farther depones, that he being living with his Father in a little Town of *Glenco*, some of *Glenlyon*'s Soldiers came to his Father's House, the said 13th Day of *February* in the Morning, and dragged his Father out of his Bed and knocked him down for dead at the Door; which the Deponent seeing, made his Escape, and his Father recovering after the Soldiers were gone, got into another House; but this House was shortly burnt, and his Father burnt in it; and the Deponent came there after, and gathered his Father's Bones and burned them. He also declares, that at *Auchnaion*, where *Auchinriaten* was killed, he saw the
Body

Body of *Auchinriaten* and three more cast out and covered with Dung: And another Witness of the same declares, that upon the same 13th of *February*, *Glenlyon* and Lieutenant *Lindsay*, and their Soldiers, did in the Morning before Day fall upon the People of *Glenco*, when they were secure in their Beds, and killed them; and he being at *Innerriggin* fled with the first, but heard Shots, and had two Brothers killed there, with three Men more and a Woman, who were all buried before he came back. And all these five Witnesses concur, that the aforesaid Slaughter was made by *Glenlyon* and his Soldiers, after they had been quartered, and lived peaceably and friendly with the *Glenco*-Men about thirteen Days, and that the Number of those whom they knew to be slain were about twenty-five, and that the Soldiers after the Slaughter did burn the Houses, Barns and Goods, and carried away a great Spoil of Horse, Nolt and Sheep, above a 1000. And *James Campbell*, Soldier in the Castle of *Stirling*, depones, that in *January*, 1692, he being then a Soldier in *Glenlyon's* Company, marched with the Company from *Inverlockie* to *Glenco*, where the Company was quartered, and very kindly entertained for the Space of fourteen Days, that he knew nothing of the Design of killing the *Glenco*-Men till the Morning that the Slaughter was committed, at which Time *Glenlyon* and Captain *Drummond's* Companies were drawn out in several Parties, and got Orders from *Glenlyon* and their other Officers to shoot and kill all the Countrymen they met with; and that the Deponent being one of the Party which was at the Town where *Glenlyon* had his Quarters, did see several Men drawn out of their Beds, and particularly he did see *Glenlyon's* own Landlord shot by his Order, and a young Boy of about twelve Years of Age, who endeavoured to save himself by taking hold of *Glenlyon*, offering to go any where with him if he would spare his Life, and was shot dead by Captain *Drummond's* Order; and the Deponent did see about eight Persons killed, and several Houses burnt, and Women flying to the Hills to save their Lives. And lastly, Sir *Colin Campbell* of *Aberuchil* depones, that after the Slaughter, *Glenlyon* told him that *Macdonald* of *Innerriggin* was killed with the rest of the *Glenco*-Men, with Col. *Hill's* Pass or Protection in his Pocket, which a Soldier brought and shewed to *Glenlyon*.

The Testimonies above set down being more than sufficient to prove a Deed so notoriously known, it is only to be remarked, that more Witnesses of the Actors themselves might have been found if *Glenlyon* and his Soldiers were not at present in *Flanders* with *Argyle's* Regiment; and it is farther added, that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, who seems by the Orders and Letters that shall be hereafter set down to have had the particular Charge of this Execution, did march the Night before the Slaughter, with about 400 Men, but the Weather falling to be very bad and severe, they were forced to stay by the Way, and did not get to *Glenco* against the next Morning, as had been concerted betwixt Major *Dunclason*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*; so that the Measures being broke, Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* and his Men came not to *Glenco*, till about eleven of the Clock after the Slaughter had been

been committed, which proved the Preservation and Safety of the Tribe of *Glenco*, since by this Means the far greater Part of them escaped, and then the Lieutenant Colonel being come to *Cannelochleven* appointed several Parties for several Posts, with Orders that they should take no Prisoners, but kill all the Men that came in their Way. Thereafter some of the Lieutenant Colonel's Men marched forward in the *Glen*, and met with Major *Duncaison's* Party, whereof a Part under *Glenlyon* had been sent by Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* to quarter there some Days before, and these Men told how they had killed *Glenco*, and about thirty-six of his Men that Morning, and that there remained nothing to be done by the Lieutenant Colonel and his Men, save that they burnt some Houses, and killed an old Man by the Lieutenant Colonel's Orders, and brought away the Spoil of the Country; and this in its several Parts is testified by *John Forbes*, Major in Colonel *Hill's* Regiment, *Francis Farquhar*, and *Gilbert Kennedy*, both Lieutenants in that Regiment, who were all of the Lieutenant Colonel's Party, as their Depositions more fully bear.

It may be also here noticed, that some Days after the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men was over, there came a Person from — *Campbel of Balcalden*, Chamberlain, *i. e.* Steward to the Earl of *Braidalbin*, to the deceased *Glenco's* Sons, and offered to them, if they would declare under their Hands, that the Earl of *Braidalbin* was free and clear of the said Slaughter, they might be assured of the Earl's Kindness for procuring their Remission and Restitution, as was plainly deponed before the Commissioners.

It remains now to give an Account of the Warrands, either given, or pretended to be given, for the committing of the foresaid Slaughter, for clearing whereof it is to be noticed, that the King having been pleased to offer by Proclamation an Indemnity to all the Highland Rebels, who shall come in, and except thereof by taking the Oath of Allegiance, before the first of *January*, 1692, after the Day was elaps'd, it was very proper to give Instructions how such of the Rebels as had refused his Majesty's Grace should be treated, and therefore his Majesty, by his Instructions of the Date of the 11th of *January*, 1692, directed to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, and super-signed, and counter-signed by himself, did indeed order and authorize Sir *Thomas* to march the Troops against the Rebels, who had not taken the Benefit of the Indemnity, and to destroy them by Fire and Sword, (which is the actual Stile of our Commissions against intercommuned Rebels;) but with this express Mitigation in the fourth Article, *viz.* that the Rebels may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give Terms and Quarters, but in this manner only, that Chieftains and Heritors, or Leaders, be Prisoners of War, their Lives only safe, and all other Things in Mercy, they taking the Oath of Allegiance; and the Community taking the Oath of Allegiance, and rendering their Arms, and submitting to the Government, are to have Quarters and Indemnity for their Lives and Fortunes, and to be protected from the Soldiers, as their principal Paper of Instructions produc'd by Sir *Thomas Livingston* bears.

After

After these Instructions there were additional ones given by his Majesty to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, upon the 16th of the said Month of *January*, super-signed and counter-signed by his Majesty, and the Date marked by Secretary *Stair*'s Hand, which bear Orders for giving of Passes, and for receiving the Submission of certain of the Rebels, wherein all to be noticed to the present Purpose is, that herein his Majesty doth judge it much better that those who took not the Benefit of the Indemnity in due Time, should be obliged to render upon Mercy, they still taking the Oath of Allegiance; and then it is added, if *Mackean* of *Glenco*, and that Tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper Vindication of the publick Justice to extirpate that Sect of Thieves; and of these additional Instructions, a Principal Duplicate was sent to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, and another to Colonel *Hill*, and were both produced, and these were all the Instructions given by the King in this Matter.

But Secretary *Stair*, who sent down these Instructions, as his Letters produced, written with his Hand to Sir *Thomas* of the same Date with them, testify, by a previous Letter of the Date of the 7th of the said Month of *January*, written and subscribed by him to Sir *Thomas*, says, "You know
" in general that these Troops posted at *Inverness* and *Inverlochbie*, will be
" ordered to take in the House of *Innervarie*, and to destroy entirely the
" Country of *Lochaber*, *Locheal*'s Lands, *Kippoch*'s, *Glengarie*'s and *Glenco*;" and then adds, "I assure you your Power shall be full enough, and I hope
" the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with Prisoners." And by another Letter of the 9th of the said Month of *January*, which is likewise before the Instructions, and written to Sir *Thomas* as the former, he hath this Expression: "That these, who remain of the Rebels, are not
" able to oppose, and their Chieftains being all Papists, it is well the Ven-
" geance falls there; for my Part, I could have wished the *Macdonalds* had
" not divided, and I am sorry that *Kippoch*, and *Mackean* of *Glenco* are
" safe:" And then afterwards, "We have an Account that *Locheal*,
" *Macnaughton*, *Appin*, and *Glenco* took the Benefit of the Indemnity at
" *Inverary*, and *Kippoch* and others at *Inverness*." But this Letter of the 11th of *January* sent with the first Instructions to Sir *Thomas* hath this Expression: "I have no great Kindness to *Kippoch* nor *Glenco*, and it is
" well that People are in Mercy, and then just now my Lord *Argyle* tells
" me, that *Glenco* hath not taken the Oath; at which I rejoice. It is a great
" Work of Charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable Sect, the worst
" of the Highlands." But in his Letter of the 16th of *January*, of the same Date with the additional Instructions, tho' he writes in the first Part of the Letter, "the King does not at all incline to receive any after the Diet, but on
" Mercy;" yet he thereafter adds, "but for a just Example of Vengeance,
" I intreat the thieving Tribe of *Glenco* may be rooted out to Purpose." And to confirm his by this Letter of the same Date, sent with the other principal Duplicate, and additional Instructions to Colonel *Hill*, after having written, "that such as render on Mercy might be saved;" he adds, "I

“ shall intreat you that, for a just Vengeance and publick Example, the
 “ Tribe of *Glenco* may be rooted out to Purpose; the Earls of *Argyle* and
 “ *Braidalbin* have promised that they shall have no Retreat in their Bounds,
 “ the Passes to *Ronoch* would be secured, and the Hazard certified to the
 “ Laird of *Weems* to reset them; in that Case *Argyle's* Detachment, with
 “ a Party that may be posted in the Island *Stalker*, must cut them off, and
 “ the People of *Appin* are none of the best.”

This last Letter, with the Instructions for Colonel *Hill*, was received by Major *Forbes* in his Name at *Edinburgh*; and the Major depones, that by the Allowance he had from the Colonel, he did unseal the Packet, and found therein the Letter and Instructions as above, which he sent forward to Colonel *Hill*; and that in the Beginning of *February*, 1692, being in his Way to *Fort-William*, he met some Companies of *Argyle's* Regiment at *Bellisheils*, and was surprized to understand that they were going to quarter in *Glenco*; but said nothing till he came to *Fort William*, where Colonel *Hill* told him, that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* had got Orders about the Affair of *Glenco*, and that therefore the Colonel had left it to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton's* Management, who, he apprehends, had concerted the Matter with Major *Duncaison*. And Colonel *Hill* depones, that he understood that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* and Major *Duncaison* got the Orders about the *Glenco-Men*, which were sent to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*; that for himself he liked not the Business, but was much grieved at it; that the King's Instructions of the 16th of *January*, 1692, with the Master of *Stair's* Letters of the same Date, were brought to him by Major *Forbes*, who had received them, and unsealed the Packet at *Edinburgh*, as these two Depositions do bear.

Yet the Execution and Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men* did not immediately take Effect; and thereafter, on the 30th of the said Month of *January*, the Master of *Stair* doth again write two Letters, one to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, which bears, “ I am glad that *Glenco* did not come in within
 “ the Time prefixed; I hope what is done there may be in Earnest, since the
 “ rest are not in a Condition to draw together to help; I think to harry (that
 “ is to drive) their Cattle, and burn their Houses, is but to render them
 “ desperate lawless Men to rob their Neighbours; but I believe you will be
 “ satisfied it were a great Advantage to the Nation, that the thieving Tribe
 “ were rooted out, and cut off; it must be quietly done, otherwise they
 “ will make shift for both their Men and their Cattle; *Argyle's* Detachment
 “ lies in *Litrickweel* to assist the Garrison to do all of a sudden.” And the other to Colonel *Hill*, which bears, “ Pray, when the Thing concerning
 “ *Glenco* is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the Men will shift
 “ you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to Purpose, to
 “ cut off that Nest of Robbers, who have fallen in the Mercy of the Law,
 “ now when there is Force and Opportunity, whereby the King's Justice
 “ will be as conspicuous and useful as his Clemency to others. I apprehend
 “ the Storm is so great, that for some Time you can do little, but so soon
 “ as

“ as possible I know you will be at Work, for these false People will do nothing but as they see you in a Condition to do with them.”

Sir *Thomas Livingston* having got the King's Instructions, with Secretary *Stair's* Letter of the sixteenth of *January*, and knowing by a Letter he had from the Master of *Stair*, of the Date of the seventh of *January*, 1692, that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* was to be the Man employed in the Execution of the *Glenco-Men*, in Pursuance of the Secretary's Letter, he writes to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* upon the twenty-third of the said Month of *January*, telling him, *That it was judg'd good News that Glenco had not taken the Oath of Allegiance within the Time prefixed; and that Secretary Stair, in his last Letter, had made mention of him; and then adds, For, Sir, here is a fair Occasion for you to shew, that your Garrison serves for some Use; and seeing that the Orders are so positive from Court to me, not to spare any of them that have not timely come in, as you may see by the Orders I send to your Colonel, I desire you would begin with Glenco, and spare nothing which belongs to him; but do not trouble the Government with Prisoners:* As this Letter produced by Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* bears.

And Sir *Thomas* being heard upon this Letter, declar'd, “ That at that Time he was immediately return'd from his Journey to *London*; and that he knew nothing of any Soldiers being quartered in *Glenco*, and only meant that he should be prosecuted as a Rebel standing out, by fair Hostility:” And in this Sense he made use of the same Words and Orders written to him by Secretary *Stair*. Thereafter Colonel *Hill* gives his Order to be directed to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, in these Terms: *Sir, You are, with 400 of my Regiment, and the 400 of my Lord Argyle's Regiment, under the Command of Major Duncason, to march strait to Glenco, and there put in due Execution the Orders you have received from the Commander in Chief. Given under my Hand at Fort-William, the twelfth Day of February, 1692.* And this Order is also produced by Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*.

Then, the same Day, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* wrote to Major *Duncason* in these Terms: “ Sir, Pursuant to the Commander in Chief and my Colonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the Service against the Rebels of *Glenco*, wherein you, with a Party of *Argyle's* Regiment, now under your Command, are to be concerned, you are therefore to order your Affairs so that you be at the several Posts assign'd you by seven of the Clock To-morrow Morning, being *Saturday*, and fall in Action with them; at which Time I will endeavour to be with the Party from this Place at the Post appointed them. It will be necessary that the Avenues minded by Lieutenant *Campbel*, on the South Side, be secured, that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are, that none be spared, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners.” And the Copy of this last Order is produced under Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton's* own Hand; and accordingly the Slaughter of *Glenco*, and his poor People, did ensue the next Morning, being the thirteenth of *February*, 1692, in the Manner narrated.

And, upon the whole Matter, it is the Opinion of the Commission ; *First*, That it was a great Wrong that *Glenco's* Case and Diligence, as to his taking the Oath of Allegiance, with *Ardkinlas's* Certificate of his taking the Oath of Allegiance on the sixth of *January*, 1692, and Colonel *Hill's* Letter to *Ardkinlas*, and *Ardkinlas's* Letter to *Colin Campbel*, Sheriff-Clerk, for clearing *Glenco's* Diligence and Innocence, were not presented to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, when they were sent into *Edinburgh* in the said Month of *January*; and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious Design against *Glenco*; and that it was a farther Wrong, that the Certificate, as to *Glenco's* taking the Oath of Allegiance, was delete and obliterate after it came to *Edinburgh*; and that being so obliterate, it should neither have been presented to, or taken in by, the Clerk of the Council, without an express Warrant from the Council. *Secondly*, That it appears to have been known at *London*, and particularly to the Master of *Stair*, in the Month of *January*, 1692, that *Glenco* had taken the Oath of Allegiance, tho' after the Day prefix'd; for he saith, in his Letter of the thirtieth of *January*, to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, as is above remarked, *I am glad that Glenco came not in within the Time prescribed.* *Thirdly*, That there was nothing in the King's Instructions to warrant the committing of the foresaid Slaughter, even as to the Thing itself, and far less as to the Manner of it, seeing all his Instructions do plainly import, that the most obstinate of the Rebels might be receiv'd into Mercy upon taking the Oath of Allegiance, tho' the Day was long before elapsed, and that he ordered nothing concerning *Glenco* and his Tribe, but that if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be a proper Vindication of the publick Justice to extirpate that Sect of Thieves, which plainly intimates, that it was his Majesty's Mind that they could not be separated from the rest of these Rebels, unless they still refused his Mercy, by continuing in Arms, and refusing the Allegiance; and that even in that Case they were only to be proceeded against in the Way of publick Justice, and no other Way. *Fourthly*, That Secretary *Stair's* Letters, especially that of the eleventh of *January*, 1692, in which he rejoices to hear that *Glenco* had not taken the Oath; and that of the sixteenth of *January*, of the same Date with the King's additional Instructions, and that of the thirtieth of the same Month were no Ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the King's aforesaid Instructions; since the said Letters, without any Insinuation of any Method to be taken that might well separate the *Glenco-Men* from the rest, did, in Place of prescribing a Vindication of public Justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that suddenly, and secretly, and quietly, and all on a sudden; which are the express Terms of the said Letters; and comparing them and the other Letters with what ensued, appear to have been the only Warrant and Cause of their Slaughter, which in Effect was a barbarous Murder, perpetrated by the Persons deposed against: And this is yet farther confirm'd by two more of his Letters, written

written to Colonel *Hill*, after the Slaughter committed, viz. on the fifth of *March*, 1692, wherein, after having said that there was much Talk at *London*, that the *Glenco*-Men were murdered in their Beds, after they had taken the Allegiance; he continues, "For the last I know nothing of it; I am sure neither you, nor any Body impowered to treat or give Indemnity, did give *Glenco* the Oath; and to take it from any Body else, after the Diet elapsed, did import nothing at all; all that I regret is, that any of the Sort got away, and there is a Necessity to prosecute them to the utmost." And an another from the *Hague*, the last of *April*, 1692, wherein he says, "For the People of *Glenco*, when you do your Duty in a Thing so necessary, to rid the Country of Thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the Pains to vindicate yourself by shewing all your Orders, which are now put in the *Paris* Gazette; when you do Right, you need fear no-body." All that can be said is, that in the Execution, it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been. And this is their humble Opinion the Commissioners with all Submission return and lay before his Majesty, in Discharge of the foresaid Commission.

Sic Subscribitur, *Tweddale*, *Anandale* (now Marquis of *Anandale*, and President of the Privy Council.) *Murray*, (now Duke of *Athol*, and Lord Privy-Seal.) *James Stuart*, (her Majesty's Advocate.) *Adam Cockburn*, (late Lord Treasurer Deput.) *W. Hamilton*, (Lord *Whitelaw*, one of the Lords of the Session.) *Ja. Ogilvie*, (now Earl of *Seafeld*, and Lord High Chancellor.) *A. Drummond*.

The Report being agreed on, and sign'd by the Commissioners, several Members moved in Parliament on the 24th of *June*, that the said Report should be laid before the House.

Upon which his Majesty's High Commissioner acquainted the Parliament, That the Report of the Commission, for enquiring into the Business of *Glenco*, being sent to his Majesty on *Thursday* last, he would lay the same before them, with the Depositions of the Witnesses, and other Documents relating thereto, for their Satisfaction and full Information; and if they thought fit to make any other Use of it, he made no doubt it would be with that Deference and Submission to his Majesty's Judgment that becometh so loyal and zealous a Parliament, in Vindication of the Justice and Honour of his Majesty's Government.

Then the Report from the Commission, for enquiring into the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men, was read, with the Depositions of the Witnesses, the King's Instructions, and the Master of *Stair*'s Letters for instructing the said Report.

After hearing the said Report, it was voted, *Nemine contradicente*, That his Majesty's Instructions of the eleventh and sixteenth Days of *January*, 1692, touching the Highland Rebels, who did not accept, in due Time, of the Benefit of his Indemnity, did contain a Warrant for Mercy to all, without Exception, who should take the Oath of Allegiance, and come in upon Mercy, tho' the first Day of *January*, 1692, prefix'd by the Proclamation

mation of Indemnity, was past; and that therefore these Instructions contained no Warrant for the Execution of the *Glenco-Men*, made in *February* thereafter. Then the Question was stated and voted, If the Execution of the *Glenco-Men* in *February*, 1692, as it is represented to the Parliament, be a Murder or not? and carried in the Affirmative.

Moved, That since the Parliament has found it a Murder, that it may be inquired into, who were the Occasion of it, and the Persons guilty and Committers of it, and in what Way and Manner they should be prosecuted. And after some Debate thereon, the Method of the said Prosecution was delayed, and resolved, That this House will again take the same under Consideration first on *Monday* next: And the Master of *Stair's* Letters were ordered to be put in the Clerk's Hands, and any Members of Parliament allowed an Inspection thereof.

June 26, 1695. The Inquiry into the Persons who were the Occasion of the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men* was again proponed, and mentioned, that before any farther Procedure in that Affair, there may be an Address sent to his Majesty on what is already past: And after some Debate thereon, the Question stated, Proceed farther in the Inquiry before addressing his Majesty, or address upon what is already past without any farther Procedure? And carried, Proceed farther before Address.

Thereafter the Question stated and voted, If they should first proceed to consider the Master of *Stair's* Letters, or the Actors of the Murder of the *Glenco-Men*? And carried, First to consider the Master of *Stair's* Letters.

Then the Master of *Stair's* Letters, with the King's Instructions to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, and Col. *Hill*, and the fourth Article of the Opinion of the Commission relating to the Master of *Stair's* Letters, do exceed the King's Commission, towards the killing and destroying the *Glenco-Men* or not? and carried in the Affirmative.

June 28, 1695. The President of Parliament represented, That there was a Print dispersed, intituled, *Information for the Master of Stair*, reflecting upon the Commission for inquiring into the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men*, and arraigning a Vote of Parliament: And therefore moved, That it may be inquired, who was the Author of it, and that both he and the said Print may be censured. Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple*, Brother to the Master of *Stair*, a Member of Parliament, acknowledged himself to be the Author, and gave an Account of his Mistakes; protesting that he therein intended no Reflection on the Commission, and that the Paper was written before the Vote past in Parliament, tho' printed and spread thereafter.

Resolved, That first the Author, and then the Print, be censured. And Mr. *Hugh* was ordered to ask his Grace and the Parliament Pardon; which he did, again declaring, that what was offensive in that Paper had happened through Mistake.

Thereafter agreed, that the said Print was false and calumnious. And the Question being stated, If the Print spread abroad amongst the Members of Parliament,

Parliament, intituled, *Information for the Master of Stair*, ought to be condemned as false and calumnious, and therefore burnt, or only that the Print should be so marked in the Minutes of Parliament; it carried, that the Print should be marked in the Minutes of Parliament to be false and calumnious.

Then the Parliament proceeded farther in the Inquiry of the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men*. And in the first Place, as to the Orders given by Sir *Thomas Livingston*, in two of his Letters directed to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*: And the said Letters being read, after Debate thereon, it was put to the Vote, Proceed or delay, and carried Proceed.

Then the Question was stated, Whether Sir *Thomas Livingston* had Reason to give such Orders as were contained in these Letters or not, and was carried in the Affirmative, *Nemine contradicente*.

July 8, 1695. The Parliament having resumed the Inquiry into the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men*, and who were the Actors; and in the first Place about Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, and that Part of the Report of the Commission relating to him, and the Orders he got, and the Orders he said he gave, with the Depositions taken before the said Commission; and after some Debate thereon, the Question was stated and put to the Vote, If from what appears to the Parliament, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* be free from the Murder of the *Glenco-Men*; and whether there be Ground to prosecute him for the same or not? and carried, He was not clear, and that there was Ground to prosecute him.

Then the Question was stated and voted as to Major *Dunclason*, at present in *Flanders*, If the King should be addressed, either to cause him to be examined there about the Orders he received, and his Knowledge of that Matter; or that he be ordered Home to be prosecuted therefore, as his Majesty shall think fit, or no? and carried in the Affirmative.

Then that Part of the Report of the Commission, as to *Glenlyon*, Captain *Drummond*, Lieutenant or Adjutant *Lindsay*, Ensign *Lundy*, and Serjeant *Barber*, read with the Depositions of the Witnesses against them; and the Question stated and voted, If it appeared that the said Persons were the Actors of the Murder of the *Glenco-Men* under Trust; and that his Majesty be addressed to send them Home to be prosecuted for the same according to Law, or not? and carried in the Affirmative.

Thereafter voted, If it should be remitted to the Committee for the Security of the Kingdom to draw this Address, or a new Committee elected for drawing thereof? and carried Remit.

The Report from the Committee for Security of the Kingdom, in Favour of the *Glenco-Men*, read, and remitted to the said Committee, That there be a particular Recommendation of the Petitioner's Case to his Majesty brought in by the said Committee.

July 10, 1695. The Address about the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men* to be sent to the King, read, with several of the Master of *Stair*'s Letters to Sir *Thomas Livingston* and Colonel *Hill*; and after some Debate upon the Paragraph touching the Master of *Stair*, it was voted, Approve the Paragraph

graph as brought in from the Committee, or as offered with Amendments? it carried, Approve as brought in from the Committee. Thereafter the whole Address was put to the Vote, and approved as follows.

The Address of the Noblemen, Barons, and Boroughs in Parliament, humbly presented to his most sacred Majesty upon the Discovery communicated to them, touching the Murder of the Glenco-Men, in February, 1692.

“ **W**E your Majesty’s most loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Noblemen,
 “ Barons, and Boroughs assembled in Parliament, do humbly
 “ represent to your Majesty, that in the Beginning of this Session, we
 “ thought it our Duty, for the more solemn and publick Vindication of the
 “ Honour and Justice of the Government, to enquire into the barbarous
 “ Slaughter committed in *Glenco*, *February*, 1692; which has made so much
 “ Noise both in this Kingdom, and your Majesty’s other Dominions; but
 “ we being informed by your Majesty’s Commissioner, that we were pre-
 “ vented in this Matter by a Commission under the Great Seal for the same
 “ Purpose, we did, upon the reading of the said Commission, unanimously
 “ acquiesce to your Majesty’s Pleasure, and returned our humble
 “ Acknowledgments for your Royal Care in granting the same; and we
 “ only desired that the Discoveries to be made should be communicated to
 “ us, to the End, that we might add our Zeal to your Majesty’s for
 “ prosecuting such Discoveries, and that in so National a Concern, the
 “ Vindication might be also publick as the Reproach and Scandal had been;
 “ and principally that we, for whom it was most proper, might testify to
 “ the World how clear your Majesty’s Justice is in all this Matter.

“ And now your Majesty’s Commissioner, upon our repeated Instances,
 “ communicated to us a Copy of the Report transmitted by the Commission
 “ to your Majesty, with your Majesty’s Instructions, the Master of *Stair*’s
 “ Letter, the Orders given by the Officers, and the Deposition, of the
 “ Witnesses relating to that Report; and the same being read and compared,
 “ we could not but unanimously declare, that your Majesty’s Instructions of
 “ the 7th and 16th of *January*, 1692, touching the Highlanders who had
 “ not accepted in due Time the Benefit of the Indemnity, did contain a
 “ Warrant for Mercy to all without Exception, who should offer to take
 “ the Oath of Allegiance, and come in upon Mercy, tho’ the first of
 “ *January*, 1692, prefixed by the Proclamation of Indemnity, was past; and
 “ that these Instructions contain no Warrant for the Execution of the
 “ *Glenco-Men*, made in *February* thereafter. And here we cannot but
 “ acknowledge your Majesty’s signal Clemency upon this Occasion, as well
 “ as in the whole Tract of your Government over us; for had your Majesty,
 “ without new Offers of Mercy, given positive Orders for the executing the
 “ Law

“ Law upon the Highlanders, that had already despised your repeated
 “ Indemnities, they had but met with what they justly deserved.
 “ But it being your Majesty’s Mind, according to your usual Clemency,
 “ still to offer them Mercy, and the killing of the *Glenco-Men* being upon
 “ that Account unwarrantable, as well as the Manner of doing it being
 “ barbarous and inhuman, we proceeded to vote the killing of them a
 “ Murder, and to enquire who had given Occasion to it, and were the
 “ Actors in it.

“ We found in the first Place that the Master of *Stair’s* Letters had
 “ exceeded your Majesty’s Instructions towards the killing and Destruction
 “ of the *Glenco-Men*; this appeared by the comparing the Instructions and
 “ Letters, whereof the just attested Duplicates are herewith transmitted; in
 “ which Letters the *Glenco-Men* are over and again distinguished from the
 “ rest of the Highlanders, not as the fittest Subject of Severity, in Case
 “ they continue obstinate, and made Severity necessary according to the
 “ Meaning of the Instructions; but as Men absolutely and positively ordered
 “ to be destroyed, without any further Consideration than that of their not
 “ having taken the Indemnity in due Time; and their not having taken it
 “ is valued as a happy Incident, since it afforded an Opportunity to destroy
 “ them; and the destroying of them is urged with a great deal of Zeal, as
 “ a Thing acceptable, and of publick Use; and this Zeal is extended, even
 “ to the giving of Directions about the Manner of cutting them off. From
 “ all which it is plain, that tho’ the Instructions be for Mercy to assist all
 “ that will submit, tho’ the Day of Indemnity was elapsed, yet the Letters
 “ do exclude the *Glenco-Men* from this Mercy.

“ In the next Place, we examined the Orders given by Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Livingston* in this Matter, and were unanimously of Opinion, that he had
 “ Reason to give such Orders for cutting off the *Glenco-Men*, upon the
 “ Supposition that they had rejected the Indemnity, and without making
 “ them new Offers of Mercy, being a Thing in itself lawful, which your
 “ Majesty might have ordered; but it appearing, that Sir *Thomas* was then
 “ ignorant of the peculiar Circumstances of the *Glenco-Men*, he might very
 “ well understand your Majesty’s Instructions in the restricted Sense, which
 “ the Master of *Stair’s* Letters had given them, or understand the Master of
 “ *Stair’s* Letters to be your Majesty’s additional Pleasure, as it is evident he
 “ did, by the Orders which he gave, where any Addition that is to be found
 “ in them to your Majesty’s Instructions is given, not only in the Master of
 “ *Stair’s* Sense, but in his Words.

“ We proceeded to examine Colonel *Hill’s* Part of the Business, and were
 “ unanimous that he was clear and free of the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men*;
 “ for tho’ your Majesty’s Instructions and the Master of *Stair’s* Letters
 “ were sent straight from *London* to him, as well as to Sir *Thomas Livingston*,
 “ yet he, knowing the peculiar Circumstances of the *Glenco-Men*, shunned to
 “ execute them, and gave no Orders in the Matter, till such Time as
 “ knowing that his Lieutenant-Colonel had received Orders to take with him

“ 400 Men of his Garrison and Regiment; he, who to save his own
 “ Honour and Authority, gave a general Order to *Hamilton*, his
 “ Lieutenant-Colonel, to take the 400 Men, and to put to due Execution
 “ the Orders which others had given him.

“ Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton's* Part came next to be considered, and
 “ he being required to be present, and called, and not appearing, we ordered
 “ him to be denounced, and to be seized on wherever he could be found;
 “ and having considered the Orders that he received, and the Orders which
 “ he said before the Commission he gave, and his Share in the Execution,
 “ we agreed, that from what appeared, he was not clear of the Murder of
 “ the *Glenco-Men*, and that there was Ground to prosecute him for it.

“ Major *Duncanson*, who received Orders from *Hamilton*, being in *Flanders*,
 “ as well as those to whom he gave Orders, we could not see these Orders,
 “ and therefore we only resolved about him, that we should address
 “ your Majesty, either to cause him to be examined there in *Flanders* about
 “ the Orders he received, and his Knowledge of that Affair, or to order
 “ him Home to be prosecuted therefore, as your Majesty shall think fit.

“ In the last Place, the Depositions of the Witnesses being clear, as to the
 “ Share which Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, Captain *Drummond*, Lieutenant
 “ *Lindsay*, Ensign *Lundie*, and Serjeant *Barber* had in the Execution of the
 “ *Glenco-Men*, upon whom they were quartered; we agreed, that it appeared
 “ that the said Persons were the Actors in the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men*
 “ under trust, and that we should address your Majesty to send them
 “ Home to be prosecuted for the same according to Law.

“ This being the State of that whole Matter as it lies before us, and
 “ which, together with the Report transmitted to your Majesty by the Com-
 “ missioner, (and which we saw verified) gives full Light to it. We humbly
 “ beg, that considering that the Master of *Stair's* Excess in his Letters
 “ against the *Glenco-Men* has been the original Cause of this unhappy
 “ Business, and hath given Occasion in a great Measure to so extraordinary
 “ an Execution, by the warm Directions he gives about doing it by Way of
 “ Surprise, and considering the high Station and Trust he is in, and that
 “ he is absent, we do therefore beg that your Majesty will give such
 “ Orders about him, for Vindication of your Government, as you in your
 “ Royal Wisdom shall think fit.

“ And likewise considering that the Actors have barbarously killed Men
 “ under Trust, we humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to send the
 “ Actors Home, and to give Orders to your Advocate to prosecute them
 “ according to Law; there remaining nothing else to be done for the full
 “ Vindication of your Government of so foul and scandalous an Aspersion,
 “ as it has lain under upon this Occasion.

“ We shall only add, that the Remains of the *Glenco-Men*, who escaped
 “ the Slaughter, being reduced to great Poverty by the Depredation and
 “ Vastation that was then committed upon them, and having ever since liv'd
 “ peaceably under your Majesty's Protection, have now applied to us, that
 “ we

“ we might interceed with your Majesty, that some Reparation may be
 “ made them for their Losses. We do humbly lay their Case before your
 “ Majesty, as worthy of your Royal Charity and Compassion, that such
 “ Orders may be given for supplying them in their Necessities as your
 “ Majesty shall think fit.

“ And this the most humble Address of the Estates of Parliament is,
 “ by their Order and Warrant, and in their Name, subscribed by,”

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient,

And most faithful Subject and Servant,

July 10, 1695. This Ad-
 drefs voted and approved.

Anandale, P. P.

Then it was recommended to his Majesty's Commissioner, to transmit to the King the said Address, with Duplicates of the King's Instructions, and of the Master of *Stair's* Letters.

Moved, That his Majesty's Commissioner have the Thanks of the Parliament for laying the Discovery made of the Matter of *Glenco* before them, and that the Commissioners have the like for their careful Procedure therein; which being put to the Vote, Approve or not, carried in the Affirmative, *Nemine Contradicente*; which his Majesty's Commissioner accepted of.

It is said that some of the Persons did get a Remission from King *William*, concerning which it is to be observed first, that the taking of a Remission is a tacit acknowledging of the Crime, and taking upon them the Guilt; next, that any such Remission is null and void, and will not defend them, because it did not proceed upon Letters of *Slains*^a, nor is there any *Affithment*^b made to the nearest of Kin. It being expressly provided by the 136, *Act Par.* 8 *Jac.* the 6th, that Remissions are null, unless the Party be *affithed*^c, and by 157 *Act Par.* 12 *Jac.* 6. And it is farther to be observed from that Act, that albeit, Respites and Remissions had been formerly granted for several enormous Crimes, yet the Defendants were ordained to be criminally pursued, notwithstanding of the same; and the said Act is ratified by the 173 *Act Par.* 13 *Jac.* the 6th, against the granting of Remissions and Respites to the Committers of Murder, Slaughter, and other atrocious Crimes therein mentioned, where there are not sufficient Letters of *Slains* shewn, and that no Respite or Remission be admitted in Judgment, except the same be compounded with the Treasurer, and subscribed by him, at least past his Register: And *Act* 178, it is provided, that no Respite or Remission be granted for Slaughter, until the Party *skaitbed*^d be first satisfied; and if any Respite or Remission shall happen to be granted before the Party grieved be first satisfied, the same shall be null, by Way of Exception, or Reply without any further Declarator.

^a i. e. Witnessing that the Party wronged has received Satisfaction.

^b Satisfaction.

^c Satisfy'd.

^d Damaged.

Thirdly, It is to be observed, that the Parliament having declared, that the killing of the *Glenco-Men* was a Murder under Trust; it is clear by the 5th *Act Par.* 11. *Jac.* 6, that Murder and Slaughter of a Person under Trust, Credit, Assurance and Power of the Slayer, is Treason; so that by the said Act, these that had Accession to, or were any Ways *Airt and Part* of the Slaughter of the *Glenco-Men*, are guilty of Treason.

P. S. Sir, I have nothing further to add concerning this Matter, but that I thought it needless to trouble you with the Copies of the King's Orders, the now Viscount of *Stair's* Letters, and the Depositions, because every Thing in them, that is probative of the Point in Question, is fairly narrated in the Report of the Commission; but if you think them necessary, I will send them to you upon Notice: But for my Part, I don't think them necessary to be inserted, for repeating Things needlessly does but weary the Reader.

You know that there never was any Prosecution against any of those Persons charged with this barbarous Murder, but that on the contrary, by the Advice of some, who were then about his Majesty, several of the Officers were preferr'd, and the whole Matter flurr'd over; so that the crying Guilt of this Blood must lie upon them, and not upon the Nation, since the Parliament could do no more in it without occasioning greater Bloodshed than that they complain of.

You know likewise, that by the Influence of the same Persons, this Report was suppressed in King *William's* Time, tho' his Majesty's Honour requir'd that it should have been published.

The Case of the Commons of that Part of Great Britain formerly called Scotland, with Respect to the Election of their Representatives and Members to Parliament.

Antiently the Parliament of *Scotland* was an Assembly, where all that held of the King were bound to attend him, which was expressed by their being bound to give Suit and Presence; and the Forms of Parliaments having grown into some *Ja. 1st Parl.* Disuse, during the Minority and Imprisonment of King *James* the 3. *cap. 52.* First of *Scotland*, there was an Act made in that Reign, requiring the personal Attendance of all that were bound to it.

But in the seventh Parliament held in that Reign, *Anno 1427*, the small Barons were allowed to send Commissaries, and were

Concern'd in.

charged

charged with the Fees of their Deputies; which is the first Act *Ja. 1st Parl. cap. 7. 101.* whereupon the Elective Members were received in Parliament.

It does not appear that this Form of sending Commissaries did take full Effect at first (for Reasons too long here to be mention'd) nor indeed until the Reign of *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and First of *Great Britain*. In the Eleventh Parliament of *Scotland*, *Ja. 6. Parl. 11. Act 33. and 114.* held under that Prince, two Acts were made which concern that Case. By the Recital of the First it appears the King intended to restore the antient Forms of Parliament, which had suffered Alterations during the Minorities and Troubles that happen'd after the Death of King *James* the Fifth, his Grandfather. And therefore it is there provided, that there shall be no Confusion of Persons of the three Estates; that is to say, no Person shall take upon him the Function, Office, or Place, of all the three Estates, or of two of them; but shall only occupy the Place of that Self-Estate wherein he commonly professes himself to live, and whereof he takes his Stile, *id est*, *Designation*.

By the latter, the Manner and Qualities of Election and Electors was better settled than it had been to that Time; and since that Act, which was made in the Year 1587, the Elective Representation has taken Place.

This last Act was made on the Fact of, and to render effectual that above cited Law made in the Time of King *James* the First, and consequently the Election allowed to be made in Favour of, and to represent the small Freeholders.

It is true, that several of the Freeholders, who had great Estates, took the Advantage of this Law, and in Place of coming personally to Parliament, choose to join in electing of Commissioners or Knights for the Shire with the Freeholders.

But as the Designation of small Freeholders was never meant to comprehend Noblemen and the eldest Sons; so they never pretended to elect or be elected, except in one Case, where they were found incapable, as will by and by be made appear.

Nor indeed would it have been allowed, that they could elect or be elected, because of the fore-cited Act, whereby it is provided, that no Man shall take upon him the Function, Office, or Place of more than one of the States, and that of the Estate whereof he makes Profession, and takes the Stile; now the eldest Sons of Peers took Stiles suited to the Estate and Quality, and were not charged with the Expences of the Fees due to the Commissaries, or, as they were afterwards called, Commissioners from Counties. And there being an Act made in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, declaring, that it is only allowed for Noblemen and Bishops to subscribe by their Titles, the eldest Sons *21 Act Sess. 3. Parl. 2. Ch. 2d.* of

of Noblemen have ever continued to subscribe by their Titles, as being included in the general Name of Noblemen: So that on the whole Matter it is plain, that first the Peers eldest Sons were never understood to be small Barons or Freeholders, nor could congruously be so understood; for the eldest Son was commonly called the *Fiar*, and was in a Manner *suus hæres, & parente vivo, quodammodo rerum paternarum Dominus*. Secondly, Conform to this they took Stiles, and made Profession of one of the Estates, separate from that of Freeholders and Burgeffes. Thirdly, They enjoyed an Immunity from Commissioners Fees. And, Fourthly, They never in the Course of an Hundred, and about thirty Years, and indeed never since Electors came to any Kind of Form, pretended to elect or be elected. On the contrary, there were, Fifthly, Two very plain and positive Decisions against them, one in the Parliament 1685, noted for the too great Zeal to the Prerogative, and the other in the Meeting of Estates, which restored the Liberty of that Country, both deciding the Case now in Question in exprefs Words: As these Cases hereunto subjoined will abundantly shew.

This being premised, it will be no hard Matter to determine the Question, if, or not, the eldest Sons of Peers in *Scotland* were, at the Time of the Union, by the Law of *Scotland*, capable to elect or be elected for Shires and Boroughs there; for if they were not capable then, that they cannot be admitted now, is as certain, as that the Treaty of Union, and the Act settling such Elections, which is a Part of it, is the inviolable Rule to direct in the Decision of the Case.

But there has been a printed Paper delivered at the Door of the Honourable House of Commons, pretending to offer Reasons why the *Scots* Peers eldest Sons should be allowed to be elected to sit in the House of Commons, which is next to be consider'd; and to do it fairly, it shall be inserted Word for Word, with Observations to clear the Mistakes it contains: Only it is to be notic'd, that the very Title is in a begging and precarious Stile; as if it were a Matter wherein there were no solemn Rule established, but which might be govern'd by Indulgence, or Allowance, or Grounds of Expediency.

Two Records taken from the Parliament of Scotland.

In the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 23d Day of April, 1685.

“ I N Respect the Viscount of *Tarbat*'s eldest Son, who was elected
 “ one of the Commissioners for the Shire of *Ross*, by Reason that
 “ his Father is Nobilitat, cannot now represent that Shire, as one of their
 “ Com-

“ Commissioners ; Warrant was given to the Freeholders of that Shire, to
“ meet, and elect another fit Person in his Place.”

*Extracted forth of the Records of Parliament, by me, David, Earl of
Glasgow, Lord Clerk Register.*

Sic Subscribitur,
Glasgow, Cl. Regr.

At Edingburgh, the Eighteenth of March, 1689.

“ **T**HE Meeting of the Estates having heard and considered the Report
“ of the Committee for Elections bearing, That in the controverted
“ Elections for the Burgh of *Linlithgow*, in Favour of the Lord *Livingston*
“ and *William Higgins*, it is the Opinion of the Committee, That *William*
“ *Higgins's* Commission ought to be preferred first, in regard of the Lord
“ *Livingston's* Incapacity to represent a Burgh ; being the eldest Son of a
“ Peer : And, *secondly*, in respect *William Higgins* was more legally and
“ formally elected by the Plurality of Votes of the Burgeses : They have
“ approven, and approves the said Report in both Heads thereof, and inter-
“ pones their Authority thereto.”

*Extracted forth of the Records of Parliament, by me, David, Earl of
Glasgow, Lord Clerk Register.*

Sic Subscribitur,
Glasgow, Cl. Regr.

Remarks on the Reasons offered for the Peers.

BY the Act of Union it is declared, “ That none shall elect, or be elected,
“ to represent a Shire or Burgh in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, from
“ this Part of the United Kingdom (*Scotland*) except such as are now capable
“ by the Laws of this Kingdom to elect, or be elected, for Shires or Burghs
“ to the said Parliament.”

These are the Words on which the Question depends.

But by the ancient Constitution of *Scotland*, and the standing Laws of
that Kingdom, Peers eldest Sons were capable of electing, and being elected,
as will appear from the following standing unrepealed Laws.

This is to be proved.

In the 113th Act of the 11th Parliament of King *James* the Sixth of
Scotland, “ All Tenants *in Capite* to the King, in each County, who have
“ a Forty Shilling Land, which generally amounts to 60 *l. per Annum*,
“ should

“ should choose two of their own Number to serve in Parliament; and
 “ that all Freeholders, under the Degree of Prelates and Lords of Parlia-
 “ ment, should be summoned to the Election.”

There are more Things than one to be mended, but passing by the Amount which this Paper puts upon a Forty Shilling Land, It is well to be noticed, that the Words, under the Degree of Prelates and Lords of Parliament, do even comprehend Lords eldest Sons; for first, these Words describe all who were not under the Notion of small Freeholders, or Free-Tenants, mentioned in the fore-cited Act of James the First. Now, that never did comprehend Peers eldest Sons; for, secondly, the Father and the Son were, in the Eye of the Law, as conjunct Persons, which could be made out by many Instances; but this one may suffice, viz. That any Vassal holding of the Crown-Ward, or by Military Service, could not alienate the whole Fee not even to his second Son; and if he did, the Fee returned to the Crown, which, by a Term well known in Scotland, was called Recognition. But if a Father should convey his Estate to his eldest Son, it was sustained as good: Why? Because this, in the Construction of Law, was no Alienation; and the eldest Son was commonly called Fiar, for to him at last the Estate behooved to descend, seeing indeed the antient Custom of Scotland did not admit of any Alienations without Consent of the Crown, in Prejudice of the Heir of the Investiture; so that the Father and Son were of one Estate in all publick Accounts, and the younger Sons were considered as Strangers. Now this is the stronger in this Case; because, as has been said, the Appearance in Parliaments was a Duty upon the Father, with respect to that Estate, whereof the Son was Heir; for the Nobility in Scotland antiently sat as dignified Freeholders. Secondly, To this it may be added, that the eldest Sons of Peers, receiving Dispositions or Conveyances of any Part of their Father's Estate, are not properly said to acquire a Freehold, but præcipere hæreditatem; and therefore are liable as Heirs for their Fathers Debts. So that the Words, Lords of Parliament, must be taken in the Sense of these Laws, so as to comprehend all that are not Free-holders, and especially all that make Profession, and assume the Style of the Estate of Peers; and that these Words, Lords of Parliament and Noblemen, are synonymous, every Man, unbiassed, must acknowledge: Now that under the Word Nobleman, the eldest Sons of Peers are comprehended, is very evident from the above Act 21, Sess. 3, Parl. 3, Ch. II. especially as to the Privilege of Subscription above-mentioned. Thirdly, That has been abundantly cleared by 130 Years Practice, and the fore-cited Decisions, in which the Peers as well as Commons must be included, being done in an Assembly composed of both.

All the eldest Sons of Peers, who at present claim their being elected from North-Britain, are precisely under the Compass of this Law, being all Tenants in Capite to the King, of Lands of the said Value, are under the Degree of Prelates and Lords of Parliament.

Precarious

sider; I mean the late Bill for preventing Occasional Conformity, which was so differently apprehended in the last Session of Parliament, as no Debates during it were able to reconcile; but that Matter is of such Concern, that the Proceedings thereupon being printed by Authority, it seems not unworthy every true Lover of his Country, to put the same into the best Light possible, in order to form a right Judgment, how a Bill like unto that (if at any Time hereafter such should be proposed) may affect the Commonweal; seeing the Opinion which shall prevail thereof, there can be no doubt, will be duly weighed by our Representatives; and because one Intention of our Lawgivers, in publishing the Account of their Proceedings upon that Bill, might be (not improbably) the better to collect the common Judgment upon it, a Desire to be assistant unto that, with a Concern lest unhappy Animosities should grow among us, did engage me to draw into a clear and familiar Method of Discourse, what is very obvious touching that Matter.

The Bill, which is the designed Theme of what follows, I understand such as it passed last Session the House of Commons, with the several Amendments agreed afterwards; touching which, that my Argument may be the more distinct, I take the Liberty to digest it under three Heads, which are easily discernable on reading the said Bill, *viz.* The Preamble, Extent, and Penalties, due Reference being had thereto; however, these few Things ought to be premised, *First*, That the whole of it is prudential and political, not censuring directly the Persons and Cause of the Dissenters beyond the Point of bearing Offices, nor interdicting any to be present at their Assemblies, except such as are engaged in the Magistracy, or Places of Trust, thereby leaving the Matter of Conscience as it stood before. *Secondly*, The Communion of the Lord's Supper is considered herein as a Discrimination meerly civil; so that tho' Papists and Protestant Dissenters are excluded from Offices thereby, yet is there no Provision by the Law to render the same a Bar to the Prophanes and Scandalous; which is a Consideration seems to concern the Honour of the Church of *England*, as well as the good Administration of the several Trusts to which it initiates: But because, *Thirdly*, Several Cases in Religion might be reducible under the Subject of this Bill, I shall comply with the obvious Intentions of our Lawgivers, and confine my Discourse as much as may be to a secular Vein. To proceed therefore to the Bill.

First, Touching the Preamble of it, it were not easy, peradventure, in so few Words, for our supreme Governors to have given more Satisfaction to scrupulous Consciences than in the Religious Declaration, that serves as an Introduction here; because therein the Sense of the present Government appears, that those Severities, under which the Dissenters groaned, before the late Act of Indulgence, *were then to be deemed Persecution for Conscience sake*; under which Acceptation it is, that their Exemption from them for the future (unless new Matter of secular Offence to the Govern-

ment arises, is to stand upon Foundations no less safe than *the Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly the Doctrine of the Church of England*. This is the highest Attestation can be, that the Dissenters are no longer to be looked upon *obnoxious to the Church and State, or chargeable with Schism, Sedition, and Rebellion*, as the former Laws (now suspended) did insist they were; so that the Reason given by those Laws ceasing, and since it is on all Hands agreed, great Advantages have accrued from the *Act of Indulgence*, they may henceforth expect, with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, to partake the Serenity and Benignity of a Government, which in all other Things ever was, and now is, the most clement under the Sun. Thus is the Bond of engaging Goodness laid upon them for ever; so that as since the late glorious Revolution they are found equally affectionate as others, to the Interests and Settlement of the Crown, all the former stigmatizing Brands upon them are done away.

As to the Recital of the present State of Law, which follows the Religious Declaration, (*that it provides already every Person admitted into any Office, should be conformable to the Church*) the Words of it cannot be taken in the strictest Sense, *there being many Offices and Employments, to which Persons have been, and may be now admitted, without lying under an Obligation to receive the Sacrament, or be conformable on that Account: For Instance, Offices of Inheritance, and in the Forests, Non-Commission Offices in the Fleet, with many more*; therefore what is asserted in this Paragraph in the general, we must understand *to relate to such Persons and Offices only as are subsequently mentioned in the Bill*; but if those who break the Intention of a Law, break the Law, it were fit and desirable, that no Words (if possible) might be used in any, which in the Sequel may lead Men into Mistakes, touching that Intention.

The last Clause of the Preamble gives a very just Description of the Case, which the Bill is designed to bring a Remedy for; that is say, *No Man ordinarily frequenting private Meetings, should qualify himself for an Office, by receiving only on that Account the Sacrament with the Church*. Now that nothing however be understood beyond the natural Sense of the Words thereof, I take these two Things not to be absolutely concluded in them. *First*, That whilst conforming only for a Place has a Brand of Scandal affixed on it; yet it does not follow, that Occasional Conformity otherwise (without such Design) ought to be reproach'd; for as to such Persons, who join themselves to their Christian Societies severally, as taking the Conduct of them to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and because it pleases the Sovereign Spirit of Grace to co-operate more evidently upon them therein, for such to go sometimes to a divine Service, different from what they frequent and chuse, is an Expression of Charity to others, and ought not therefore to be blamed. *Secondly*, It can no Ways be taken for concluded, that a Censure upon the Conformity in this Bill mentioned, does imply going to a Meeting to be malum in se, or savouring of Faction, or criminal, illegal, and schismatical, as the superceded Laws did constantly assert; for the

the Mention of it, as allowed by Law, does demonstrate the contrary; the manifest and primary Purpose of this Bill being rather to keep Dissenters from the Church, than others from a Meeting; however, the mutual Freedom in this Point to the great Glory of our Times, favours of that charitable Moderation, so remarkably eminent in the primitive Ages of Christianity, as to occasion those universal Laws in the *Creed*, for every one *to believe the Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints.*

Secondly, The enacting Part of this Bill, I term the Extent of it, because it describes both the Crime and the Offices thereby to be affected, whereof distinctly; first then for the Crime, the Definition of it herein is the same with that in *two several Acts, to prevent and suppress seditious Conventicles*; and 16 and 22 *Car. II.* so that what was criminal by them to all Persons, becomes again so by this Bill to those in Office; the Qualification for Offices, by express Terms of Law, required at present, is, in this Respect, no more than once previously to receive the Sacrament with the Church; but the Conformity which would be required herein, is, (besides that) *never, after once taking an Office, to be present at any Conventicle or Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other Manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of England, where five (more than the Family) shall be.* This is a Sort of Qualification for Offices widely different (as any may see) from what the Law requires now; and we must observe, that, throughout the Bill, such Terms are only used as have been commonly appropriated to Protestant Dissenters; however, to be present at Mass is tacitly included.

We do not go about to intimate, That the Injunctions of the Law at present, *to receive the Sacrament according to the Rites and Usage of the Church*, do not in the primary Meaning of them imply, that the Persons ought to be of that Communion; however, none can deny, but they will very well bear a larger Sense also, whereby none ought to be excluded Offices, who can give a publick Testimony they esteem a Communion with the Church lawful; which latter Acceptation of the Laws, though the Generality of Dissenters stand excluded by it, has all along, for forty Years past, brought into the Service of the Government (without very visible, ruinous, Effects) no inconsiderable Number of Men, whom the proposed Bill, in all Appearance, would finally render incapable.

Whether it may be for the publick Benefit any longer to suffer the same Latitude in Reference to Dissenters, belongs only to the supreme Powers to judge; but granting here that it were not, we do with all Humility offer to Consideration, whether *gentler Methods be not more agreeable to the English Temper, Constitution of Government, nay, and the Interest of State, so the End may be duly attained*; in the Case then before us, if the Government, for Example, should require from the established Church, instead of one previous Communion (which is all in the Law express'd) that Men in Office should attend four Times yearly, or oftner, at the Sacrament, would it not be equal Security to the State, and greatly for the Honour of the Church,

Church, but give no Matter of Offence or Jealousy to Dissenters? Whereas, if the Qualification for Offices is to consist not so much in frequent and devout Attendance on the publick Celebrations, as in a Distance and Averſion to Dissenters, *this cannot but minister just Cause of Fear, that those Assemblies, at which once to be present exposes to so great a Censure, are not likely to continue long allowed by Law.*

No Man can doubt but a Censure of this Kind would prove a notorious Mark of Infamy upon the Assemblies of Dissenters, and in that Respect would affect them beyond the Case of Officers; and the reviv'd Definition of a Conventicle, being under the Pretence and Colour of the Exercise of Religion, (it deserves to be considered) whether it might not be construed to allude to, and imply somewhat of those dangerous Practices the suspended Laws have connected with the said Definition; but there are other obvious Inconveniencies in this new Method of Qualification; for it would expose more a great deal than the present Way (as will be shewn elsewhere) to the predatory Mercy of Informers; it debars the common, natural Respect of Relations, in Baptisms, Funeral Sermons, and the like: *It casts a hazardous Discouragement upon Family Prayer, whereat often, among Persons of Quality, and sometimes others, more than Five may happen to be present; and it brings all foreign Churches under a Censure too; whereas the Act of Uniformity provides, that the Penalties thereof should not extend to any Reformed Churches of Aliens, allowed, or to be allowed, by his Majesty or his Successors; some such have since had Encouragement for their Settlement from Parliament, and have proved beneficial in Manufactures to this Kingdom; toward which their Liberty of Conscience, without Reflection, has not a little contributed.*

The second Distinction I have made of the Extent (or enacting Part of this Bill) is of the Offices intended by it to be affected, which clearly falls under a twofold Definition, one, the same with that in the Act, 25 Car. II. *For preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants;* the other of the 13th of Car. II. *For well governing and regulating Corporations.* Now because this seems the most tender and sensible Part of the Bill, most liable to Mistake, and upon the right Apprehension whereof our Judgment of the whole must very much depend; before I descend into a Disquisition of it, I beg Leave to deviate a little from the just Method of Discourse; and therefore, before I endeavour to prove what the Bill, under this Head, would have enacted—new, I will first lay down and consider the Reason commonly alledg'd, why the same ought to be.

What is commonly alledged, as the Ground of the new Provisions in this Bill, amounts to thus much; that a National Church being absolutely needful to a Government, the only effectual Way to preserve it, is by keeping the Civil Power in the Hands of such whose Practice and Principles are agreeable thereto; and that this is equally necessary to the Safety and Peace of the State likewise; but, say they, the present Laws proving too weak to secure those Blessings, because they are eluded by occasional Con-
formity,

formity, therefore there wants some new Expedients to support them; these Maxims we can readily grant; so far as the Security and Peace of the State appear undoubtedly concerned, so much is allowed on all Hands for incontestible; but the Matter in Question before us seems to be, whether Occasional Conformity of Dissenters has really endanger'd the Safety, and violated the Peace of Church and State? Or has any Principles in it disagreeable therewith? Which Matter cannot yet be taken for concluded, as the Proceedings of Parliament published do evince, and whereof therefore the present Juncture and Occasion give Liberty to speak.

In order to examine then this Matter aright, we think proper to distinguish the Relation which the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters may bear to the Church and State severally; first therefore in Reference to the State, *Occasional Conformity* (it may be agreed to us) *is no new Thing, but even Coeval with the Act of Uniformity itself; so that in 40 Years Experience, if it were evident that Injuries to the Peace of the Government had arose thence, how came it to pass they should be overlookt so long?* But while several Ways were taken to enjoin Conformity, how Occasional soever, it was in no Kind before made penal to approve it, tho' thereby Offices were attained; after such a large Attestation from Fact, it would be needless to say, Occasional Conformity of Dissenters has in itself no Principles dangerous to the Peace of the Government, if there were not another Sort of Conformity which does obstinately maintain such as withdraw Men from their Allegiance to her Gracious Majesty, and from all Respect to the present Establishment of the Crown; but as to Principles, further than is obvious from Practice, it is not my proper Province to discourse, that being already sufficiently treated of by Divines.

If the Time past has not produced a Necessity of any new Provision against Accidental or Occasional Conformity, I think we may be confident the present much less does; for if the Laws already in being do intend, that Men in Office should be entirely conformable, Her Gracious Majesty has assured all the World, there can be no Danger from Occasional Conformity in this auspicious Reign, by these Words of Her last Speech to the Parliament; *I shall always make it my particular Care to encourage and maintain this Church as by Law established, and the least Member of it, in all their just Rights and Privileges.* And now having delivered my Sentiment, upon Observations of the past and present Time, to go further would be to wade into the Politicks beyond my Depth. I can say nothing certain of Futurity; but since the Dissenters are known, beyond doubt, to be very cordially affected to the Protestant Succession, methinks, whatever Qualifications may be judged requisite for Places of Magistracy and publick Trust, they may well expect (beyond a Provision for that) no Hardships will be laid upon them now.

Secondly, To consider Occasional Conformity in Reference to the Church, it might suffice to say, the Affairs of it (distinct from those of the State) do no Ways lie under the Cognizance of such, whom that may vest with.

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Government; but for what properly concerns the Honour and Welfare of the Church of *England*, the first Words of this Bill do imply, that her greatest Glory consists in the Character of Moderation, Sweetness, and Charity, truly Christian and Apostolick, and very justly; for this would recommend her to all the Reformed Churches of *Christendom*, as worthy to be acknowledged their chief and best. *In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, all the Papists in England came to Church, and were Occasional Conformists, yet the Government was not uneasy, and in Danger by it; but the Pope, fearing what that was like soon to grow to, put a Stop to it by Bull, and the Church of Rome does generally to this Day encourage every Thing like to Occasional Conformity of Protestants; and the Effects shew they are in the right, and gain their Ends by it.* In like Manner, can it be thought that the Church has gained from any Sort of the Dissenters among us, as from those who have allowed and practised an Occasional Conformity with her? Has she not, by permitting it, obtained many useful and worthy Members? Does not the Practice of it weaken the Dissenters, and encrease her Reputation and Authority? Where then has been the Damage to the Church from Occasional Conformity? It would be difficult to shew what Security, Honour or Interest, she has lost, during the greatest Indulgence to Dissenters in the late Reign, of any Thing she possess'd before that Time, during the unspeakable Sufferings of others; therefore it must be an Accession of Honour and Safety unto her, that she is now, by Clemency, become revered of those who formerly were suspected for her Enemies.

Having thus made Enquiry, what Reason there is to apprehend that the Safety of the Church and State has been, or is, endanger'd by the Latitude allowed to Dissenters, from the present Condition of the Laws; I proceed, according to Promise, to enquire what Alteration would arise on the Head of Offices from the Bill now under Consideration, which I shall do in two Denominations of them; I mean, those comprehended in the Test Act, and those peculiarly affected by that for regulating Corporations; premising here only, that the Offices of the latter Sort, which do directly fall within the Test, I judge better to consider in that Denomination, because thereby what remains will be more distinct and intelligible, when we handle it apart.

First, For the Test Clause, which is the former in this Part of the Bill, without reciting the Words of it, we may be allowed to say upon good Authority, *That manifestly and indisputably it does comprehend all the considerable Offices and Employments of publick Trust in the Kingdom, in which the Security of the Government may be concerned; the Experience of 30 Years past has justified the Measures taken by that Law, that it is extensive enough as to the several Sorts of Offices for publick Security; the Terms of it are express, clear, and universally understood, without any Uncertainty as to what Employments it relates, which is not so evident in those of the Corporation Act; the said Act includes all Offices of Magistracy, in especial, as well within Corporations as without; and at the enacting of it, there was little Regard had*

to the Act for regulating Corporations, because a more effectual Security to the Church was given hereby. It cannot be taxed as insufficient to compass the End designed by it, which was expressly to prevent Dangers that might happen from Popish Recufants, and to exclude from Offices all others who will not take the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church established. After this Manner, and in a due Medium, as would be easy in another Sort of Discourse, to make appear the Safety and Peace of the Church and State, have been fully provided for; nor have the Measures of it to procure those been any Ways (in particular the Penalties) found deficient.

This Act being so extensive and compleat, that it reaches whatever Offices concern the Safety of the Government, and is not deficient in any Means to attain its End. If Dangers should from Occasional Conformity arise, it were easy at any Time to enjoin such Frequency at the publick Offices of the Church, as might denominate an entire Conformist, without a Brand upon separate Assemblies, to raise again the Seeds of fatal Animosities; but as to the Places of Magistracy and publick Trust, already comprehended in the Test, as they concern the Security of State much more, so they affect the Body of Dissenters much less, than those in the Corporations; for which Cause, what is to be said in their Behalf is more properly referr'd to that Head. It would also be very unbecoming any Sort of Men to enter into Argument with their Governors upon those high Points, which are so absolutely in the Legislature to judge of and determine; 'tis not fit for me so much as to offer an Opinion: An Explanation of the Test, more to the Disadvantage of Dissenters, might indeed deprive several of some profitable Places, in the Royal Household, the Exchequer, the Navy, the Excise, the Customs, and elsewhere; but the Magistracy of the City would be the chief Import of this Matter; concerning which, what Inconveniencies have arose to the Government from the Course of Things for near twenty Years past there, and how an Alteration in it will any Ways tend to the Advantage of the State, is equally to me undiscernible; but this I do adventure to say, that if Men, whom the Negative Qualification of this Bill would have rendered incapable to serve in such Offices, should have been finable nevertheless for not serving them, and that *toties quoties*, as the Humour of the World might lead, that Sort of Persecution might possibly rise pretty high.

Secondly, It remains to examine what the proposed Bill would have introduced *de novo*, upon the Head of the Corporation Act distinctly; the Clause whereof, expressive of the Offices it would affect, is in these Words: *Any Mayor, Alderman, Recorder, Bayliff, Town-Clerk, Common-Council-Man, or other Person, bearing any Office of Magistracy, or Places, or Trusts, or other Employment, relating to, or concerning, the Government of the respective Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, Cinque-Ports, and their Members, and other Port-Towns.* As to so much hereof as concerns Magistracy, the Test Act having better provided, my Discourse is to be henceforth

forth restrained to what herein touches only intrinsick and inferior Employments, relating to the severall Boroughs respectively, wherein the Security of the Church and State does not seem to be much concerned.

Most of our Laws have sprung from the evident Necessities of the Times, and so came in as Remedies to the proper Distempers of them, which is in none more apparent than this of the Corporations, the 13th Car. II. *Those deplorable Confusions which had tormented the Nation, for nigh twenty Years preceding, lay fresh upon the Minds of the Parliament, when that Act was made; and 'tis evident, that nothing but so extraordinary a Juncture could have excused some Parts of it: Nay, it was principally founded upon Reasons so peculiar to that Time, they are far from being pertinent to ours; for there is now no solemn League and Covenant needs to be renounced; the Declaration in it, that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, and of Abhorrence of that traiterous Position of doing so by his Authority against his Person, or those commissioned by him, (which was the Touchstone of the said Act and Times) is now utterly abrogated, and no Person henceforth can be obliged to take the same, as appears in the Act Primo W. and M. for appointing other Oaths; the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance therein are also chang'd; the Power given by it to the Crown, to constitute Commissioners for two Years to turn out, and put in the Corporation Officers ad libitum, tho' they were conformable to the Qualifications required by the Act, was an Extravagance the present Age would scarce approve; the Preamble speaks of it as a Thing too well known, that notwithstanding his Majesty's unparallel'd Goodness in pardoning what was past, there were many evil Spirits still working. We do not therefore herein go about to censure the Measures of that Act, as they were suited to the Juncture; but as the Reasons, the Jealousies and Foundations, whereon that Act was built, were so appropriate to that Time, that the severall Parts of it here above-mentioned (as unsuitable to any other) are since abolished. It is pretty clear that the primary Intent thereof had its full and due Effect from the Commissioners Power, and the Imposition of renouncing the Covenant and Declaration of Fidelity; for there was little Regard had to it at the Time that a more effectual Security to the Church was provided by the Test.*

We come therefore to consider in the next Place, what remains yet unrazed of that Act in 13 Car. II. *for well governing and regulating Corporations; and then will clearly be discerned what the proposed Bill would have superadded, touching the Offices of Magistracy, the Test Act has much better and effectually provided, which has been already consider'd; and therefore, as to what is distinctly under my present Head of Discourse to be treated of, there remains in Substance of the Corporation Act yet in Force no more than this, That no Man shall be placed, elected, or chosen in or to any Offices, or Places, or Trusts, or other Employment relating to, or concerning the Government of the respective Boroughs, &c. who has not, within one Year before such Election, taken the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of England: In Default whereof, every such Election is thereby declared*

clared to be void. This being the full Import of the said Act at present, it is upon that Foot a Measure must be taken, what and how much the intended Bill would have enacted new upon this Head; it cannot be amiss here to observe, that the Corporation Act was the first after the Restoration, which directly affected the Dissenters as such.

Now in Corporations, there are many Offices of a private and inferior Nature, (which cannot be fully specified, because they are so various in the respective Boroughs) *whereon the Safety of the State does not appear manifestly to depend, but regard only the Affairs of the particular Town within it-self.* Some of these are Freeholds, and many of them the whole Subsistence of Families, which have been obtained by Purchase or long Services, or attained by Custom of Course. Several of these the Dissenters are now possessed of, and perhaps have enjoyed many Years, under an Obedience to all such Terms as the Law now in Being has prescribed; and to despoil Men of their Freeholds and Possessions by a new Law, without Imputation of any Crime; and when the Security of the Government does not appear manifestly concerned, is sure among Englishmen very hard.

That the Dissenters at this Day are not disaffected to the Queen and established Government, nor chargeable with Rebellion past, nor meditating new Troubles, or any Ways dangerous to the State, (under which Characters the Corporation-Act considered them) the Preamble of this very Bill now in Debate does intimate: For it asserts, *That the Act in the first Year of the Reign of the late King William and Queen Mary, of ever-glorious Memory, entituled, An Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws, was in due Consideration, that Persecution for Conscience only was contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion and Doctrine of the Church of England.*

If then the Dissenters, under an Obedience to all such Terms as the Law now in being has prescribed, do possess many inferior Offices in Corporations, which the present Bill, when passed into an Act, would immediately exclude from; besides those in the Magistracy, the Navy, the Customs, the Excise, the Royal Household, and others, which, under the Head of the Test-Act, it would also deprive them of, then (sure enough) it takes from the Dissenters what they enjoyed before by Law: And is not this to enact something new? Moreover, the Dissenters at any Time, upon the present Terms of conforming, are now admittable to any Office of what Quality soever in the Kingdom; but by this Bill they would have a total Incapacity put upon them, in respect to those under the Test and Corporation-Acts above-mentioned. Which Incapacity, after the first Offence, would extend to Offices of Inheritance, and in the Forests, Non-Commission Offices in the Fleet, and many more, such as neither the Test or Corporation-Acts, or any other, ever did, or intended to exclude them from.

It has been already insisted, *That all the Offices, wherein the Safety of Church and State are manifestly concerned, are comprehended within the Test,*

and that the inferior Offices in the Boroughs do not come under the same Considerations ; to have therefore the same Reasons of State urged for an equal Animadversion upon the latter, seems very unequal ; for it brings great Difficulty on the Commercial Sort of Men, to argue on those Topicks, while they plead for no more than quiet Cohabitation with their Neighbours. But if it be argued, that those poor Emoluments in the Boroughs, which the Safety of the Government might (doubtless) well enough indulge them, came within the Intent at least of the Corporation-Act to deny to the Dissenters, how should they judge of it but very severe, to have that Act so explained and enforced to their Disadvantage, that it should take place more in the Reign of her Gracious Majesty, than it has done in any Time preceding ?

In this Case the Dissenters do humbly apologize for themselves (as it imports them) that granting whatever was designed by this Bill, was the Intent then of the Corporation-Act, they do not now stand in the same Place the last Age did at the passing thereof ; the present Generation it cannot be pretended have brought upon the Church and State Confusions, Ruin, and Desolation ; they have no Ways disturbed the Peace of either, but have, *by Testimonies, incontestible shewed, that neither their Principles or Practice are inconsistent with Monarchy, but contrariwise most conformable to the present Government and Settlement of the Crown, nor are there any evil Spirits working of Rebellion among them.* If therefore the Intent of the Corporation-Act was built upon Reasons peculiar to that Time, they do entirely submit it to Consideration, whether a pursuing of the same Intent now, and giving (by the negative Qualification and Penalties of this Bill) an Extent and Force to it, which, in the Institution, or since, it never had before, without any like Cause on their Part, would not be in the Nature of punishing the Innocent for the Sake of the Guilty, which they do not doubt will be far from so wise, just, and good a Government ; but the proposed Bill they conceive, upon the Head only of the Corporation-Act, would have brought upon them the extraordinary Hardships and Difficulties here following.

First, The Qualification for Offices being made to consist in the utmost Distance and Aversion unto them, will be a Brand of Ignominy and Reproach upon the whole Body of Dissenters ; so that an Emulation in casting Injuries and Contempt upon them may, in a little Time, be thought the best Recommendation, and nearest Way to Preferment ; is it just therefore that the whole Body should suffer for the Sake comparatively of a very few, who have occasionally conformed ?

Secondly, Reviving the Acts against seditious Conventicles in Part, and giving a new Force to that of the Corporations, they fear will give too much Occasion to Men of violent Tempers, to declaim that they lie still under the same odious Imputation of Disloyalty charged upon them by those Acts, as if they gave really any Manner of Jealousy to the State now ; which

which Clamour (however causeless) when it shall be industriously vented, would be in itself a very heavy Affliction.

Thirdly, The Freeholds and Offices of an inferior Nature, in 600 Towns of England, or thereabouts, which have been obtained by Purchase or long Services, or in Course, some of them the whole Subsistence of Families, and of long Time possessed, under an Obedience to all the Terms prescribed by Law, would not only be immediately lost by the Possessors, but an Incapacity would lye upon all Dissenters for the future, of attaining the like, and (after the first Offence) any other Offices in the Kingdom whatsoever; but they hope the Crime charg'd upon some few of them, is not of so detestable a Nature that they ought all to be reduced to so unhappy a Condition for it.

Fourthly, In many Corporations the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, is only in such as are concerned in the Government of them, and giving a Vote for a Representative in Parliament is the essential Privilege whereby every Englishman preserves his Property; and whatsoever deprives him of a Capacity for having such Vote, deprives him of his Birthright. The Magistracy of Corporations, which by the Test-Act now takes place, is one Thing; but the Offices affected by the new Bill would be quite another.

Fifthly, There have been for several Towns and Cities Acts passed of late Years, for setting the Poor on Work therein, and punishing Vagrants, besides the former ancient Hospitals; touching which the Dissenters are likely by this Bill to have been excluded the appearing usefully in their Places; which is a Mark of Dishonour on them, as well as Discouragement to charitable Intentions.

Sixthly, To leave Protestant Dissenters subject to Fines and Penalties, if they do not accept Offices (toties quoties) and at the same Time if they do accept, to restrain them upon the severe Penalties of this Bill from doing what their Conscience obliges to, whether this would not (against the Intent of the Bill) be Persecution for Conscience Sake, all good Men might be left to judge; but they only would feel, and every Borough in England at Discretion be left to proportion the Degree.

Seventhly, The Dissenters have Reason to fear innumerable Injuries and Oppressions (besides these mentioned) would be their Lot, in all municipal Rates, Freedoms, Duties, Privileges, Services, Parish-Offices, and every Sort of Intercourse with their Townsmen and Neighbours. When upon Complaint of any such Injuries, those Fellow-Citizens, who only have Power to do them Justice, are like to suffer in their own Reputations, Interests, and Employments, for so doing, as Favourers of the fanatical, excluded Party.

These Considerations of their Suffering, though they appear evident and unavoidable, are with all Candour and Resignation referr'd to the Judgment of others; but the Dissenters must crave Leave to add, that they would be the more pungent and sensible upon Persons not chargeable by the Bill with any Offence, because, without Penal Laws, and their Attendants,

tendants, with the clamorous Insults of the prophane and designing, the very dissenting from the Publick is in itself (as to earthly Things) many Ways a Misfortune, which nothing but unpretended Conscience (however mistaken) would oblige them to.

Thirdly, The Penalties, which are the last Part of the Bill, shall be consider'd under three Heads. *First*, What Suitableness there is in them to the Act of Indulgence. *Secondly*, What Proportion between the Protestant Dissenters and Popish. *Thirdly*, What Danger from thence to the Innocent.

First, For the Suitableness there is in these Penalties to the Act of Indulgence; it may sure be granted, that *the good Effects of Liberty to tender Consciences are every where visible, that the foregoing Bitterness and Animosities are much calmed, the Dissenters brought to a Temper of Respect, and more Candour towards the Church, and the Church satisfied by sufficient Experience, that the Freedom of others does not lessen her Security and Reputation. Thus is our Sion at Unity within herself, and the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace (according to the Prayer of our Church) preserv'd.* One cannot therefore lay to Heart the Peace of our *Jerusalem* without some Concern, lest the Severities of this Bill should contribute to disturb it; for besides that it would dispossess immediately Persons legally vested with Places, and affect many Offices, which no Law did before, and many Ways be injurious in the Boroughs, and leave Men to occasional Persecution for Conscience Sake, and be a Brand upon all Assemblies of Dissenters, as already has been instanced; there are in it some further Peculiarities of Punishment.

Before the Act of Indulgence, while Conventicles were illegal and criminal Assemblies, even then a Man in Office, who was present at them, was only liable to a Fine of ten Pounds; whereas by this Bill he is liable to a Fine of a hundred Pounds, and five Pounds per Diem, for three Months, besides Loss of his Place. The Sum you see may amount to 550 *l.* which is more than would need to beggar some Thousands of Corporations; and other Officers in *England* would be liable to it, and the more in Danger, because the whole Sum goes to the Informer, which is good Booty for that Sort of Privateers; and the rather, when a Conviction on this Bill would not be so difficult as in most other Cases.

The Dissenters, during the worst of their Prosecutions heretofore, upon a visible Conformity, without Renunciation or declared Abhorrence of their former Practice, were at any Time capable of Places of Profit and Trust, but this Bill draws over all their Heads a dismal Cloud of Incapacity. *None will deny but a total Incapacity to serve his Prince and Country is a Mark of high Infamy; so that, next to the Loss of Life, it seems the heaviest Punishment; and in the several Towns corporate of England (which may probably be six or seven hundred) to be rendered by Law incapable of ever acquiring the Support of any of those little Places which appertain to them, besides those of Profit under the Head of the Test-Act, and those many more (upon Conviction) which no Law yet has ever affected, is altogether (if consider'd) a very unhappy*

happy Condition; but after the immediate Forfeiture of all the several Offices, now legally possess'd by the Dissenters, upon the Passing of this Bill, then a Person might still go to a Meeting, without Breach of any Law (as long as the Toleration continues) and one would think such a Man were *bonus & legalis homo*, and capable of the Privileges of a free-born Subject, and at Liberty to provide for his Family and Maintenance; but to impose a severe Censure on any Action allowed by Law, seems very unreasonable. However that be, there would remain upon all, and every Man of the Dissenters, an Incapacity not only as above, but (after the first Offence) for any Office or Employment whatsoever within the Kingdom; in which Regard this Bill would extend to Offices of Inheritance, and in the Forests, Non-Commission Offices in the Fleet, with many more, which neither the Test or Corporation-Acts, or any other, ever could affect, or ever intended so to do.

As to the Shame and Incapacity of one convicted upon this Bill; that is to say, before he ever again could enter by Grant or Election, into any Office or Employment within the Kingdom of England, he must, at the next Quarter-Sessions of the County where he resides, or in one of her Majesty's Courts at Westminster, in publick and open Court, make Oath in Writing, that within the Year foregoing, he has not once been present at any Conventicle, but has three Times at the least received the Sacrament at the Church; which Oath is to be kept upon Record. This would not be so much worthy of Consideration, nor the Aggravation of the Sentence on a second Offence, (as a Relapse and Apostacy) if the Value of the Forfeiture, and Easiness of Conviction, did not put too much Hazard on the Innocent, even after such Purgation, as well as before it.

Secondly, The Proportion by the Penalties of this Bill, between the Protestant and Papist, is to be scanned by two Ways. First, By examining whether they are equally liable to Loss of Offices, and suffering the Punishments. 2dly, What Difference there is otherwise. For the first, the Test being more expressly contrived to reject all Popish Recusants, and the Complexion of the Times since the grand Revolution not favouring them, every Man will agree with me, that the immediate Loss to them upon passing this Bill would be nothing, they have no Concern in the Matter; but on the other Hand, the Dissenters (under the Terms hitherto required by Law) do possess many Offices, as has been distinctly intimated, the first Loss to them thereupon would upon many Accounts be very considerable. Now for the Punishments sufferable by this Bill, the Dissenters enjoying a Liberty upon Condition of open Doors, a Conviction would at all Times be more feasible upon them than the Papists, who are enforced to conceal their Worship by other Laws. Furthermore, the Nature of the Protestant Worship requires all their Attendants at once, whereas that of private Masses need not engage above Five, besides the Family, in the same Instant. Thus the Papist would not be so exposed to the Forfeitures, Fine and Incapacity, as the Protestant.

The Difference otherwise between the Popish and Protestant Dissenter is no more than this; that whereas the Test-Act did more expressly intend the
Papist.

Papist, and the Protestant was but tacitly included, the Bill under Consideration uses such Terms only, as have been appropriate to Protestants; and herein the Papist is but tacitly included, however he is equally reach'd by the Intention and Penalties hereof; and thus the Popish Dissenter and Protestant do stand upon a Par; but granting the Papist is not liable to Loss of Benefit at all, or to suffering the Penalties like the Protestant, because Conviction is more difficult upon him, *no Man is made liable to suffer so much by any other Law, for assisting at the solemnest Acts of that Religion, as he would by this Bill, for being present at a Conventicle.* A Popish Convict, receiving the Sacrament of the Church, is immediately cleared; no such Shame of Renunciation, no Incapacity lies upon him. A Papist that shall relapse, and fall under a second Conviction, is to be convicted over again, without any Aggravation of his Censure. But Justice and good Policy require there should be a Proportion between the Offence and Punishment. Thus the Laws of England have all along treated Papists as the most inveterate, restless, and formidable Enemies of the State, because they depend upon a foreign Power, and are subject to it; which is such a one as always was, and ever will be employed to ruin us; therefore there has constantly been a less Degree of Punishment in the Laws upon the Protestant Dissenter than them. This Reason, if I be not mistaken, has a considerable Accession of Weight to it in our Days, the Papists having refused, since the late Revolution, their Allegiance to the Crown of England more than ever, from the early Days of the Reformation.

Lastly, Let us consider what Danger would arise from the Penalties of this Bill to the Innocent; for their Safety seems the highest Concern of all Laws. Now for the Administrations in publick, according to the Liturgy of the Church, though for Want of it before University Sermons, or upon an Omission of Prayer for the Royal Family, or upon contravening the Practice of the Church of England, Men would come within the Letter of this Bill, which is a Condition not wholly out of Danger; yet 'tis likely the obvious Design of it being against Dissenters, would render a Prosecution in those Cases fruitless: However, Family Prayers differing from the Liturgy, at which should be present more than Five accidentally above the Household (Circumstances not uncommon) would clearly come within Reach, and then the Villainy of a Couple of bad Servants (dismissed perhaps for ill Practices) would have sufficient Encouragement: But the greatest Danger to the Innocent arises from two Things in this Bill. First, From the Value of the Forfeiture, which may amount to 550*l.* and is all given to the Informers, a Temptation beyond what is commonly set before them by our Laws, or what the Integrity of the Age can well assure us against; for a detestable Sort of Men there has been, who, for much less Gains, have done wrongfully to a great many, and proved a very Nuisance to the Government, several of whom were convicted of Perjury about 20 Years ago. Secondly, The easiness of Conviction is another Subject of Danger to the Innocent; for as the Law in Relation to Offices now stands, every Man chuses his own Witnesses to receiving of the Sacrament; whose Attestation, with that of the Ministers and Church wardens, being put upon Record, a Man is almost beyond a Possi-
bility

bility of suffering by a false Accusation. But in the Bill before us 'tis not so safe, for false Witnesses may chuse to assign such a Time and Place (when they saw him at a Meeting) as they know the Party least likely to disprove, and the Accused in that Case has but a Kind of negative Proof to defend himself withal.

As I have not presumed to draw into Argument the Disposal of Offices, wherein the Safety of Church and State did appear manifestly concerned, so neither shall I once enter into the Thoughts of those high Affairs, which might be any Ways affected by this Bill; as whether the desirable Union with *Scotland* may not be embarrassed thereby; whether putting all foreign Churches under a Censure may weaken the good Understanding which ought to be between *England* and her Protestant Allies; whether this Expedient bears due Regard to the Condition of like Affairs among our nearest Neighbours, *Holland*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; or whether, in Time of so dubious a War, especially since a Pretender to our Throne is set up by the Enemy, it be proper to do any Thing which may raise Heats and Animosities among ourselves; these being Matters cognizable only by the proper Ministers of State, or the High Court of Parliament, and not fit for private Persons to debate.

As to the grand Point of their Loyalty and due Allegiance, which, above all others, the Dissenters are concern'd to vindicate themselves about; her Majesty's loving Subjects, who (being Protestants, and by the Rights of Nature *Englishmen*) lye under the Unhappiness of dissenting in some small Matters of Religion from the established Church, are abundantly satisfied from the Christian-like Preamble of this Bill, and otherwise, that in the sacred Breast of her most excellent Majesty, and in those also of the highly honoured Lords and Commons of *England*, they stand fully acquitted from the vile and detestable Imputation of any Principles repugnant to the Safety of this Government; the Testimony of their own Consciences does equally concur, and their Behaviour shall (as they hope it does) demonstrate to all the World, that none of their Fellow-Subjects can be more devoted to the present rightful and lawful Settlement of the Crown; were such Imputations true, they could never, with any Face, complain of whatever Hardships were put upon them; but being in the Case of the present Government absolved before God and Men, they do always allow themselves to hope, that during their consonant and uniform Obedience, no Difficulties or Distresses will be laid upon them; and above all, nothing which may look like a Blemish upon their Loyalty; her most gracious Majesty (whom God long preserve) has several Times expressed her pious, parental Candour and Compassion unto them, who indeed, without the Severity of penal Laws, are, for the Sake of undissembled Conscience, daily under various temporal Misfortunes; and as from that Disposition of her Majesty's, they hold the Benefits of the Act of Indulgence dear to them above all other earthly Considerations, none can more ardently and sincerely than they constantly do, and will,

will, implore the choicest Blessings of Heaven upon her excellent Majesty, and all their Governors.

To dissent from the Publick, they are sensible is always to be in the Wrong; but if instead of the few Things scrupled, wherein they are involuntarily so, their Union in the essential, and more important Points of Religion with the Church, might find a due Consideration; they doubt not but all Reproaches upon them, of any hostile Dispositions towards it, would also be done away. This is what, next to an affectionate Allegiance to the State, they could desire most, to vindicate to themselves the Character of, and which they have for many Years, by all Means so endeavoured, that if the unfriendly Passions of some Men, with the visible Interest of the Papists, had not hindered, the same would, long e'er this, have crowned their Wishes with an universal Attestation: To dissent touching Matters civil and common, from any Society we are in, I appeal to all Men, does it imply Ill-will to it? Why then should it be construed so in the Case before us? Or if we please, why not quite otherwise?

The Church of *England*, is it not as a City, which has an ambitious and powerful Enemy in the Field? She has indeed other Fortifications more near and proper, but why may not the Dissenters to her also be accounted as detached Outworks and Lines of Defence? Had ever the common Enemy a Design immediate to execute upon this City, but first his secret Engines were wrought to breed Misunderstanding between the Town and her Dependants, then open Attacks were made upon the separated Forts; and while many Storms have fallen upon those, their Fidelity to the Town has been the more approved, but the City itself secure? No Persecutions could extort any Petition from them for a Toleration of Popery. But after a long and obstinate Defence, when those outward Posts came to be abandoned and demolished, did not the Enemy soon get within the Town? The Papists, it is true, when once possess'd of their Conquest, to secure against the Revolt of it, tho' before, by open Force, they had taken and levell'd all those Redoubts, did then officiously erect them anew, thinking to serve their Interest of them: But the Dissenters, glad of Liberty indeed (who can blame them?) no sooner discovered the Enemy's Design, than they adhered to their ancient Mother and Principal.

The Author hereof, to obviate undue Constructions, thinks fit to declare, he is not liable to the Loss of any Office by the foresaid Bill, nor has he reaped any personal Advantage from the Revolution, or any Ways from the Government since; but the true Occasion of this Discourse was not so much a Respect to the Dissenters, as an accidental Computation in himself of the flourishing Estate of the reformed Interest in *Europe*, in the Commencement of the last Century, and of the dismal Declension of it at the latter End; which gave him Occasion to reflect, that in human Appearance the only defensible Bulwark of it must now consist in the Welfare of our Government, and an indissoluble Union with *Holland*. Upon which Occasion, considering that *the Indemnity of Dissenters from penal Laws, was by the Act of Indulgence*

gence, declared an effectual Means to unite our Protestant Fellow-Subjects in Interest and Affection. He could not but conclude, that the imposing new Penalties and Sufferings would disunite them; and what can look more fatal upon us, than to see buried Animosities flame out afresh? Who can tell but a Breach, when open'd, may, beyond all our Foresight, grow in Time so wide, that the merciless Usurpations of *France* and *Rome* may enter at it?

But as to our Days, the Hope and Wishes of our Enemies shall be disappointed, if we will listen to the Direction which the pious and prudent Authority over us has prescribed, in appointing, on the late solemn Fast, (*to obtain Success in this War, whereon the Safety of the Kingdom does wholly depend*) this Prayer for our Use, and the God of Mercy vouchsafe us a favourable Answer to it. Give us Grace, O Lord, seriously to lay to Heart the great Dangers we are in, by our unhappy Divisions; take away all Hatred and Prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly Union and Concord; that as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one Heart, and of one Soul, united in one Holy Bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity; and may, with one Mind, and one Mouth, glorify thee, O God, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

Great Britain's Union, and the Security of the Hanover Succession, considered. In a Letter from Windsor, of the 30th of December, 1704, to a Member of Parliament in London. By a Person of Quality. 1705.

S I R,

THE extraordinary Success of our Arms both by Sea and Land, especially in the Plains of *Hochstet* last Summer, was so much beyond the Expectation of any reasonable Man, and the Event so far exceeded the first Design, that it is not to be wondered, if a Nation, raised to an Extasy, by such uncommon and surprizing Accidents, had neither Will nor Leisure to think on any Thing else: For as when Mens Eyes are too fixedly intent upon one Object, they generally overlook other Things, that both require and deserve their Regard; so whilst the Nation was thus at a Gaze, few or none thought it worth their while so much as to enquire what was upon the Anvil, or gave themselves the Trouble either to weigh the true Interest of the Nation, or to search whether, in the Midst of the deepest appearing Security, there were not real Designs of undermining us; from what secret

Springs they had their first Motion; by whom, with what View, by what Methods, and how far they had been carried on.

But Men rather satisfied themselves with a general Notion of Things; the busy Part of the Nation were torturing their Fancies, to find out Expressions of Force enough to lessen and sully, by fulsome, sordid, and mercenary Flattery, one of the most glorious Actions of latter Ages, that shines brightest in its native Lustre, like the Folly of those who would attempt to paint a Diamond, whereby its original Light and Beauty is lost; whilst others gratified themselves in a supine Indulgence: And this careless Temper grew to that Height, that Men of the best Estates in *England*, and Members of Parliament too, were so far from knowing what had been lately done in a neighbouring Kingdom, that when they were told of the *Act of Security* passed there the last Session of Parliament, they could scarce believe it, even when it was shewn to them.

'Tis true, a little before the sitting down of our Parliament, the *Scotch Act of Security* began to be discours'd of amongst *some Men*; but whether it was to keep a *great Man or two* in awe, by threatening them with it, or whether to make the *better Terms for themselves*, is not my Part to discover; Time will do that for me. But you may believe it upon the Testimony of a near Witness, that no Men were more hot and violent against *some Persons*, and thought their Guilt more unpardonable, than those, who, in a very few Days, were as ready to cover, as they before to accuse. What Influence either Pensions or Promises had in this sudden and wonderful Change, or whether any, I shall not trouble myself to examine; only it happened cross, I believe to the Foundation of some Mens Merit, that nothing personal was ever design'd by any, unless by themselves. However it was, it seems very probable to me, that if a certain Lord had not taken Notice of the Business of *Scotland*, we had to this Day been very much in the Dark, as to that Matter.

Since that Time, the Face of our Affairs has been so much changed, that instead of the lasting Felicity and firm Security we flatter'd ourselves with, a Scene of threatening Dangers, like a gathering Tempest, has been open'd unto us; which makes it the Duty of every Man, that wishes well to *Britain*, to consider, how either the menacing Storm may be avoided, or a safe Shelter provided: But as the Wisdom of Prevention far exceeds that of Remedy, so, if any reasonable and reconciling Methods could be found out, (with Submission to better Judgments) they might be as effectual upon others, and less dangerous to ourselves, than either *Standing Troops* or *Fortified Garrisons*.

I shall take Liberty to mention one or two, which, I think, would be of great Service to *England* in this present Juncture, if not to effect that mutual good Understanding, which every Man, wishing well to both Nations, earnestly desires; yet at least to make us better known to one another.

And since we must have Characters of Distinction, I would rather chuse a real, than a nominal one, and would go down into my Country with the Mark of one, who, by all possible and reasonable Means, would endeavour to
heal

heal the Breaches, and create and nourish a good Understanding, Correspondence and Agreement, between *England* and *Scotland*; of one who is for the real Interest of *England*, as well perpetual as accidental, and would have neither betray'd, overlook'd, or sold; of one who is for the Settlement of the *Succession* in the *Protestant Line* and *House of Hanover*, and strict to National Oaths and Engagements, tho' under the *Jacobitish Name of a Tory*; than of one who either makes the *Illustrious House of Hanover* his Jest, or the Interest of *England* his Property and Pretence, and endeavours by all the popular Colours to cover the Advisers of those Counsels that may prove dangerous to both Kingdoms, tho' under the false Character of a *staunch Whig*.

The first Thing I shall mention is the Matter of *Trade*, which seems to be the tender Point between the two Nations: And if the general Calcule be true, viz. that we have lost about two Thousand Ships since the present War, aboard each of which, by a Medium, we may reckon ten Men made Prisoners, half of whom (by most credible Information) generally enter themselves in the *French Service*; according to which Compute the *French* have near Ten Thousand of our ablest Seamen at present in their Pay, the Boys and old Men being those that are actually sent us Home in Exchange; there could not be a greater Service and Security to *England*, than to let the *Scots* into such a Part of Trade, as may be no Way prejudicial to the other Parts, and be a constant Nursery of numerous and able Seamen, to be ready for Service on all Exigencies.

'Tis well known what Advantages that Nation has for *Fishing*; and if there was a *Joint Stock* of both Kingdoms, establish'd by both Parliaments for this single Branch of Trade, it would be a consolidating Project, and might have as powerful an Influence to bring that Nation to a better Temper, as any other Method.

Especially if in that Establishment, the Wisdom of the Nation would think it reasonable to give the *Scots* a *Consideration* for the great Losses they sustain'd at *Darien*; wherein, by some Mens Advice, there was more Compliment paid to a *Spanish Monarch*, and Regard had to the Interest of a *Neighbouring State*, than either to Parliamentary Engagement, or Personal Duty: It might prove a very effectual Way of defeating some Mens Designs, and settling the *Hanover Succession* there, as we have done here. For I have always thought *Induction* a much stronger Argument to convince Men than a *formal Syllogism*, and that Men are more easily perswaded of a general Truth drawn from sensible, advantageous Particulars, than by a *Demonstration* grounded either on Principle or Maxim.

But since I have mentioned a *Neighbouring State*, let us a little consider what great Advantages the *Dutch* have over us with respect to our *Trade*, our *Quotas* and our *Coin*, either from our Ignorance, or their Influence and Designs upon us.

First, as to *Trade*: No Man, I think, who knows any Thing of the Course of it, but must be of Opinion, that the prohibiting the Importation of *French Goods*, whilst our Neighbours the *Dutch* have the Liberty of Commerce

with that Nation, is as prejudicial to us as profitable to them: For 'tis most evident, that it were better for *England* to have *Wines, Brandies, &c.* immediately from *France*, in Exchange of our Home-Manufacture, than to have them, under the Notion of a Prohibition, by Second-hand, from the *Dutch*; by which Means they have not only the Advantage of settling and maintaining a present Trade with *France*, and thereby an Opportunity of beating us out of it for the future; but also make us pay ready Money and higher Rates for those Commodities, which otherwise we might have much cheaper, and with more Advantage. A particular Instance hereof is the *French Brandy* brought in from *Holland*, paying the Duty but of *Dutch Goods*, with a *Dutch Attestation* of its being run there immediately from the Stills into the Casks, in which it is imported; it being the Practice of the Merchants there to put the *French Brandy* into their Stills, and immediately turn the Cock, and run it into the Cask; by which Practice the Laws are eluded, and *England* imposed upon. Besides this, the great Duties that are lay'd upon imported Goods, are as advantageous to the *Dutch*, as burthenfome to our *English* Merchants; for by this Method our Trade is very much driven from us, and the *Dutch* have the Advantage of the Freight, the Commission, the Customs, the petty Charges, and the Credit of a great Part of it.

Every Man knows, that *Trade* is the true Interest both of *England* and *Holland*; and of all the *Branches* of it, there is none the *Dutch* more covet to monopolize than that Part which is left to us of the *East India Trade*: And if they could but engross the *Pepper* alone (as they have done the *Nutmeg, Cinamon and Mace*) they might put their own Price upon it, which, according to the Rate it went last War, would yield them many Millions. And here I could easily convince you, how constant a Regard the *Dutch* have to the Interest of their *Trade*, if I would mention the *private Article* of the *Partition Treaty* between them and the *French King*; and in how probable Circumstances they are of obtaining again what by the said *Article* was covenanted; but these Things being, in my Opinion, not so seasonable to be made more publick than they are, I shall only wish *England may never be excluded any Branch of her Trade by any private Article for the future.*

As to our *Quota's*, 'tis evident, the Money exported hence for the Subsistence, Cloathing, Ammunition, &c. of our *Land Forces* there, enriches them proportionably to what we are impoverish'd thereby: And it seems but reasonable, that since the Dangers *England* is expos'd to are by Sea, as those of *Holland* are by Land, we should have so much Care of ourselves, as to have our Security in our own Hands as much as possible, and be at less Charge in raising and maintaining *Land Forces* to defend and enlarge the *Dutch Barrier*, tho' we should be put to greater Expence in the Defence of our own, by which our *Quota of Charges* in the present War would be still the same to us, but the Advantage much greater, by securing ourselves at Home, by encreasing our *Trade, Seamen, Navigation, Coin and Wealth*, by maintaining our Dominion of the Seas, and making ourselves Masters of the
principal

principal Places of Strength and Importance in *America*, as the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, *Cartagena*, *Portobello*, *Panama*, and the *Havanna*, which, by our League with the *House of Austria*, we may keep, and thereby open a direct Trade thither with our Home-Manufacture for Exchange of Silver, instead of having it at Second-hand by the Way of *Spain*. Let none here object the Difficulty of finding Men for such a Project, considering the great Number our Grand Fleet will take up in Time of War; for the *Scots* would most willingly join with us in this *great Design*, and furnish more Men than we have Ships to put them into, which would so unite both Nations in one and the same Interest, that I can attribute it to nothing but the Power of a *Foreign Interest* (this being the Thing of all others the *Dutch* most dread) such a Project has not been attempted, as the taking of those Places has been advised before now.

But 'tis very amazing, if, under all these Difficulties with which we struggle, and the vast Expence we are at in maintaining so great a Force Abroad, any one should scruple to satisfy the Nation, Whether or no the *Dutch* make good their poor *Quota of three Ships* to our *five*; which one would think there should be no Question of: And yet, if we may believe what we hear from Abroad, *ten Ships to our thirty* is all they are to provide this Year. How this is brought to pass I shall not say, but have always thought it as reasonable, that the Measures and Quotas of our Operations and Force by Sea should be regulated between *Holland* and us here, as that the Scheme of the Land Forces should be concerted at the *Hague*, and that they should rather send an Agent hither, than that the Queen should be forc'd to send one of her *Admiralty* thither to adjust our Maritime Affairs with them; tho' I doubt not but they are very thankful to *some Persons* for this Compliment, and find their own Account too in being so. But unless some immediate Care be taken of this Matter, the Time of the Year will too far advance to make any Alteration possible.

There is one Argument more, which I think I need but name, to convince any Man, that loves the Welfare of *England*, how reasonable it is we should both be very exact, and very positive in this Matter; I mean *the almost incredible Losses* we have sustain'd by Sea, since this War broke out; which are not only great in themselves, but irreparable to us: Towns may be re-taken, Provinces may be conquered or yeilded up, but our Merchants Losses will never be repay'd, our Ships will never be restored, nor our Seamen ever recovered. And tho' our Losses by Sea amount, I believe, to more than what the whole *Confederacy* by Sea or Land has suffered; yet, lest the mentioning them should be more criminal than the Neglect by which they are occasioned, or seem an Attempt to lessen *some Mens high Reputation* and *other Mens great Favour*, I shall not enlarge further on this Head, but hope the Nation will take it into their Consideration.

The last Thing is the Matter of *Coin*; with regard to which, in how melancholy Circumstances we are, you may easily judge, if you consider (to omit other Particulars) only the vast Sums that *necessarily* go out of *England* in

in Specie every Year, to subsist, &c. our Forces abroad, and that all the Silver Money which goes into *Holland*, is there melted down, lest otherwise it should find its Way Home: And besides this, the *Dutch* are so very covetous of our Silver, that they actually give at present $56\frac{1}{2}$ Stivers for every *English* Crown Piece, tho' the Exchange is only $52\frac{1}{2}$; by which Means such Quantities of our Coin are clandestinely carried thither, that we already find a sensible Want of it: Which Course, if it be not speedily prevented, will leave us very little in a short Time; for notwithstanding the Foreign Expence of our Treasure is very great, the *West-Indies* bring us in but little Supply.

I have been the larger on this Head, to convince you how much it is our Interest to strengthen ourselves as far as possible, by bringing in the *Scotch Nation to a Union with us in the Fishing Trade*; for Want of which, the Advantages the *Dutch* make by that Trade are too many here to be enumerated.

How much it would be the Interest of both Nations to have the *Scotch Crown* settled upon the *Protestant Line* and *House of Hanover*, is so well known, that it needs no Proof: It belongs not to me to say by what Arts and Methods that miscarried in the last Session of the *Scotch Parliament*; but surely there cannot be a more powerful Motive to persuade the *Scots* to come into it, than by convincing them *that we ourselves are in Earnest*: And I may say there cannot be a greater Inducement to persuade that Nation to settle their Crown as we have done, or to secure our own Settlement in Case they should not, than if our *Presumptive Heir* of the *Illustrious House of Hanover* was always residing here, under the Care and Protection of *Her Majesty*.

A few Particulars, amongst many which might be mentioned, will be sufficient, I think, to convince any unbiass'd Man of the Reason and Advantage of this *Proposition*.

'Tis certain, if the Prayers of the People and the Personal Virtue of a *Prince* could make any one immortal, the Happiness and Security we at present enjoy under her Majesty would be perpetual; but how great soever these Blessings are, they all hang upon the single Thread of *Her Majesty's valuable Life*.

The Queen herself was so sensible of this, that amongst other Things in her first Speech to her Parliament, she recommended *the procuring a lasting Foundation of Security to England*; which necessarily includes the Care of the *Protestant Succession*, because without it as now settled in the *House of Hanover* by Acts of Parliament, what other reasonable Foundation can we have of a lasting Security to our *Laws, Liberties, and Religion*?

That which every good *Englishman*, I believe, wishes, is a long Life to her Majesty, and a Successor after her, that may inherit her Virtues and Piety, her Zeal for the *Church*, and her Care for the *State*; who being fashioned and formed by her own Hand to her own Mind, by a daily View of her great and princely Virtues, may at once be led both to admire and imitate *the great Original*.

Nor

Nor can there be, in my Opinion, a greater Advantage and Security to the *Church of England*, than to have a Successor to the Crown long and personally acquainted with the *Reverend Prelates*, her great Ornaments and Defence; whereby he would have a greater Opportunity of being more fully instructed in her Doctrines, and more evidently convinced of their Merit, who, in the late dangerous Times, shew'd their Learning in their Writings, and Courage in their Steadiness to her Interest.

'Tis the Glory of our Religion, as of Truth, to be admired and loved according to the Degrees of its being known: So that it cannot be without some Prejudice to a Church, that the *presumptive Successor* to the Crown should be at a Distance from those Persons who are best able to instruct him; and that he should receive Things with the great Disadvantage and Uncertainty of *distant Reports*, who otherwise might be an immediate *Observer* of Mens Principles and Actions.

It would be another Advantage to *England*, rather to have a Successor to the Crown well acquainted with our *Persons, Laws, Customs and Constitutions*, with a Heart *entirely English*, than one, who coming over very much a *Stranger* to all these, is liable to the Misfortunes of a *late Prince*, who, by the Weakness or Flattery of his *Ministry*, was led into such frequent Mistakes, such false Steps, as often proved very troublesome to himself, and very grievous to his People.

For the Knowledge of Men and Things comes not to any Person by *Infusion*, but is gain'd by nice Observation and great Experience; and yet is so absolutely necessary, that 'tis scarce possible any Government without it can be managed as it ought: For, as to the first Step of Government, *the Choice of a Council*, that must be the mere Effect of Chance in a Prince, who is altogether ignorant of Mens Merits and Qualifications; and the Resolutions a Prince, who is unacquainted with the Nature and Circumstances of Affairs, takes upon the different Opinions offered, are the Effects of blind Confidence, rather than the Acts of Judgment: The Orders such a Prince gives, the Alliances he ratifies, the War and Peace he makes, and all other *Treaties* in general, are sign'd by a *Hand without Eyes*; he knows not what he does, and so *Treachery* always finds him unprovided, and each Minister reigns absolutely in that Part of Government which is assigned to him, making his Fortune out of the Publick, while all wink at one another.

But if it unfortunately happen, that such a *Prince* puts himself and the Government into one Hand, no Man knows what the Consequence of such a Confidence may be either to *Prince* or *People*; for he is not born a Prince; when he sees himself thus cloathed with *delegated Majesty*, he will take Pride in shewing it, by exercising both his Authority and Passions; and if he happen to be of a *grasping and hungry Temper*, it is yet the more dangerous to the Prince, who, if he knows it not, is generally accused of Incapacity, Remissness or Neglect; or though he does, yet may want Strength, Resolution, or Knowledge, to free himself from such a Clog, or change the Scene of his Ministry.

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The Great Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Reigns of King *James* the First, and King *Charles* the First, is an evident Instance of this, who being a Favourite of two Princes, and having got the whole Government into his own Hand, set this Nation so much against him (*which could never yet bear a single Minister*) that he was accused in Parliament of *black and heinous Practices* against his late Master, King *James*, and his Ambition, Avarice, and exorbitant Power, laid the Foundation of those fatal Troubles to King *Charles* the First, than whom no Prince, that ever sway'd the *English* Scepter before him, began his Reign with greater Affection and Love of his People.

These are some of the many Advantages of having a Successor to the Crown residing here; besides which, no Man knows what the Danger of his Absence may be in any *fatal and critical Juncture*. The Methods and Directions relating to the Settlement of the *Scotch Crown* on the *House of Hanover*, make it reasonable for any Man to believe it possible, that there may be a Difficulty to call over the *Hanover Successor* at such a Time; for we may then have no Fleet in Readiness; Sickneſs, or many other Accidents, may hinder; the Wind may be contrary. All Men know, that Wind, which may bring the *French* Fleet hither, must keep him from hence; *and who can be sure of a Protestant Wind twice?* Scotland on one Side is armed and angry; France, on the other, is watchful and ready, with a powerful Fleet, and a bold Pretender; and we ourselves so divided and weakned, as to make the Event of Things in such a Juncture uncertain.

Besides this, if we would learn from the Experience of distant Ages, the Instances of King *William Rufus*, King *Henry I.* King *Stephen* and King *John*, may convince us how great an Advantage he that first steps into the Throne has of keeping it: And in the Case of King *Stephen*, how weak a Security the Oaths and Obligations of a Nation is, even to the rightful and lawful Successor.

But we need not look so far back, when we have so present and so chargeable an Evidence of this Truth before our Eyes; for who is it that does not know, that the present *Duke of Anjou* not only has got the Possession of the *Spanish Monarchy*, contrary to the most solemn Oaths, Renunciations, and Engagements by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, that either the Wit of Man could invent, or Religion make sacred, but also by stepping first into that Throne, keeps Possession to this Day, in Defiance of all the powerful Assistance of the Confederates to the *lawful Heir*, and the general Aversion of the *Spaniards* to the *House of Bourbon*?

These Things put together, I hope may convince you, that the best Way to induce the *Scots* to settle their Crown, as we have done, or to secure our own Succession in case they do not, is by having always the *Presumptive Heir to the Crown*, of the *Illustrious House of Hanover*, residing here, under the Care and Protection of the *Queen*.

That her Majesty may live long, *and always hold the Scepter in her own Hand*; that she may have Heirs of her own to fill her Throne after her; and in Failure thereof, that the *Protestant Line, and House of Hanover*, according
to

to the National Settlement, may take Place; and that those who wish well to the Peace, Union, and Prosperity of *Britain*, and to our *English Liberty, Property, Constitution and Religion*, may be better known, and always prosper, is the hearty Prayer of,

S I R,

Windsor, Dec. 30,
1704. *Your, &c.*

An Essay upon the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

TH E Conveniency, if not the Necessity of the Union of the two Kingdoms, is no longer a Dispute with those Men that have given themselves the Leisure to think of this weighty Juncture; but the Practicableness of this Union is what most People are in Pain for. I should indeed despair of seeing *this great Work brought to a happy Conclusion*, did I wish for, or expect a Union, upon any Foot that hitherto has been proposed in Print. Your universal or general Union, which must carry along with it the Destruction of the Constitution of both Kingdoms, and the Resurrection of another in their Rooms, is no more to be expected, than the Annihilation of this World, and the Succession of a new one in its Place. Your Foederal Union can never subsist long, if it can exist at all, and tends more to disunite the two Kingdoms from under one Head, than to unite them into one Body; but the Union I wish for has neither the Impossibility of the former in it, nor the Precariousness of the latter.

If we are united so far as is necessary for the Benefit of both Kingdoms, and upon that Foot that will remove the Fears and Jealousies of both Nations, and redress the Grievances complain'd of by both Sides, then we are united to all Intents and Purposes. The Benefit the *Scotch* expect from their Union with *England* is a Participation in the *English* Trade, and the Benefit the *English* may expect from a Union with *Scotland* is an Enlargement of Trade, especially in the Fishery, and a suitable Encrease of People to manage that Trade, and to fill up the *English* Fleets and Armies; but chiefly what is wanting to compleat the Happiness of *England* is Peace and Safety, which *England* scarce ever enjoy'd before the Union of the two Kingdoms under one Head, and can't with Reason expect to have continued, unless the said Kingdoms be united into one Body.

But how this Union is to be made is what I intend to make an Essay upon, and in order to this, I shall follow this Method: *First*, To touch upon

on what the Kingdoms are not to be united in, and again what they are to be united in.

As to the first, they are not to be universally or generally united, nor so united as to destroy the main Constitution of either Kingdom. We are united already under one Head, and we may be united into one Body, without confounding and destroying the Laws and Religion of either Country, or exchanging one for t'other: For this Reason, let the Municipal Laws of both Kingdoms continue as they now stand; the *English* Law for the Inhabitants of *England*, and the *Scotch* Laws for the Inhabitants of *Scotland*; let the Courts of Law and Equity, *Doct'or's Commons*, &c. stand as they are now in *England*, under the same Form and Extent of Power and Jurisdiction, as in *England* at this Day; and the Courts of the Lords of the Session and Council, the Court of Admiralty and the Commissary Courts of *Scotland*, continue under the same Forms and Extent of Jurisdiction, as they are now at this Day in *Scotland*. Let the Parliaments of both Kingdoms continue as they are, and to do every Thing they can do now at this Day, restrain'd so far only, as shall be hereafter explain'd. Let the Religion of both Countries, or rather of Church-Government, continue as they are establish'd by Law in both Kingdoms. Let the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* stand upon the two Rocks they are built upon, with Toleration to Dissenters; and let the Gates of Hell never prevail against either of them, nor the Gates of either of them prevail against the other; for the People of both Kingdoms are very well satisfied with their own Forms of Religion, Law, and distributive Justice; nay, they seem to be fond of them to a high Degree, and no doubt they have Reason to expect no Alteration in those Things, and the Union both Nations have Occasion for is to be made up of none of these Forms and Matters, but must arise out of a Communication of Trade, and Unity of Peace and War in both Kingdoms: And this leads me to explain what the Kingdoms shall be united in, which are as follow:

First, *Under one Head, and in Peace and War.*

Secondly, *In a Unity or Communion of Parliaments.*

Thirdly, *In a Unity or Communion of Trade and Taxes.*

Lastly, *In a Unity of Administration in the publick Revenues of both Kingdoms.*

As for the *first*: We are already possess'd of that; for we are united under one crown'd Head, and in that crown'd Head the Prerogative of making Peace and War is lodg'd by the Fundamental Laws of both Kingdoms; so I need say no more to this, since we are already fix'd there.

Secondly, The Kingdoms are to be united in a Unity or Community of Parliaments, which is of absolute Necessity; for albeit, by the Constitution of both Kingdoms, the Prerogative of Peace and War is lodg'd in either Crown, yet the Right of giving Money for the Support of the War is uncontestably

contestably lodg'd with the People assembled in Parliament, or Meeting of Estates, as sometimes in *Scotland*; and since both Nations are involv'd in one and the same Fate of War and Peace, its but reasonable, that the People of both Nations should be heard in one and the same Parliament, before they are concluded by this Prerogative of the Crown, or at least before they part with their Money or Men, for the Support of the one, or the Keeping of the other.

But this is but by the bye; but what I am to explain is, the How, or the Way this Union or Communion of the two Parliaments is to be made and supported; which, with profound Submission to the Publick, is of no great Difficulty in Speculation, nor can it be in Practice. We have a Precedent of this Union of the two Parliaments, under a very bad Government; and albeit the Thing was the best that could be for both Kingdoms, yet the Manner of it was the worst that could be too, and all of a Piece with the Spirit that then prevail'd; but I am not to make a Criticism upon that Government, being mindful of the Business in Hand, which is to draw out the first Lines of this Union or Communion of the two Parliaments, which I would have thus.

When the Kings and Queens of *England* and *Scotland* (who are the same Royal Persons, and stand upon the same Right of Succession in both Kingdoms, so far as the Line of Succession is not altered by Law since the Revolution) have occasion, or are oblig'd to call for the Assistance of their Subjects in Parliament, at the same Time the Writs are issued out for the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Sheriffs, &c. for the electing the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of Parliament, let Orders or Writs be issued or given for choosing a certain Number of *Scotch* Peers and Commoners, as shall be agreed by the Act of the Union, and after the Manner hereafter describ'd, to meet their King or Queen in Parliament. Let the *Scots* Peers be admitted into the House of Lords, and the *Scots* Commoners into the House of Commons, and let them have the same Privilege, and no more, than every Peer or Commoner has in either House, in Matters that are within the Act of the Union, but in others that are without the Act of the Union, and which relate to the particular Constitution of an *English* Parliament, the Representatives of *Scotland* shall have neither Vote nor Voice; that is, neither a Liberty to speak, or a Right to give a Vote; thus the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, upon Writs of Error and Appeal, and the Rights of both Houses to propose and amend the Laws, and relieve the Hardships of them, upon the Petition of the Subject, will remain as they are now, and go on without any Obstruction from the *Scots* Members in either House.

And as the Parliament of *Scotland* is to subsist after the Union of the two Kingdoms, as well as the Parliament of *England*, for the Regulation of their Religion, Laws, and good Manners, and doing every Thing a *Scots* Parliament can do now, excepting Trade, Taxes, Peace and War, in which the Kingdoms are to be united, and by the united Council of both Nations

in one Parliament, are to be hereafter determin'd, let there be a certain Number of *English* Peers and Commoners (the more the better for *Scotland*) to be chosen by each House apart in the first Session of every triennial Parliament: Let the same Number of *English* Peers and Commoners be admitted into the Parliament of *Scotland*, that of *Scots* Peers and Commoners shall be admitted into the Parliament of *England*, but without any Manner of Right and Privilege to speak or vote in that Assembly, unless it be to make Declaration or Protestation against any Motion, Speech, Vote or Proceeding in the *Scots* Parliament or Members thereof, that may seem to intermeddle with the Act of the Union of the two Kingdoms.

Now as the Union of the two Parliaments, after this Manner, seems to be easy and practicable, I cannot find out there can be any Difficulty to agree upon the Method of choosing the Representatives of each Nation, in either Parliament, or the Number of them alternatively.

As for the Manner of choosing the *English* Representatives in a *Scots* Parliament, we have already hinted, that is to be done by the two Houses apart in the first Sessions of every triennial Parliament; and let this Election be upon the same Day that each House chooses their Committees; and let this Election hold for the whole *Triennium* of every *English* Parliament, or for every Sessions of such Parliament, as hereafter shall be found convenient.

As for the Manner of choosing the *Scots* Representatives in an *English* Parliament, the Custom of *Scotland* seems to have prepared for that. In the *Scots* Parliament there are three Estates; the Nobility make the first Estate, the Barons and Representatives of Shires make the Second, and the Boroughs or Representatives of Towns and Corporations make the third Estate: By the Custom of *Scotland*, this last Estate of the Boroughs have a Right to assemble once a Year or oftner. What can be easier then, than that this same Convention of Boroughs shall, by Orders to be issued out under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, be empower'd to choose a certain Number out of their Body, to sit in every *English* Parliament, and represent there the Estate of the Boroughs of *Scotland*. Sure this is very practicable and very natural. Now albeit, by the Custom of *Scotland*, there is no such Custom as a Convention of Nobles, yet let the Act of the Union supply this Defect, and empower the Queen, by Proclamation, or otherwise, to call a Convention of Nobles, for choosing a certain Number of their Body to represent their Estate in the *English* Parliament. Both these Conventions can be called to meet in different Places of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and upon one and the same Day, if occasion be, and can finish their Elections within forty Days, that by the Custom of *England* is allotted betwixt the issuing out of Writs for calling a Parliament, and the Meeting of the said Parliament. As for the Manner of the Election of the Representatives of the middle Estate, the Barons of *Scotland*, in my Opinion, the present Method of Custom in *Scotland* is the best. That the landed Men in every Shire choose their own Representatives, as it is in *England*, only I wish by the Act of the Union, the Queen and her Successors be empower'd to issue out Writs or Orders to
the

the Sheriff of each Shire in *Scotland*, for convening the landed Men in each County for choosing their Representatives to sit in the *English* Parliament, and by this Method, the Elections of the Shires in *Scotland* may be finished within the Compass of forty Days, and the Elected have Time to come to *London* within the said Interval.

Now as to the Number of the Representatives of each Nation in Parliament, is what I hope will not obstruct the Union. The *English* will be very easy in this Matter, they have no Reason to contend for a greater Number of *Englishmen* to sit in a *Scots* Parliament, than what the *Scots* shall desire of *Scotsmen* to sit in an *English* Parliament; for they can expect nothing but Charge and Trouble by going into *Scotland*, and the more of them go into *Scotland*, (the more the better for *Scotland*) the more Money will be spent in *Scotland*, and a better Understanding propagated betwixt both Nations, and better Opportunities offered for Alliances, Friendships, and Marriages, and for the Improvement of Trade, and Encouragement of Arts and Sciences. On the other Side, the more the *Scots* desire of *Scotsmen*, out of every Estate, to sit in an *English* Parliament, it is the worse for themselves, more Money will be carried out of *Scotland*, for the Support and Charge of their Attendance. Upon a due Reflection upon the whole Matter on both Sides, I am tempted to prophesy, that Twelve out of the first Estate, viz. the Nobility, and one out of every Shire in *Scotland* for the Barons, which make but Thirty-two, and Twelve out of the Boroughs, in all Fifty-six, make a greater Number than in Process of Time will be desired. By this Scheme, the Nobility, tho' they have but Twelve directly for their Estate, yet by the Constitution of *Scotland*, they having a Right to vote in Shires and Corporations, will have an Influence to choose a far greater Number of Barons and Burgeesses, and having their Sons, Favourites, and Dependents, chosen for the Representatives of these two Estates; and, no doubt, this Proportion of Number, the *Scots* Nobility have by this Scheme in the Representation of their Country in an *English* Parliament, is equal to, if not more than, the Proportion they have in the Balance of the Strength and Wealth of *Scotland*.

These Fifty-six Members are a sufficient Number of Men to represent any Kingdom, with all the Train of its Wants, Necessities and Grievances; and if it is a very great Inferiority to the Number of an *English* Parliament, yet no ill Consequence can happen from that; for under a Union we are but one Nation, one People and Parliament, and have but one and the same Interest and Design; and we may imagine, with as much Reason, that the Representatives of the *English* Parliament for the Counties and Corporation, South of *Trent*, should conspire to out-vote the Counties and Corporations of *England*, North of *Trent*, and oppress these Countries with unequal Taxes, &c. as we may fear the *English* Members will out-vote the *Scots* Members, and oppress *Scotland* with unequal Taxes or partial Laws; and as the former has never happen'd, so the latter is never to be fear'd.

Thirdly, The Kingdoms are to be united in Trade and Taxes.

By

By the Act of the Union, let the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* be deem'd one and the same in all Respects in Trade and Taxes. *Scotland* shall be considered and deem'd as *Yorkshire*, or any other County of *England*, and *England* as the *Louthians*, or any other Shire of *Scotland*. Let there be no Tax, Custom or Imposition whatsoever, laid upon the Persons, Product or Manufacture of either Kingdom, but the same that is laid on both, and by the united Parliament of both Kingdoms, as above describ'd. By the same Act, *Scotsmen* and *Scots* Merchants and Traders, shall be deem'd as *Englishmen* to all Intents and Purposes, and *Scots* Merchants, and *Scots* Ships, *Scots* Masters and Mariners shall be deem'd as *English* built Ships, and as *English* Ships, Masters and Mariners, and shall trade by Land and by Water Coast-ways, and over Sea, into any Part of *England* or *Ireland*, or any Part of the *English* Plantations in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, and shall there enjoy the same Rights and Privileges as *Englishmen*, *English* Masters, Ships and Mariners can or may do. On the other Hand, *English* Merchants and Sailors may go and trade into *Scotland* by Land or by Water, and shall be judg'd *Scotsmen*, and the Product and Manufacture of *England* shall be judg'd the Product and Manufacture of *Scotland* to all Intents and Purposes. In a Word, the Inhabitants of both Kingdoms shall have one and the same Right to trade every where, with Reservation of the Rights and Privileges of the *East-India* Companies of *England* and *Scotland*, established by Act of Parliament, both which Companies, by the Act of the Union, shall be confirm'd in, and confined to the Rights and Privileges of these several Establishments, neither Company shall interfere with the Rights and Privileges of the other Company. The Goods of the *East-India* and *African* Company of *Scotland* shall not be importable into *England*, nor *vice versa*, the Goods of the *East-India* Company of *England* shall not be importable into *Scotland*. And with Reservation of the Rights and Privileges of other Companies established by Charter in *England*, and with the Reservation of the Corporations of *England* and *Scotland*, established by Charter, into which, *English* and *Scotsmen* may be admitted *hinc inde*, or on both Sides by Purchase and Servitude, as *Englishmen* or *Scotsmen* are, but the Companies and Corporations themselves are to remain *statu quo*, after, as before in the Union.

This Scheme of Trade is very plain in Speculation, but how to reduce it to Practice at all, and under the present Circumstances of both Nations, is what seems to be very difficult at first Sight, but upon closer View, it will not appear impracticable.

In order to this, we are to consider, that altho' the *Scots* are poor, the Publick of *Scotland* is not in Debt to the Value of one Farthing; and on the other Hand, altho' the *English* are rich, yet the Publick of *England* is under the Debt of many Millions. I dare answer for all the Well-wishers in *England* to the Union of the two Kingdoms, that it is none of their Intention, by uniting with *Scotland*, to draw the *Scots* into Part-payment of their Debts; nay, indeed, I can't suggest any other Thought of *Englishmen* in general, nor can I believe they will ever bear to think or hear, that the *Scots* shall

shall bear any Part in the Charge of this present or last War, that were entered into, upon *English* Views and *English* Interest, by *English* Councils, and for the glorious and inimitable Design of delivering the Princes and States of this western Part of the Continent of *Europe*, from being or falling a Prey to the Power and Ambition of *France*.

This Design was too great for all *Europe*, without an *English* Genius and an *English* Purse; and far as it is above the Pretensions and Abilities of the *Scots*, so no less far was it against their Interest; for which they have no Reason to expect to bear any Part in the Execution of it: I say this War, and the last with *France*, is against the Interest of *Scotland*, considered in a separate State from *England*, whose main Politick must be to keep well with *France*, for many ancient Reasons, besides the modern ones of Trade and Protection. *France* can best support *Scotland* in a separate State from *England*; and is both able and willing to raise the Trade of *Scotland*, by taking off the Prohibition upon their *Poisson Sallée*, Herrings, Salmon, &c. by getting their Linnen and Wollen Manufactures importable into *Spain* and the *Spanish West-Indies*, which the *French* King is not wanting by his Emissaries to propose to the *Scots*, together with the Renovation of the ancient League of *Charles* and *Acbaius*, and a Restoration of the Nobility to their ancient Posts in the Guards and Court of *France*, and of the Merchants to their ancient Privileges in the Ports of that Kingdom, and a great deal more, if they will break off the Union with *England*; but, under Correction, I am sensible I go off from the Business in Hand, and shall say no more than this upon the whole Matter: It is very hard to believe the *Scots* ought to bear any Part in the Charge of this War, that was entered into without their Advice or Consent, as well as against their Interest.

But the Case will not be the same in future Wars, under the State of the Union of the two Kingdoms, which can but have one and the same Council and Parliament to advise and support them; in which the *Scots* having their Representatives as well as the *English*, Matters will be accommodated as best suits to the whole and every Part of both Kingdoms, to which the *Scots* will submit unanimously and chearfully, the Case, Circumstances and Interest of both Kingdoms being then one and the same.

But then I know the Reader is impatient to ask what it is the *Scots* are able to pay, and what they are willing to pay, towards the Support of the Government, in Peace and War? In answer to this, we first must consider both Kingdoms under the Circumstances of Peace at Home and Abroad, and an absolute Disincumbrance from publick Debts; if the Kingdoms are united under these Circumstances, I desire to query, what will be sufficient for the Civil List, and for Guards and Garrisons? It will be answered me, that *Seven hundred Thousand Pounds* for the Civil List, and *Three hundred Thousand Pounds* for Guards and Garrisons, is near about the Sum given to the late King and her present Majesty, and is sufficient for *England* in Times of Peace. For *Scotland*; I must answer, it will be an Addition of Charge to her Majesty in the Civil List, and in Guards and Garrisons likewise; but so small a Charge, that

that *Scotland* will do more than pay her Proportion of both, as hereafter will appear. The Civil List in *Scotland* will come to nothing, or next to nothing, under a Union with *England*. The Treasury, Exchequer, Customs and Excise of *Scotland* will be swallowed up in the *English* Administration of the publick Revenue, and yet will be no Manner of additional Charge to the Revenue of *England*, besides a few Salaries to inferior Officers of Customs and Excise.

And for what remains of the Civil List of *Scotland* is as follows ;

Lord Chancellor,	—	—	2000 <i>l</i> .
Lord President of the Council,	—	—	1000
Lord President of Session,	—	—	1000
14 Lords of Sessions, or Judges, at 500 <i>l</i> . each,	—	—	7000
Two Clerks to the Council,	—	—	500
To the Queen's Advocate,	—	—	500
To the Queen's Solicitor,	—	—	300
One Secretary of State,	—	—	1000
			13,300

This is all the remaining Part of the Civil List of *Scotland*, which will be a Charge upon her Majesty's Revenue under a State of Union with *England*. As for the Charge of her Majesty's Commissioner to the *Scots* Parliament, that will fall to little or nothing ; for since the *Scots* Parliament are not to meddle with any thing of Money Matters, there will be no Occasion for high Tables, great Pomp, and great Shew ; indeed, if the House was left to adjourn itself, as in *England*, it would be a great Amendment to the Constitution of a *Scots* Parliament, and take off the Necessity of having any Commissioner at all ; a Letter from the Queen, empowering the Lord Chancellor, or any other Person, to mount the Throne, and give the Touch of the Sceptre to such Acts as are ready for the Royal Assent, will answer all the Business of a Commissioner.

The Guards and Garrisons of *Scotland* will, for some Time, indeed, be a Charge of *Sixty Thousand Pounds* to her Majesty's Revenue ; I reckon two Regiments of Foot, and two of Dragoons, and a Regiment of Horse, at the Pay of *Twelve Thousand Pounds* each, will maintain a far greater Army in *Scotland*, than ever King *Charles* or King *James* kept in *Scotland*. But this Charge cannot last long ; if at all necessary, it can be but for a very short Time, but at the worst it can be but *Sixty Thousand Pounds* ; which, with the Charge of the Civil Lists, being *Thirteen Thousand Three Hundred Pounds*, as aforesaid, makes but *Seventy three Thousand Three Hundred Pounds*, and this being added to the *One Million*, for the *English* Charge of the Guards and Garrisons of the Civil Lists, makes but *One Million, Seventy-three Thousand, Three Hundred Pounds*.

And

And now I come to answer the Question, what the *Scots* are willing to pay, or able to pay, in Times of Peace. They are able to pay their Proportion of this Money, and they will do it most chearfully; for they can do it with far better Ability, and less Charge to themselves, than what has been raised from *Scotland* for the Support of the Government there, since the Restoration of the Royal Family.

In order to raise this Sum of Money, let the two Branches of the Revenue of *England*, viz. the Customs and Excise, be set apart; and let these Branches be extended over *Scotland* as well as *England*; and let them be appropriated, by the Act of the Union of the two Kingdoms, for Guards and Garrisons, and the Civil List. These two Branches, the Reader will agree with me, are more than sufficient to raise the *Million, Seventy-three Thousand, Three Hundred Pounds*, above required, and when extended over *Scotland*, will still raise more. But the Customs and Excise, I mean the simple Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Excise of *Charles* the Second, of Fifteen Pence each the Barrel upon Beer and Ale; which two Branches will still raise more Money than the *One Million, Seventy-three Thousand, Three Hundred Pounds*, demanded; and when extended over *Scotland*, they will not fall near so heavy upon the *Scots* as the present and past Taxes, which they pay now, and have paid, towards the Support of the Civil List, and Guards, and Garrisons of *Scotland*, since the Revolution.

By the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, the *Scots* Merchants and Traders will pay much about the same they do now, with their *Scots* Book of Rates, but will save five Parts in eight in their Duties upon Wine, which, by that Act, is but 3*l.* per Tun for the *French* Wines, and so in Proportion for all other Wines.

As for the Excise, the *Scots* will not grudge to pay according to the two Acts of the 12th of *Charles* the Second. By which Act the *Scots* Ale and Beer cannot be judged above six Shillings the Barrel, every Barrel being 32 Gallons, according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*, which is answerable to 32 *Scots* Quarts. The Ale of *Scotland* (Beer they have none in that Country worth the noticing, or distinguishable from their Ale) and when sold by the common Brewer, generally over *Scotland*, will not amount to six Shillings the Barrel, and by the Custom and Practice of the Excise Office of *England*, will be judged and deemed so by the Gauger or Officer of the Excise. Indeed I am of Opinion the Acts of Excise want to be review'd, for the general Benefit both of the People of *England* and her Majesty's Revenue; and it is to be wished the Act may run upon these Partitions; every Barrel of Beer and Ale, not above six Shillings the Barrel, to pay Six-pence per Barrel; and every Barrel of Beer and Ale, above six Shilling per Barrel, and not exceeding ten, to pay one Shilling per Barrel; ('tis to be wished the *Scotch* Excise may be fixed upon this Partition) and every Barrel of Beer and Ale, above ten Shillings, and not exceeding one Pound six Shillings, per Barrel, to pay two Shillings and Six-pence the Barrel; and every Barrel of Beer and Ale, above one Pound six Shillings per Barrel, to pay four Shillings per Barrel,

over and above the additional Nine-pences laid on the Barrels of Ale and Beer since the Revolution; by this Scheme the strong Ale Countries will be brought to some Level with the small Ale Countries, and the Fine-Ale Brewer with the Porter's Liquor Brewer: And indeed it's unaccountable, that a Barrel of Ale at seven Shilling, sold by the common Brewer, shall pay as much as a Barrel of Ale sold by the same Brewer at sixteen Shillings, one Pound, or three Pound the Barrel; and that a Man, by drinking strong Ale, should get the better of the Publick by two Thirds in the Excise.

Now since it is agreed, that these two Branches of the Customs and Excise being sufficient to answer the Charge of the Civil List, Guards and Garrisons of both Kingdoms, and since the *Scots* are willing to pay according to the Laws establishing the Customs and the Excises of Beer and Ale, &c. according to the Letter and Equity of the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the Acts of Excise of the 12th of *Charles II.* and according to the Practice and Method of the Excise and Customs of *England*, what can be required more of them? Sure the additional Duties to the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the additional Customs now in Force in *England*, and the additional Nine-pences upon the Barrel of Ale and Beer, and the new Duties upon Salt and Malt, Paper, Births and Burials &c. ought not to be expected to be paid by the *Scots*; for these new and additional Duties, Customs, and Excises, are the Sores and Wounds of the last War, and are the proper Debts of *England*, which neither the *Scots* can or ought to pay; and this is more than what was agreed by the Commissioners of the Union the first Year of her Majesty's Reign, that both Kingdoms should pay their several Debts, and neither Kingdom be affected with the Debt of the other.

And in Times of War, that is, future Wars, entered into after the Expiration of this present War, the *Scots* will be able to pay a Poundage upon Land of one, two, or more Shillings, or additional Customs and Excises, as well as most of the northern Counties in *England*. Land and Trade in *Scotland* will improve in *Scotland* under an Union with *England*, the one in Value and Rent, and the other in Extent and Bulk; and so much as there is of Land in *Scotland*, and how much that Land is improveable, or how much the Trade of *Scotland* is increasable, so much will there be added to the Stock of *England*.

I know it will be a ready Objection, that if the People of *Scotland* pay but according to this Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Excise of *Charles II.* they will be thereby enabled to run away with the Trade of *England*, and underlive and undersell what *Englishmen* can do for: But to this ready Objection I have this ready Answer, That it is to be understood the *Scots* shall pay no more than according to the fore-mentioned Acts of Customs and Excises; that is, within the present District and Bounds of *Scotland*; but if the *Scots* import any Manner of Goods or Commodities into *England*, for which they have already paid the Custom, according to the fore-mentioned Acts of Tonnage and Poundage in *Scotland*, as by Certificate will appear, they shall be liable to pay the additional Duties in any Port

Port of *England*, where the said Goods or Merchandizes are entered and landed. Thus the Balance of Trade will, after the Union, remain as before the Union, and what the *Scots* save of their Customs and Excises, is always to be understood of their Home-Consumption within the present District of *Scotland*.

On the other Hand, the *Scots* will be ready to suggest they shall be no Gainers under these low Customs and Excises, since they are in *England* liable to the high ones as well as *Englishmen*; but, on the other Hand, they are to consider, that they being under the low Customs and Excises at Home, it will be a mighty Benefit to them, for their living and manufacturing of every Thing among themselves: But above all, they are to consider, that upon the Day they are united with *England*, the Value of the Land in *Scotland* will rise Fifty *per Cent.* and in progress of Time will double, nay treble the present Rentall. The Price of Corn and Meal will rise proportionably; and the Poor and poor Labourer and Tradesman, upon the Increase of Trade in *Scotland* by the Union, will have the Money ready to pay for his Corn and Victuals, and other Necessaries, ten Times faster than at the low Rate. This is a Demonstration to all Men, that have any Experience or Insight in Trade, and such Persons as are but doubtful of this, let them ask those Persons yet alive, that can remember the *English* Administration in *Scotland*, from the Year 1654, to the Year 1660, they won't stick to tell them, that the Price of Meal rise then from Half a Mark *Scots*, to Half a Crown *English*; and upon the withdrawing of the *English* Administration upon the Restoration of King *Charles II.* the Price of Meal fell to Half a Mark *Scots* again; and yet the poor Labourer had the Half Crown readier to pay under the *English* Administration, than the Half Mark after the Return of King *Charles II.* The Reason was plain, under *Cromwell*, *Richard*, and the *Rumps*, was a Unity of Parliament, Trade and Customs betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, and under the same Unity and good Understanding betwixt the two Kingdoms, the same Benefits will return to both Nations. Now I come to consider the last Thing propos'd,

Which is, an *Unity of Administration in the Publick Revenue of both Kingdoms.*

The Kingdoms being united under one Parliament, in a Communion of Trade and Taxes, it is of absolute Necessity they should be under one and the same Administration in the publick Revenue. The Constitution and Method of the Treasury, the Exchequer, the Customs and Excises of *England*, are so far superior to any Thing of these Kinds that are to be found in *Scotland*, that I dare say the *Scots* will not contend for their Forms and Methods in these Matters, but drop them with Satisfaction. But at the same Time they may expect with good Assurance to see their Countrymen provided for with Places in these Offices, in Proportion to their Merit, and without any Distinction or Reserve betwixt them and *Englishmen*: Thus the Treasury and Exchequer of *England*, together with the Offices of Customs and Excise of *England*, shall stand as they now are established; but their

Authority shall be enlarg'd over all *Scotland* as well as *England*, and all Fraud and Abuses in the Revenue shall be tried by the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Excise of the 12th of *Charles II.* and other Acts and Clauses of Acts made since, for preventing of Frauds and Abuses, and the better Management of the Revenue of the Crown, which are but very few, and lie within a small Compass.

But then the Question will arise, before whom shall the Trespasses in *Scotland* against the Act be tried; upon Action at Law at the Suit of the Queen, or the Subject? The *English* Judges cannot have them tried before them; their Circuits cannot hold Assizes in *Scotland*, and it would be very hard to fetch the Subject and their Actions from the remote Parts of *Scotland* to *Newcastle*, and have them try'd there, and that but once a Year. On the other Hand, these Actions cannot be try'd before the *Scots* Judges; for the Revenues of Customs and Excise being within the Union, cannot be try'd or judg'd by them, nor can they any Manner of Ways interpose their Authority in these Cases. To obviate this, I would propose, by the Act of the Union, to have a Court of Revenue erected in *Scotland*, to judge of all Actions brought at the Suit of the Queen and the Subject, upon Acts of Parliament and Laws relating to the Revenue of the Crown. This Court to consist of five Persons, two of which to be the Surveyors General of Customs and Excise in *Scotland* for the Time being, and three others to be named by the Queen, *English* and *Scotch*, as her Majesty shall think fit, with Power to try, and finally judge and determine all Causes and Actions brought before them, relating to the Revenue. But no Action shall lie before them until two Months or 60 Days after Seizure made by the Queen's Officer; in which Interval the Subjects may have Time to apply themselves to the Commissioners of Customs, in Person or by Proxy, to have Justice done them to their Satisfaction; but after the Expiration of two Months or sixty Days, they may have recourse to the Commissioners of Revenue for a Trial before them.

The Acts and Law relating to the Publick Revenue are so few, and so plain and easy, that it is not requisite to have a long Study and Practice in the Municipal Laws of either Kingdom, to qualify any Gentleman to be a Judge in this Court, and the Court itself may be so form'd, as to give all Dispatch possible, with all Safety, to the Interest of the Revenue, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

Thus I am come to the End of my Essay, and how far I have succeeded in it, I must leave that to the Publick, to whom I pray for the same Temper of Mind in reading of it, with which I have composed it, without Partiality to either Kingdom, but with a sincere, firm, and constant Zeal for the Union of both.

A brief

A brief Account of the Tack: In a Letter to a Friend.

S I R,

I HAVE receiv'd the Favour of your Letter, in which you tell me strange News indeed; for after all the Noise that has been so long against the Tackers, infomuch that most of them thought their safest Way was to deny it in their several Countries, yet now they seem to take Heart again, and Mr. B——, who, you say, is lately come down, undertakes to justify all that Proceeding. The Arguments he makes use of, you tell me, are these.

In the first Place, he says, The Practice of Occasional Conformity is such a scandalous Hypocrisy, as is no Way to be excus'd upon any Pretence whatsoever. That it is condemn'd even by the better Sort of Dissenters themselves. That the employing Persons of a different Religion from that establish'd by Law, has never been practis'd by any wise Government, and is now allow'd, even in Holland at this Day. That the Sacramental Test was appointed by the Wisdom of the Legislature, to preserve the Establish'd Church; which Church seems in as much Danger from the Dissenters now, as it was from Papists then. That this Law being so necessary, and having been twice refus'd in the House of Lords, the only Way to have it pass'd, was to tack it to a Money-Bill. That it had been an ancient Practice to tack Bills, that were for the Good of the Subject, to Money-Bills; that while grievous Taxes were laid upon the People for the Support of the Crown, the Crown might in return pass such Laws as were for the Benefit of the People. That the great Necessity there was for the Money-Bills passing, was rather an Argument for, than against this Proceeding: For what Danger could there be, that the Lords (who pretend to be such great Patriots) should rather lose the necessary Supplies, than pass an Act so requisite for Preservation of the Church? That however, if they could suppose them so unreasonable, the Matter was not yet so bad; for it was but only proroguing the Parliament for a few Days, and the Commons might have pass'd the Land-Tax again, without the Tack.

To consider these Arguments in their Order. I shall very readily own, that a Man, who thinks it unlawful to receive the Sacrament according to the Manner of the Church of England, and yet does it to qualify him for an Employment, is no Way to be justify'd: And I shall grant further, that one who goes once to Church to qualify himself, and never goes afterwards, is to be condemn'd; whether his not going afterwards be upon a Scruple of Religion, or for his having no Religion at all. But neither of these are the Persons against whom this Bill is levell'd; the Design of the Bill being against such as do sometimes go to Church, and do at other Times resort to separate Congregations.

Now

Now to judge how far this Practice may be lawful, we must consider the Reasons the Dissenters pretend for their Separation from the Establish'd Church.

There are some who pretend all Communion with the Church absolutely unlawful.

There are some who do not object to Communion with the Church in general, but to some particular Parts of the Common-Prayer.

There are others, who do not pretend there is any Thing in the Establish'd Way of Worship absolutely sinful or unlawful; but they think their own Way more pure and decent, and more according to God's Word.

There are others who do not carry the Matter quite so far as these; but having been bred up in a Way of Worship that has nothing unlawful in it, they think they ought not to leave their Friends entirely, unless there was somewhat sinful to make them do it.

As to the first Sort, they never communicate with the Church; such are the Quakers, and therefore are not concern'd in this Question.

As for the second Sort, an Objection to a particular Part of our Service cannot justify Men for not conforming to the Church in those Parts of our Service to which they have no particular Objection.

And as to the two last Sorts, which are by much the most considerable, and comprehend the greatest Part of the Independents and Presbyterians, I cannot see how those Objections can justify them for never going to our Church; tho' they may think themselves justify'd by them for going to their separate Congregations also.

That this was the Case of several of the Dissenters, is very evident from their Practice. Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Baxter*, and some other of the most eminent Teachers among the Dissenters, did, after the Restoration, go constantly to the Parish-Churches, stay'd all the Divine Service, receiv'd the Sacrament every Month, and did exhort and bring their Auditors to do the like; tho', at the same Time, they thought themselves oblig'd to keep up their separate Congregations too. And accordingly there are at this Day, in many Parts of *England*, several Congregations of Men, Women and Children, of such who neither by their Circumstances, Sexes or Age, can have the least Prospect of any Office, who go sometimes to the Establish'd Church, stay all the Divine Service, receive the Sacrament, and yet at other Times resort to separate Congregations. And how this, which has been so great a Step towards a constant Conformity, and has prov'd so in very many Families of Condition, becomes at present so scandalous and hypocritical a Practice, I cannot for my Life imagine.

Our Ancestors had a very different Opinion of this Matter: The Papists did communicate with our Church, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; and were so far from being charg'd with Hypocrisy, by any of our Church-Men for it, that all Encouragement that could be, was given to them; and a Declaration against Transubstantiation, which was in the Liturgy in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, was, to avoid Offence, left out, and not put
in

in again till the Restoration. The Pope indeed did not think it for his Interest to allow the Practice, and therefore by a Bull forbid it. And yet I hope, Mr. B—— will not pretend the Differences between the Dissenters and us are greater, than between us and the Papists; or that there is not as much Probability of making the former join with us in one Common Interest, as ever there was of the latter.

But this Practice, Mr. B—— says, is condemn'd by the better Sort of Dissenters themselves.

That this Practice should be condemn'd by the most violent Part of the Dissenters, I think there is no Reason to wonder at. Those who would persuade their Auditors, that all Communion with the Church of *England* is absolutely unlawful, must use their utmost Endeavours to keep their Auditors from looking into the Practice of that Church. There is somewhat so devout, so reverend, and so christian, in our Forms of Worship, and particularly in that of administering the Sacrament, that the safest Way to keep People from complying with them, is to keep them from knowing what they are. And there have been so many considerable Families, that by an Occasional Conformity at first, have been brought to a Constant Conformity at last; that it is no Wonder, those who are so violent for a Separation, should be against those Methods that have brought so many to an Union. But that Mr. B——, who professes himself so zealous a Friend to our Church, should call these the better Sort of Dissenters, who are the most violent against it; and should declare so warmly against a Practice, by which the Church has gain'd so many Profelytes already, and is so likely to gain the rest; that, I confess, is to me a little extraordinary.

But however some rigid Dissenters may disapprove the Practice of the Occasional Conformists, I make no doubt, but the most violent of them would be alarm'd at any Thing done against it; or ever imagine, that if the Law were once alter'd to the Prejudice of those Dissenters, who approach so nearly to our Church, they might not soon expect a more severe Law against those Dissenters, who are so very distant from it.

But Mr. B——, you tell me, says further, *That the employing Persons of a different Religion from that establish'd by Law, has never been practis'd by any wise Government; and is not allow'd even in Holland at this Day.*

What Governments Mr. B—— will allow to be wise ones, I shall not take upon me to determine; but, that in all Ages, and in all Countries, where there were not Persecutions for Religion, the Governments have employ'd Persons under them, who were of different Religions, is so very notorious, that it would seem ridiculous to give particular Instances. The Jews employ'd the Sadducees; and the Heathen employ'd the Jews: The Pagans employ'd the Christians; and the Christians the Pagans. In *France*, (which seems to be the Place some Persons propose for the Model of their Politicks, and Church-Discipline) there was an Admiral, a Lord Treasurer, and a Constable of *France* (not to mention several others) who were Protestants. Nay, under this present Monarch (as great a Persecutor as he has prov'd since) the whole

whole Army of *France* was entrusted in Protestant Hands. There is scarce a Town in *Holland* (whatever some have affirm'd to the contrary) where the Remonstrants, as well as the Calvinists, have not sometimes been in their Publick Offices. Some of the Generals of their Army, and Governors even of their Frontier Towns, are at this very Time *Roman-Catholicks*. They do not only employ all Christians without Distinction, but even Jews upon Occasion; of which we had an Instance at *Madrid* in the late Reign, which caus'd a Sort of Rupture between them and us; and that the other *German* Princes follow them in this, we may be convinc'd by the printed Dispute between Mr. *Limborch* and a learned Jew, where there is a List of several Jews, at that very Time actually employ'd at the *Hague*, as Publick Ministers, from several of those Princes. And Queen *Elizabeth* employ'd Papists in her Councils, Fleets and Armies, during her whole Reign. Whether she was a wise Princess, or a Friend to the Church of *England*, let the World judge.

But let all this be as it will, the Matter in Question is not, whether Dissenters from the Establish'd Church are employ'd by the Government there; for tho' they are, yet there is not one employ'd, that I know of, under her Majesty here. But the proper Question is, Whether it be Penal in any one who is in Office, to go to a separate Congregation? And this is so far from being Penal, that the Calvinists and Remonstrants make no Scruple of going to one anothers Congregations, when there is any particular Occasion for it. Nor is there any Country, that I know of, except *England*, where the receiving the Sacrament, or any other Religious Exercise, is necessary to qualify a Man for any Temporal Employment; so that we have gone a great deal farther already, in that Matter, than any other Country has done.

But this Sacramental Test, Mr. B——— says, was thought necessary to preserve the Establish'd Church; which Church seems in as much Danger now from the Dissenters, as it was then from the Papists.

Every Body knows the Circumstances our Affairs were in, at the Time when this Test-Act was made. We had a Sovereign upon the Throne, who was suspected to have a very strong Inclination towards Popery; and who, if the Proofs publish'd after his Death by Authority, may be believ'd, was then actually a Papist. His Brother, who had then the greatest Share in the Administration, and who had the Fleet and Army in his own Hands, was a profess'd one. The Lord-Treasurer, who had the Disposal of all the Publick Money, was a Papist. The Persons employ'd in publick Trust, were such as were likely to pursue the Methods prescrib'd them by these. Secret Treaties were made with the *French* King, great Sums of Money receiv'd from him, and his Ambassador was at the Head of our Affairs in *England*. In fine, there appear'd, upon all Occasions, an evident Disposition at Court to introduce Popery, and destroy the Liberty of the Subject; and there was a potent Foreign Prince ready at all Times, to engage in any Enterprize against the Protestant Religion, and the Civil Rights of all *Europe*.

But

But is there any Danger like this from the Dissenters at present? Has ever the most malicious Enemy but once suspected her Majesty of any Designs against the Church of *England*? Is there any Man employ'd in any Office under her, who has ever been said to be a Dissenter? Have the Dissenters shewn any Inclinations to invade the Church? Are they not firmly united with her in the same Common Interest? Or, if they were not, Have they any Foreign Prince either willing or able to support them, in any Attempt against her?

Thus far I have consider'd the Reasons that are given for the Occasional Bill itself, and I must freely confess I can see none that can satisfy me of the Necessity of it. I think the Practice of Occasional Conformity, as us'd by Dissenters, so far from deserving the Title of a vile Hypocrisy, that I think it the Duty of all moderate Dissenters, upon their own Principles, to do it. I think, that however it may be disapprov'd by some rigid Dissenters, it ought to be encourag'd by all good Church-Men, as a likely Means to bring them over. The employing Persons of a different Religion from the Establish'd, has been practis'd in all Countries where Liberty of Conscience has been allow'd: That we have gone farther already in excluding Dissenters, than any other Country has done: That whatever Reasons there were to apprehend our Religion in Danger from the Papists, when the Test-Act was made, yet there does not seem the least Danger to it from the Dissenters now.

But on the other Hand, I can see very plain Inconveniences from this Bill at present. As it was brought in this last Time, indeed they have added a Preamble, that tho' it was put in the first Edition of the Bill, was left out in the Second, *viz. That the Act for Toleration should be always kept inviolable.* But the Toleration-Act being to take away all the Penalties that a Man might incur by going to a separate Congregation, and the occasional Bill being to lay new Penalties upon those that do it, how they can say that this is not itself a Violation of the other, I cannot very easily comprehend. I doubt it will put People in Mind of what pass'd in *France*, where every Edict against the Protestants began with a Protestation, that the Edict of *Nants* ought to be always preserv'd inviolable, till that very Edict in which it was in express Words repeal'd.

At a Time that all *Europe* is engag'd in a bloody and expensive War; at a Time that this Nation has not only such considerable Foreign Foes to deal with, but has a Party in her own Bowels, ready upon all Occasions to call in a Popish Pretender; and involve us all in the same, or rather worse Calamities than those from which, with so much Blood and Treasure, we had been freed: At a Time that the Protestant Dissenters (however they may be in the Wrong in separating from us) yet are heartily and undoubtedly united with us against the Common Foes to our Religion and Government; what Advantage those who are in earnest for defending these Things, can have, by lessening the Number of such as are firmly united with them in this common Cause; I cannot for my Life imagine.

But notwithstanding I can see no Reason for such a Bill as this, yet I would not have it imagined the Dangers of the Tack were founded upon this Bottom only, for People may have quite a different Opinion of this Bill; they may think it convenient, they may think it in some Measure necessary, and yet they may be against the running such a Risque, as the tacking it to the necessary Supply; and to do every Body Justice, several Gentlemen, who were very zealous for this Bill, did however appear as zealous against *that dangerous Experiment* of tacking it to the other.

But Mr. B— says, this Bill being necessary for the Preservation of the Church, and having been twice refus'd by the House of Lords, the only Way to secure its passing was to tack it to a Money-Bill.

This truly is a very compendious Way of dispatching Business: It has always been thought the Excellency of our Constitution, that no new Law could be made, or old one repeal'd, without going through several Hands that were all Checks upon one another. Let the Commons be ever so much prepossess'd in Favour of any Thing, they cannot propose it to the Throne to pass into a Law, without Consent of the House of Lords. And let the Lords be ever so violent for any Bill, they cannot offer it to the Royal Assent without the Concurrence of the House of Commons. And let both these Houses agree in their Opinion, yet it cannot pass into a Law, till it has had its Sanction from the Throne. These different Steps are wisely ordered by our Constitution, for Fear any Thing should pass into a Law by a particular Faction, by Heat of Parties, or by Inadvertency.

But this excellent Form of our Legislature is at an End, if Encouragement be given to this new Manner of tacking. As all Money-Bills, however necessary for the publick Safety, must have their Rise and Form in the House of Commons, if this House may add to their Money-Bill new Laws of quite a different Nature to the Money, and if the Lords cannot after this pass the Money-Bill, without consenting to, the other to, then it is the House of Commons only that has the Right of deliberating: For what Occasion can there be for the House of Lords to consider whether a Law be reasonable before they consent to it, when it is in the Power of the House of Commons to make them consent to it, whether they think it reasonable or not?

But Mr B—— says, That it has been an ancient Practice to tack Bills, that were for the Good of the Subject, to Money-Bills; that while heavy Taxes were laid upon the People for the Good of the Crown, the Crown might, in return, grant such Laws as were for the Good of the People.

Whatever Pretences may be made of the Antiquity of this Practice, yet every Body knows it has been very rare, and is of a very fresh Date, and has been only when these two Circumstances have agreed.

First, When Money was ask'd for the private Support of the Crown, and not for the general Necessity.

Secondly, When some Bill had been before refus'd by the Crown, that was judg'd necessary for the Good of the Subject, not by some particular Men, or by one particular House, but by both Houses of Parliament.

But

But in the present Case, whatever Money was ask'd by the Queen, or granted by the Commons, was not for the private Support of the Crown, but for the general Necessity of the People. So far is her Majesty from getting one Farthing by these Taxes, that it is very well known, she has every Year, of her own Accord, contributed very largely out of her own private Revenue towards the War. They are given to carry on a War that is absolutely necessary for supporting the Rights and Liberties of *Europe*, which have been so notoriously invaded by the *French* King, and to keep out a Pretender to our own Crown, who is bred up in the Religion and Principles of that Prince; and I hope no Man ever has, or ever will be thought fit to represent his Country in Parliament, who does not think this War necessary for the Interest of every Subject in *England*, as well as of her Majesty.

In the second Place, this Bill is so far from being thought for the Good of the Nation by both Houses of Parliament, that one House had before, in two successive Sessions, thought fit to reject it.

In the third Place, if both Houses had agreed to it, there is no Reason to conclude her Majesty would have refus'd the Royal Assent, in which Case, only this Way of tacking had ever been us'd.

But tho' this Way of tacking had been sometimes practis'd, yet it is so far from being allow'd the Right of the Commons to do it, that the Lords have always, before the passing any such Bill, how agreeable soever the Matter tack'd might be to them, enter'd Protestations upon their Books against that Manner of proceeding. And when the House of Commons carry'd this pretended Right so far, as to offer at tacking Clauses to Money-Bills, which the Lords did not think so reasonable to be pass'd, (tho' they never went so far as to tack any Thing the Lords had rejected before) the Lords, to preserve the Constitution, and that there might be a lasting Caution against all such Attempts, to ingross the whole Legislature to the House of Commons, at a Time when there was no such Matter depending between the two Houses, caus'd a solemn Declaration to be enter'd upon their Book, and which was sign'd by the greatest Part of them, that they would never, after that Time, pass a Money-Bill with any Clauses that were foreign to the Subject of the Bill. And after such a Declaration so publickly made, enter'd and sign'd, the Commons could have no Design in tacking such Clauses, but only to have the Bill miscarry.

But Mr. B—— says, That the great Necessity there was for the Land-Tax's passing, was rather an Argument for, than against this Proceeding. For what Danger could there be, that the Lords (who pretend to be such great Patriots) should rather lose the necessary Supplies, than pass a Bill so requisite for Preservation of the Church?

How far this Bill had been for Preservation of the Church, I have consider'd already. And as for the Lords being such great Patriots, I wish some Members of the House of Commons have not given their Electors too much Cause to think the Lords better Patriots than their own Representatives.

But notwithstanding that, no reasonable Man can believe they could ever have pass'd this Bill so tack'd.

The House of Lords is an undoubted Part of the Legislature: This House, upon solemn Debates before, thought this Bill not fit to be pass'd; and if the Commons, notwithstanding that, could have forc'd them into passing this Bill, by this Method, they must never have pretended to have rejected any Bill more. We see, by a thousand Instances, that such a Right once given up is never to be retriev'd: And then they had not only parted with their Right of debating for ever, but they had, by that, broken the *English* Constitution, and overthrown those fundamental Rights of Legislature, by which this Kingdom has flourish'd so long.

In the second Place, they had fix'd an indelible Mark of Infamy upon their own Persons, if they had suffer'd themselves to be forc'd into the doing a Thing, that upon a solemn Deliberation they had resolv'd, nay, most of them had protested under their Hands, they would never consent to do.

But, says Mr. B ———, if the Lords should refuse the Bill so tack'd, Matters were not yet so bad; for it was but only proroguing the Parliament for a few Days, and the Commons might have pass'd the Land-Tax without the Tack.

I am sorry to see Gentlemen pursue a bad Cause, till they are reduc'd to such wretched Evasions as these. Tho' I think there was no Sort of Reason for tacking this Bill, yet if it had been once tack'd, there might have been several Reasons for not receding from it. How little Pretence soever there may be for the Commons Rights of tacking, yet there are several worthy Members, who would not have car'd to have given those Pretences entirely up; which must have been the Case, if they had departed from the Tack, after having once insisted upon it.

'Tis indeed ridiculous to imagine that any one Man, who had voted for the Tack, would have given it up afterwards. However, if we could suppose a House of Commons so childish, yet there must necessarily, by Parliamentary Forms, have been so much Time lost, and so great Delays in all publick Business, as would have been very near as fatal as the granting no Supplies at all.

The Duke of *Savoy* was so press'd, that nothing but a constant Supply of Money from hence, and a firm Expectation of a sudden Succour, could have made him support the Cause with that Zeal and Bravery that he did. Any Stop of his Supplies from hence, any Fear of his early Succours (both which our Delays must inevitably have occasioned) had forc'd him into a separate Peace; and then the *French* Army in *Italy* had march'd immediately into *Germany*, and fallen upon the Confederate Forces there.

The King of *Prussia* was newly and heartily entered into the League, and had agreed to send a considerable Body of Men to the Relief of the Duke of *Savoy*. But as they were first to receive Supplies from hence, what Hopes could there be of their marching without those Supplies, or indeed
of

of that Prince's continuing in the Confederacy, when that very Nation that had persuaded him into it, was so little likely to support him in it.

Portugal had been so soften'd by a long Peace, that there was no Thoughts of their continuing the War, but by their Hopes of constant Succours from hence, and by the Success we had met at *Gibraltar*. This Town was thought so considerable by the *Spaniards*, that they had exerted their utmost Force against it. What a Damp the Loss of that had put upon our Affairs, one may easily guess, by the Endeavours of the Enemy to regain it? And yet the Loss of that must have been the necessary Consequence of any Stop in our Supplies at Home.

The Success of the Confederate Forces had been so great in *Bavaria*, that they had agreed to deliver up all their Garrisons to them: But what Likelihood was there of their performing that Agreement, if they had a Prospect of a sudden Succour from *Italy*? Or how should our Army have supported themselves without any Hopes of Supplies from hence.

All the Confederates were then in Consultation how to carry on the War the next Year; and what Influence such a Miscarriage here would have had upon all their Proceedings, I almost tremble to think.

The *French* King found such Difficulties in raising Supplies for the ensuing Campaign, that he was in a Manner obliged to declare himself Bankrupt. But such an Encouragement from hence as the Tack had been, would have set his Matters right again, and one such Vote from our Parliament, had made him sufficient Amends for all the Prejudices our Armies had done him.

I cannot conclude this Paper better, than with the Words of her Majesty's most Gracious Speech to the Parliament at parting.

We have, by the Blessing of God, a fair Prospect of this great and desirable End, (of a lasting Peace and Security) if we do not disappoint it by our own unreasonable Humours and Animosity; the fatal Effects of which we have so narrowly escaped in this Session, that it ought to be a sufficient Warning against any dangerous Experiments for the future.

The Case of the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland truly represented. 1707.

IN the Month of *December* 1688, a sudden and surprizing Report was spread all over *Scotland*, that ten thousand Papists were landed from *Ireland*, with strange Instruments of Death for dispatching Protestants. Concerning which, a Letter was writ from the Mayor of the City of *Glasgow* to the Magistrates of the Town of *Hamilton*, bearing, that they had already burnt down the Town of *Kirkubright*, and were come within two and twenty Miles

Miles of *Hamilton*, in Order to use them at the same Rate. This Letter came to Hand upon *Friday* Night immediately before *Christmas*, and all the Night after, the Citizens Wives were running about with their Children in their Arms, with hideous Cries, *What should become of them and their poor young ones!* Upon *Saturday*, the Contrivance being speedily and warmly managed, against Eleven o'Clock there were got together, in *Douglas-Moor*, some six thousand Presbyterians, well arm'd, upon Pretence of defending the Country from these Invaders. But their Design was quickly discovered; for, by Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, they were all divided into small Detachments, of two or three Hundred in Company, whose Business it was to disarm all that were disaffected to their Cause, and which actually they did.

These Companies of armed Men, to whatsoever Parish they came, if the Minister was at Home, and not so securely protected by his Parishioners, as that they were afraid to attack him, they carried him out to the Market-Place of the Town or Village where he resided, or to the most publick Place of the Parish, if it had no Town in it; and there, giving him Names in Abundance, pull'd his Gown over his Ears, and tore it in many Pieces, dislodging his Family, and throwing the Furniture out of his House, and threatening him with Death, if ever he should return to the Place to preach any more. Some of them they drove through Rivers, in a deep Storm of Snow, which then happened, the Rivers not being quite frozen over, and in such deep Places, as that the Water reach'd up to their Necks. One of these Ministers, so used, came, in his wet Cloaths, thro' the deep Snow, to his Brother Minister of *Straven's* House, within seven or eight Miles of *Glasgow*.

These, and such like Usages, go under the Name of *Rabbling*, the various Instances of which were too tedious here to insert: Some were cruelly beaten and wounded; some of their Wives, when they came to rescue them, big with Child, were so violently push'd with the Club-End of their Muskets, that they immediately miscarried; as particularly, the Minister of *Kilbride's* Wife, a Gentlewoman of a very good Family, was so us'd. The Parish lies within seven Miles of *Glasgow*. By these, and such like Usages, some two hundred and sixty Ministers in the West of *Scotland* were expell'd their Livings. These Violences were done all *Scotland* over, in such Places where the Presbyterians were absolute Masters, but with best Success upon the South Side of the River of *Forth*. The Minister of *Kirknewtown*, within six Miles of *Edinburgh*, was more than once, I am sure twice, if not thrice, thus rabbled, and had his Goods thrown out of his Windows. All these Things were done when Episcopacy was yet the established Government of that national Church.

But a little after, to the just Surprize of all, these very Violences came to bear, in plain Construction of Law; for, in the very first Parliament after the Revolution, in the Act entitul'd, *An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government*, bearing Date the Seventh Day of

of June, 1690, not full a Year and an Half after these Violences were done, some three hundred Ministers, or thereabouts, who were thus rabbled, had their Churches declar'd vacant from this very Deed, without having any Offer made them, or any other Sentence pronounc'd against them. The Word made use of in that Act which comprehendeth *rabbling*, is being *remov'd*; to which are added those other two, of *deserting*, or being *depriv'd*. That this was the Meaning of the Word is plain, from the Reasonings which the late Duke of *Hamilton* made against those Violences us'd, and why they should not be patroniz'd, nor so much as pointed at, in any Act of Parliament; and to prevent its being so done, mov'd to have the Vote stated, *Approve the Deed of the Rabble, or no?* But the Majority rejecting that rough Word, stated, *Approve the Article, or no?* And carrying it in the Affirmative, the Duke immediately rose from his Seat in great Resentment, with several others of the Nobility, who followed him. See the Act, No. 1.

And that it may not be thought that this might happen thro' Want of due and timely Application by the Episcopal Ministers, who had been so barbarously used, a Petition was presented to the honourable House of Parliament, by them, in the Month of *May* immediately preceding; which could never obtain so much as once to be read, notwithstanding of the very importunate and moving Instances made by the Duke of *Hamilton* for it, and by Sir *Patrick Scot*, of *Ancrum*, who presented it, until the Act itself was once pass'd, and then there was no Place left for it. See the Petition, No. 2.

But to come closer to the Business, seeing it is asserted so boldly, that the *Scots* Episcopal Clergy have a Toleration, or the Equivalent of it, and that there are no Penal Statutes standing in Force against them, but, on the contrary, Protection promised them, if they shall qualify themselves in the Terms of the Act of Parliament.

For Answer: The Act of Parliament is appealed to, bearing Date June 12, 1693; and here it is desired that the Qualification contained in the Act may be looked into, the Penalty therein threatened, with the Protection promised.

And, *First*, As to the Qualification enjoined by the Act of Parliament, it runs in these Terms, over and above qualifying to the Government: *That they shall subscribe to the General Assembly's Confession of Faith*, (for that is the Confession of Faith there to be understood) *declaring that it is the Confession of their Faith, and that they own the Doctrine therein contained to be the true Doctrine, which they will constantly adhere to.* This Article, for several Things contained in that Confession, not so proper to be mentioned here, cannot be subscribed. And as to the Second Article, it runs thus: First Article.

That they must own and acknowledge Presbyterian Church Government to be the only Government of that Church; and that they will submit thereto, and concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly Second Article.
or

or indirectly, the Prejudice or Subversion thereof. To this the Answer seems to be very plain and very short; that a Man owning in his Conscience Episcopacy to be the only true, antient, Catholick, and Apostolick Government of the Church of Christ, cannot, without a manifest Contradiction and Violence done to the Truth, sign to that Article.

Third Article.

As to the Third, it maketh the Act in *Terminis An Act of Uniformity in Worship, and which Worship they must subscribe to observe, and declare that actually they do observe it*: For these are the Words of the Act. That Worship, which, to the great Scandal of all other Protestant Churches, hath thrown out that comprehensive Form of Prayer which our Lord hath taught and commanded us when we pray to say; with that religious Hymn, so antiently enjoined, and so constantly used in the Christian Church, to the Honour of the Holy Trinity; rejecting also the *Apostolick Creed* in Baptism, the great Standard and Summary of the Christian Faith, to which we are to be baptiz'd; and admitting no other Standard of our Intercessions and Prayers to Almighty God, no other Forms of sound Words, than the private Conceptions of every Pretender, to be the Mouth of a whole Church-Assembly, or Congregation of God's People: And yet this is *the Uniformity of Worship which they must subscribe to observe, and declare, that actually they do observe it*; and if in any Ways they dissent from any of these, then they incur the Penalties contained in the Act. Is this a Toleration? Nay, a Toleration could never be intended, when we consider that the Committee of the General Assembly, (which usually sitteth in Time of Parliament, and faileth not boldly to prescribe in Church-Matters, as in their late Address to the Parliament) openly declared, that if any Toleration was granted, it was to establish Iniquity by a Law. But next, as to

See Act, No. 3.

the Penalties, which are as follows: They must be suspended *tam ab Officio quam a Beneficio*; that is, both from their Offices and Benefices: First, from their Offices; and that is, (as interpreted by the subsequent Act of Privy Council, in whose Power it hath all along been both to interpret and execute the Law) not to exercise any Part of their Ministerial Function in any Parish within the Kingdom. And is not this a Penal Law? The Penalty, methinks, is heavy enough to be depriv'd of Bread, which the Benefice implies, but yet heavier to be depriv'd of the Exercise of all these sacred Offices of Religion, to which they were consecrated. But this is not all, nor doth this Negative consummate the Penalty of this Law; for if they continue to exercise any Part of their Ministerial Function, without subscribing and declaring as aforesaid, then they must incur Banishment, and be for ever exil'd from their native Country, and expos'd to all the Miseries of Poverty and Distress among Strangers. If this be a Toleration, they have it; and if these be not Penal Laws, where are they to be found?

See the Act of Privy-Council, No. 4.

Under all these Penalties, Restraints, and Coercions, lie at present some Hundreds of poor Episcopal Ministers, depriv'd of Bread, and all Means of earning it, except what proceeds from a free, generous, and Christian Charity. Some

Some few indeed have enjoyed both their Offices and Benefices still, as before the Revolution, and have duly qualified themselves to the Government; but they owe this Protection chiefly to the sound Principles, and affectionate Adherence, of their People to them; among whom, no Presbyterian Minister can find any Reception or Encouragement, else they might promise themselves the same Entertainment which the above-mentioned Minister of *Kirknewtown* met with; for, their not signing to the General Assembly's Confession of Faith, their not owning Presbyterian Church-Government, their not observing Uniformity in Worship, maketh them abundantly obnoxious to the Penalties of the Law; but it were hard enough to part such Ministers and such People from one another.

A few more are conniv'd at in Meeting-Houses (in *Edinburgh, Kelso, Sterling, Dundee, Perth, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Elgin,*) in all not exceeding five or six and twenty, in those Towns, and very few or none in Country Parishes, where the People are not able to maintain Ministers both in Church and Meeting-House, but still upon a precarious Footing, or rather no Footing at all, lying at simple Discretion, which, upon proper Occasion, expresseth itself by all possible Severities, as last Summer happened in the Case of the lately deceased Mr. *George Mathers*, Minister at the Meeting-House of *St. Andrew's*, who, after he had qualified himself in all Points, was immediately obliged to leave that Town, having his Meeting-House shut up; who, in two or three Months afterwards, or thereabout, died at *Edinburgh*, in great Misery and Want, not letting his Case be known till it was past Remedy. It was but a short Time before, that, in Pursuance of the above-mentioned Act of Privy-Council, the Ministers of the Meeting-Houses of *Perth* and *Elgin* were both put up in Jail, by the Magistrates of these respective Burghs, tho' they daily prayed for the Queen, and were ready to qualify themselves to the Government. And how soon it pleaseth any of these Magistrates or Justices, in whose Power it is, to put a Stop to the Ministry of these few that are in Meeting-Houses, there is nothing standing in their Way to obstruct their Procedure, This is the Toleration and Protection which the Episcopal Clergy of *Scotland* now enjoy.

N U M B E R I.

An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church-Government.

June 7, 1690.

OUR Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King's and Queen's Majesties, and three Estates of Parliament, conceiving it to be their bound Duty, after the great Deliverance that God hath lately wrought for this Church and Kingdom, in the first Place to settle and secure therein the true Protestant Religion, according to the Truth of God's Word, as it hath of a long

long Time been professed within this Land; as also the Government of Christ's Church within this Nation, agreeable to the Word of God, and most conducive to the Advancement of true Piety and Godliness, and the establishing of Peace and Tranquility within this Realm; and that, by an Article of the Claim of Right, it is declared, that Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and unsupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People ever since the Reformation, they having reformed from Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished; likeas, by an Act of the last Session of this Parliament, Prelacy is abolished. Therefore their Majesties, with Advice and Consent of the said three Estates, do hereby revise, ratify, and perpetually confirm, all Laws, Statutes, and Acts of Parliament, made against Popery and Papists; and for the Maintenance and Preservation of the true reformed Protestant Religion, and for the true Church of Christ within this Kingdom, in so far as they confirm the same, or are made in Favour thereof. Likeas they, by these Presents, ratify and establish the Confession of Faith, now read in their Presence, and voted and approved by them, as the publick and avow'd Confession of this Church, containing the Sum and Substance of the Doctrine of the Reform'd Churches, (which Confession of Faith is subjoined to this present Act.) As also, they do establish, ratify, and confirm the Presbyterian Church-Government and Discipline; that is to say, the Government of the Church by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, ratified and established by the 114th Act of James VI. Parl. 12, Anno 1592, entitled, *Ratification of the Liberty of the true Kirk*, &c. and thereafter received by the general Consent of this Nation to be the only Government of Christ's Church within this Kingdom; reviving, renewing, and confirming the aforesaid Act of Parliament, in the whole Heads thereof, except that Part of it relating to Patronages, which is hereafter to be taken into Consideration; and rescinding, annulling, and making void the Acts of Parliament following; viz. *Act anent Restitution of Bishops*, Jac. VI. Parl. 18. Cap. 2. *Act ratifying the Acts of the Assembly*, 1610, Jac. VI. Parl. 21. Cap. 1. *Act anent the Election of Archbishops and Bishops*, Jac. VI. Parl. 22, Cap. 1. *Act entitled Ratification of the five Articles of the General Assembly at Perth*, Jac. VI. Parl. 23, Cap. 1. *Act entitled, For the Restitution and Re establishment of the antient Government of the Church, by Archbishops and Bishops*, Cap. 2, Parl. 1. Sess. 2. *Act 1st*, *Act anent the Constitution of a National Synod*, Cap. 2. Parl. 1. Sess. 3. *Act 6.* *Act against such as refuse to depone against Delinquents*, Cap. 2. Parl. 2. Sess. 2. *Act 2.* *Act entitled, Act acknowledging and asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of Scotland*, Cap. 2. Parl. 3. *Act 2* entitled *Act anent Religion and the Test*, Cap. 2. Parl. *Act 6.* With all other Acts, Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Proclamations; and that in so far allanerly as the said Acts and others, generally and particularly above-mention'd, are contrary, or prejudicial to, inconsistent with, or derogatory from,

from, the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Government, now established; and allowing and declaring, that the Church-Government be established in the Hands of, and exercised by, these Presbyterian Ministers, who were outed since the First of *January*, 1661, for Nonconformity to Prelacy, or not complying with the Courses of the Times, and are now restor'd by the late Act of Parliament; and such Ministers and Elders only as they have admitted or received, or shall hereafter admit or receive: And also, that all the said Presbyterian Ministers have, and shall have, Right to the Maintenance, Rights, and other Privileges, by Law provided, to the Ministers of Christ's Church within this Kingdom, as they are, or shall be, legally admitted to particular Churches; likeas, in Pursuance of the Premises, their Majesties do hereby appoint the first Meeting of the General Assembly of this Church, as above establish'd, to be at *Edinburgh*, the third *Thursday* of *October* next to come, in this Instant Year, 1690. And because many conform Ministers either have deserted, or were remov'd from preaching in their Churches, preceding the thirteenth Day of *April*, 1689, and others were depriv'd, for not giving Obedience to the Act of the Estates, made the 13th of *April*, 1689, entitled, *Proclamation against the owning of the late King James, and appointing publick Prayers for King William and Queen Mary*: Therefore their Majesties, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, do hereby declare all the Churches, either deserted, or from which the conform Ministers were remov'd or depriv'd, as said is, to be vacant; and that the Presbyterian Ministers, exercising their Ministry within any of these Paroches, (or where the last Incumbent is dead) by the Desire or Consent of the Paroch, shall continue their Possession, and have Right to the Benefices and Stipends, according to their Entry in the Year 1689, and in Time coming, ay, and while in the Church, as now establish'd, take further Course therewith. And to the Effect the Disorders that have happened in this Church may be redressed, their Majesties, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, do hereby allow the General Meeting and Representatives of the aforesaid *Presbyterian* Ministers and Elders, in whose Hands the Exercise of the Church-Government is established, either by themselves, or by such Ministers and Elders as shall be appointed and authoriz'd Visitors by them, according to the Custom and Practice of Presbyterian Government throughout the whole Kingdom, and several Parts thereof, to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous Ministers, by due Course of Ecclesiastical Process and Censures; and likewise for redressing all other Church-Disorders. And further, it is hereby provided, that whatsoever Minister, being convened before the said General Meeting and Representatives of the Presbyterian Ministers and Elders, or the Visitors to be appointed by them, shall either prove contumacious, in not appearing, or be found guilty, and shall be therefore censured, whether by Suspension or Deposition, they shall, *ipso Facto*, be suspended from, or depriv'd of, their Stipends and Benefices.

N U M B E R II.

Unto his Grace their Majesty's Commissioner, and the honourable Estates of Parliament :

The Petition of the Ministers who were thrust from their Churches by Force and Violence, in December, 1688, or at any Time thereafter, before the 13th Day of April, 1689.

Humbly sheweth,

W H E R E A S your Petitioners (though they entered to their Offices and Benefices at their respective Churches, according to Law, and were in uncontroverted Possession of them) were thrust from these their Offices and Cures, by notorious Force and Violence, cast out of their Dwellings, with their Families and Furniture, and threatened with Death, if they should offer to return to the Exercise of their Ministry at their respective Churches :

Whereas your Petitioners, upon such violent Treatment, made Application to his present Majesty, then his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, (who, at the humble Desire of divers Lords and Gentlemen of this Kingdom, had then taken upon him the Government and Administration of the Affairs of this Realm) by their humble Prayer for Protection, of the Date at *Glasgow*, the 22d of *January*, 1688-9, presented to his Majesty, by Dr. *Robert Scott*, Minister at *Hamilton*, impower'd by your Petitioners for that Effect, as will appear from his Commission of the same Date ; and upon that Application, his Majesty did emit a Declaration for keeping the Peace, &c. in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, of the Date at *St. James's*, the sixth Day of *February*, 1688-9, whereby he did expressly prohibit all Disturbance and Violence upon the Account of Religion, and authorise all Protestants to enjoy their several Opinions and Forms of Worship, whether in Churches or Meeting-Houses, whether according to Law, or otherwise, with the same Freedom, and in the same Manner, in which they did enjoy them in the Month of *October* preceding, as the said Declaration more at length bears ; whereby it is evident that his Majesty, and his Counsellors and Advisers for *Scottish* Affairs, at that Time, were clearly convinc'd of the violent Wrongs your Petitioners had met with, and of the Irregularity and Illegality thereof.

Whereas, notwithstanding the said Declaration, the Persecution of your Petitioners continued as hot as ever ; as is evident from a second Tumult at *Glasgow*, upon the 17th Day of *February*, and Year abovesaid, being the Lord's Day, on which both Ministers and Hearers (having assembled for Divine Worship according to Law, and upon the Protection and Security contained in the said Declaration) were most violently assaulted by an enrag'd Multitude, in the high Church of that City ; and a great many other Instances, which may be easily adduced. And a Representation of that Tumult

mult in *Glasgow*, and a second Application for Protection, were made to his Majesty, by Dr. *James Fall*, Principal of the College of *Glasgow*: And his Majesty referr'd the Matter to the Meeting of Estates, indicted by him to sit at *Edinburgh*, the 14th of *March*, and Year aforesaid.

Whereas the said Meeting of Estates did not think it convenient in that Interim, by their Authority, to repossess your Petitioners of their just, legal, and undoubted Rights, as appears from their Proclamation, of the Date at *Edinburgh*, the 13th Day of *April*, 1689; so that your Petitioners wanting Protection, durst never since, without the manifest Peril of their Lives, adventure to return to the Exercise of their Ministry at their respective Churches.

Whereas your Petitioners (beside the unspeakable Grief it is to them to be thus restrain'd from the Exercise of their sacred Function) are generally reduc'd to great Necessities, and many of them, with numerous Families, are at the Point of starving, having no Livelihood but their Stipends, and being refused Payment of these by the Debtors thereof, upon Pretence of an Act of Council, dated *December* the 24th, 1689, whereby Intimation is made to all Judges, that the Case of the Ministers, who are not in the actual Exercise of their Ministerial Function the 13th of *April*, 1689, lieth under the Consideration of Parliament; and they are required, in executing of Sentences already recovered, and in judging of Processes, to be intended at the Instance of such Ministers, to behave themselves as they will be answerable; which Act, not only the Debtors of your Petitioners Stipends pretend for not paying the same, as said is, but also, many inferior Judges do so construct, that they will grant no Decrees in favour of your Petitioners. And,

Whereas, by the Laws of this Realm, your Petitioners (being Ministers of the Gospel of Christ, and having entered legally to their Offices and Benefices, as said is) have a Right to Protection in the Exercise of their Ministry, at their respective Churches, and to their Benefices, *ad vitam vel culpam*, and can neither be deprived of either without a legal Sentence. And now that your Grace and the Estates are met in Parliament, to which the Case of your Petitioners is referred by the aforesaid Act of Privy Council:

May it therefore please your Grace, and the honourable Estates of Parliament, to take the Premises under Consideration, and interpose your Authority, for restoring your Petitioners to the Exercise of their Ministry at their respective Churches; for causing make Payment of the Stipends that are due to them by Law, and for protecting them both in their Offices and Benefices, according to Law.

N U M B E R III.

Act for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church.

Edinburgh, June 12, 1693.

O U R Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majesties, with Advice and Consent of the Estates of Parliament, ratify, approve, and perpetually confirm the fifth Act of the second Session of this current

current Parliament, intituled, *Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government*, in the whole Heads, Articles, and Clauses thereof: And do further statute and ordain, that no Person be admitted, or continued, for hereafter, to be a Minister or Preacher within this Church, unless that he, having first taken and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribed the Assurance, in Manner appointed by another Act of this present Session of Parliament, made thereanent, do also subscribe the Confession of Faith ratified in the foresaid fifth Act of the second Session of this Parliament, declaring the same to be the Confession of his Faith, and that he owns the Doctrine therein contained to be the true Doctrine, which he will constantly adhere to; as likewise, that he owns and acknowledges Presbyterian Church-Government, as settled by the aforesaid fifth Act of the second Session of this Parliament, to be the only Government of this Church, and that he will submit thereto, and concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the Prejudice or Subversion thereof. And their Majesties, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, statute and ordain, that ^a Uniformity of Worship, and of the Administration of all publick Ordinances within his Church, be observed by all the said Ministers and Preachers, as the same are at present performed and allowed therein, or shall be hereafter declared, by the Authority of the same; and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continued for hereafter, unless that he subscribe to observe, and do actually observe, the aforesaid Uniformity. And for the more effectual settling the Quiet and Peace of this Church, the Estates of Parliament do hereby make an humble Address to their Majesties, that they would be pleased to call a General Assembly, for the ordering the Affairs of the Church. And to the End that all the present Ministers possessing Churches, not yet admitted to the Exercise of the aforesaid Church-Government, conform to the said Act, and who shall qualify themselves in Manner aforesaid, and shall apply to the said Assembly, or the other Church-Judicatures, competent in an orderly Way, each Man for himself, be received to partake with them in the Government thereof; certifying such as shall not qualify themselves, and apply to the said Assembly, or other Judicatures, within the Space of thirty Days after meeting of the said first Assembly, in Manner aforesaid, that they may be deposed by the Sentence of the said Assembly, and other Judicatures, *tam ab officio, quam a beneficio*; and withal declaring, that if any of the said Ministers, who hath not been hitherto received into the Government of the Church, shall offer to qualify themselves, and to apply in Manner aforesaid, they shall have their Majesties full Protection, ay and while they shall be admitted and received in Manner aforesaid: Providing always, that this Act, and the Benefit thereof, shall no ways be extended to such of the said Ministers as are

^a i. e. That none of the Forms be retained in the Publick Worship of God, that are not used by the Presbyterians; viz. the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Doxology*, the

Apostles Creed; and that the Holy Scriptures must not be read in the publick Assemblies as heretofore.

scandalous, erroneous, negligent, or insufficient, and against whom the same shall be verified within the Space of thirty Days after the said Application; but these, and all others, in like Manner guilty, are hereby declared to be liable and subject to the Power and Censure of the Church, as accords. And to the Effect that the Representation of this Church, in its General Assemblies, may be more equal in all Time coming, recommends it to the first Assembly that shall be called, to appoint Ministers, to be sent as Commissioners from every Presbytery, not in equal Number, which is manifestly unequal where Presbyteries are so, but in a due Proportion to the Churches and Parochies within every Presbytery, as they shall judge convenient. And it is hereby declared, that all School-Masters, and Teachers of Youth in Schools, are, and shall be, liable to the Trial, Judgment, and Censure of the Presbyteries of the Bound, for their Sufficiency, Qualifications, and Deportment in the said Office. And, *lastly*, their Majesties, with Advice and Consent aforesaid, do hereby statute and ordain, that the Lords of their Privy-Council, and all other Magistrates, Judges, and Officers of Justice, give all due Assistance for making the Sentences and Censures of the Church, and Judicatures thereof, to be obeyed, or otherwise effectual, as accords.

Extracted forth of the Records of Parliament, by

T A R B A T, *Cls. Regist.*

G O D save King William and Queen Mary.

N U M B E R IV.

Act anent Intruders into Churches.

THE Lords of her Majesty's Privy-Council, having taken to their serious Consideration a Representation made to them by the Commission of the late General Assembly of the Church, and in the Name, and by the Warrant of the said Assembly, of several Church-Irregularities and Disorders, as particularly, that where Churches happen to vaik by Death, or otherwise, the Keys thereof are withdrawn by disaffected Persons, and the Presbytery of the Bounds refused or hindred to have Access thereto, notwithstanding of the frequent Orders and Acts made for Remedy of these Abuses. *Secondly*, That Persons having no Authority from, or within this Church, but pretending Warrant from the late exauكتورat Bishops, do take upon them to preach and exercise other Acts of the Ministerial Function, contrary to all good Order, and to perpetuate an unhappy Schism. And, *Thirdly*, That where Intruders are removed from Kirks or Paroches, by Sentence of the Lords of Council, for their Intrusion, yet, for eluding of the said Sentence, they do either remove only to the Border of a neighbouring Paroch, and there continue to exercise, or otherwise intrude elsewhere, as if no Sentence had past against them. The said Lords of Privy-Council, for Remedy of the said Abuses, do therefore, in the first Place, in Prosecution, and for the more

more effectual Execution of the Acts of Parliament and Privy Council made for that Effect, require and command all Sheriffs, and their Deputies, and all other Magistrates and Officers of the Law, within whose Bounds any Church is, or shall happen to be vacant, that, upon Application made to them by the Presbytery of the Bounds, or any in their Name, they make, or cause to be made, the same Patent to the Presbytery; and deliver, or cause to be delivered, to the said Presbytery, or any having their Warrant, either the usual Keys of the said Church, or new Keys, in Place of the former usual Keys, abstracted and withdrawn, whereby the Church may be made freely Patent; and that, within the Space of fifteen Days after, they shall be requir'd thereto, by Form of Instrument taken against them, personally for that Effect, with Certification, that if they refuse to make, or cause to be made, the said Church-Patent to the Presbytery, in Manner aforesaid, within the said Space of fifteen Days, Letters shall be direct, at the Instance of the Kirk-Agent, by Deliverance of Privy-Council, summarily against them, charging them thereto *simpliciter*, within the Space of ten Days. And the said Lords of her Majesty's Privy-Council do hereby order and warrant the aforesaid Letters to be direct conform to the said Certification, and that without Prejudice of the Pains contained in the Act of Parliament 1698, against the said Sheriffs, and others, who shall refuse to obtemper in the Terms of the said Act. And, in the next Place, the said Lords of Privy-Council do hereby expressly prohibit and discharge all Persons, who neither had, nor have, any Authority, from or within this Church, but pretend allennerly to a Warrant or Licence from the late exauktorat Bishops, since they were exauktorat, to take upon them to preach, or exercise any Part of the Ministerial Function, within this Church, or within any Kirk or Paroch thereof; certifying such as shall presume to preach or exercise in the contrary, without being duly authorized and qualified according to Law, they shall not only be liable, upon due Information, to be summarily seized and secured by the Magistrates of the Bounds, in order to their Trial, (and which Magistrates are hereby authorized to seize them accordingly) but also, upon due Trial, they shall be banished, by Sentence of the Lords of the Privy-Council, forth of the Kingdom, conform to the Act of Parliament 1693; and farther, the late Bishops exauktorat, as said is, are hereby discharged to grant any such Warrant or Licence, as they will be answerable upon their highest Peril. And, *Thirdly*, the said Lords of Privy-Council do hereby declare and certify, that if any Minister or Preacher, either depriv'd by Sentence of the Lords of Privy-Council, or not qualified according to Law, and who shall be removed from any Church or Paroch, as an Intruder, by Sentence of the said Lords, shall be found again transgressing, by intruding into any other Kirk or Paroch, contrary to the Act of Parliament 1695, made *against intruding into Churches*, without a legal Call and Admission thereto, he shall not only be summarily seized and secured, upon due Information, by the Magistrate of the Bounds, to answer for his Transgression (and which Magistrates are hereby authorized to seize him accordingly) but also,

also, after due Conviction, he shall be banished forth of the Kingdom, conform to the said Acts of Parliament. And the Lords of her Majesty's Privy-Council do hereby ordain these Presents to be printed and published at the *Mercat-Cross* of *Edinburgh*, and all other Places needful, that none pretend Ignorance.

*Given under our Signet at Edinburgh, the 21st Day of March, 1706,
and of our Reign the fourth Year.*

Per Aetum Dominorum Secreti Concilii,

A L. MAITLAND, *Cls. Sti. Concilii.*

G O D save the Q U E E N.

*A Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman at London, to
a Lord at Edinburgh, concerning the Scots Peerage.*

My Lord,

TH O' I have not any personal Concern or Prospect in the *Scots* Peerage, I cannot but entertain a very high Regard for that once illustrious Body, and think myself bound to acquaint you, that I have too just Grounds to believe, that what was lately designed against the very Being thereof, will be once more attempted in this, or some subsequent Session of the present Parliament.

I must own, that I was much surprized at the supine Silence, with which such of the *Scots* Peers, who had no Designs or Hopes of being amongst the Number of those predestinated to be elected, nor influenced by the Threats or Promises of any Power whatsoever, did receive the Accounts of this intended Violation of their Rights, as it afforded an Handle to represent them in this Place, as a Pack of despicable, spiritless Creatures, who might be kick'd and cuff'd at Pleasure, or as tacitly submitting to, and approving of what was designed against them: And give me Leave to tell you, if they take not Care timeously to exert themselves, and publicly manifest a Spirit of Opposition to this Measure, they are for ever utterly undone: And as a Vacancy has happened by the Marquis of *Annandale's* Death, if they take not such Measures as will evidently declare their Aversion to the Scheme, particularly by choosing such a Representative as will not betray and desert his Constituents, it will, in all human Probability, be the last Occasion Providence will cast in their Way, of providing for their future Honour and Prosperity.

Whence this strange Indolence proceeded is to me unaccountable: The *Scots* Peers were formerly taxed with being Proud, Ambitious and Avaritious;

tious; but surely such as tamely submit to this Scheme are unjustly accused. One would think they had sufficiently humbled themselves, by being reduced to the Condition we find them in at present; but, if once the new Scheme take Effect, what will remain to the reprobate Peers, but empty despicable Titles, and the melancholy Reflection of what they and their Predecessors formerly enjoyed? How contemptible must they be, when they have not the Privilege of the meanest Freeholder, I mean that of being represented any Manner of Way in the national Assembly of the States? Being thereby reduced to a State more suitable to Slaves than Members of any civil Society, whilst a Parcel of other Peers, the best of them but their Equals, and some of them far inferior in personal Merit, or the Antiquity and Dignity of their Families, enjoy, at their Cost, the full Fruition of the most extensive Privileges of the *British* Peerage. In Days of Yore, the Interests of the Crown and Peers of *Scotland* were so interwoven, that they became reciprocal, these supported the former, who, on that Account, cherished and rewarded them: But henceforward, when their Assistance will not be wanted in the only Point remaining to render them significant, *viz.* The Election of their own Representatives: From whence can they imagine or expect to reap any the smallest Portion of the regal Bounty? Our Kings now-a-days have too many pressing Demands upon them, to think of bestowing Favours on any Set of Men, who are but useless Drones in the Commonwealth, and can be of no Service to them, and from whom no Danger can be apprehended; so that these reprobate Peers may bid adieu to all Pensions and Offices, to all Honours and Preferments, and their Children need not expect to be provided for as formerly in the Army and Judicatures. The hereditary Peers and Commoners will be henceforward entitled to these, whilst the Families of the other will be left to starve and dwindle away into the most abject forlorn Condition. These, and the like obvious Considerations, should, I humbly presume, deeply affect such (if any such there be) who stupidly incline to grasp at any present Benefit or Temptation, in Prejudice of the future Prosperity of their Families, and prevail with them to look one Inch before their Noses, and behold the helpless despicable Condition, into which, by their own Act and Deed, they will irretrievably plunge themselves and their Posterity; and resolve for their own Sakes to make one noble Stand and Effort to prevent their utter Misery, in which, tho' they should not succeed, they'll have the Satisfaction of having acted as became Men of Honour, and the Approbation and Pity of all the impartial Part of Mankind; and in Order thereto, no Time, nor no Pains should be neglected, every selfish personal View should be postponed, and such joint Measures concerted and prosecuted, as may most probably tend to promote and advance so just and honourable a Cause; and whilst we have so good and gracious a King, and so hopeful an Heir to succeed him, there is no Danger to be apprehended, nor Reason to doubt of Success in the Undertaking. Here then is a noble Opportunity for a Person of Distinction, and Abilities to establish his Character, and raise his Reputation, by settling himself at the
Head

Head of those, who with him will concur in opposing a Measure so unjust and destructive to the Body of the *Scots* Peerage, and in all Probability attended with Consequences, pernicious and fatal to the Liberties of others.

For this Matter does not singly affect the Peerage, as it seems to interfere with the general Interest of all *Scotsmen*. First, As the laying aside the Representation of the Peerage, and in its Room setting up a certain Number of hereditary Peers, is a manifest Injustice to such of their Fellow-Subjects, as are thereby without any Crime forfeited of their just Rights and Privileges, and a bare-faced Infringement and Violation of a fundamental Article of the Union, by which that Representation is stipulated perpetually to remain. And consequently, in the second Place, a Precedent is laid down for subverting all the other Articles in Favour of *Scotland* and *Scotsmen*: For if this fundamental Article can be abrogated, we have no Security for our Church Government, our Civil Rights, our Judicatories, the Privileges and Communication of Trade, the Regulation of the Land-Tax, the Exemption from some certain Duties and Imposts, and the like, that does not rest upon the same precarious Footing, and is not exposed to the like Subversion, if so be, it shall be judged proper for the Utility of *Great-Britain*, an Handle fitted for all Blades, and a Pretence to introduce the grossest Absurdities, and greatest Abuses, when cherished and supported by an evil Administration.

Nay, who can tell, but after the Demolishing the Representation of the Peers, it may enter into some Politicians Heads to change likewise the Constitution of the *Scots* Commoners, by lessening their Number in the House of Commons; we know how much some affect to have the Union rendered more and more complete, as they term it, by lessening the Power and Credit of our Judicatories, and abolishing every Thing that derives its Origin from the *Scottish* Constitution; and it is not a far fetched Thought to dread, that such may incline to open a Door, and introduce the Scum of the People into the Privilege of choosing the Representatives of Shires, as is practised in *England*. And what a Stroke this would be to that great Bulwark of our Liberties, the resolute unbiassed *Scottish* Barons, is too obvious to need any Proof; and yet, if such an Attempt should be made, the Stipulations of the Union, reserving to the Barons their ancient Rights and Privileges, will be of no Significancy, when this Precedent of the Peers is thrown in their Teeth.

In the next Place, as the Trouble and Expence the Crown is said to be at in procuring and managing a Majority of the *Scots* Peers at the Election of the sixteen (which if true, ought, and may be prevented by severe Laws made for that Effect, without so manifest a Subversion of the Constitution) is one of the chief Reasons for pushing this Measure. May not the same Motives be thought sufficient to render a Reduction of the several Districts of the *Scots* Boroughs necessary, and to pitch upon fifteen Boroughs, in which, for the future, shall be lodged solely and perpetually, the Representation of that State in Parliament? Since thereby, the Trouble and Expence which the Crown may, nay is truly said to be at, in procuring an Interest in the
U 2 several

several Boroughs of these several Districts, will be prevented. This Case is so near a Kin to that of the Peerage, that the same Motives affects both, and the same Powers may overturn both; so that the Fate of the one, is the Passing-Bell of the other.

I know there are some of our Country-men, who are very indifferent about the Prosperity of the Peerage; because indeed that State hath lost much of its pristine Honour and Respect, by such Shoals being introduced during this and the last Century, many of whom had no just Pretensions thereto, either from their Birth or personal Merit, and because the Peers in general have, under all Administrations, contributed too much to their Country's Felicity. But let such consider, that it is hard the *Just should suffer with the Unjust*, and that there are still some unblemished Peers, the Representatives of ancient Families and glorious Progenitors, and that the Punishment of a few guilty and obnoxious after such an unprecedented Manner, may pave the Way to ruin many that are innocent, and introduce the Means of subverting all that is dear to a free People.

I might likewise here take notice, that it is very amazing, that the Peers of *England*, so jealous of their Liberties, should seem so fond of this Alteration of the *Scots* Peerage, seeing an Encroachment upon any Branch of the Constitution, is a Precedent to a total Subversion of the Whole. And as the *Scots* Peers have, under the present Constitution, as unquestionable a Right to elect their own Representatives, and by them to be represented in the House of Lords, as have the *English* Peers to sit personally in that House, the same Power, and the same Utility of *Great-Britain*, which can deprive the *Scots* Peers of their Right to elect and be represented, may likewise deprive some, or all the *English* Peers (as happened in old *Noll's* Days) of their particular Privileges: As both their Rights are equally founded and secured, both of them are equally subjected to the same Powers, and the same political Maxims and Measures; and if the *Scots* Peers shall be handled after so barbarous a Manner, old as I am, I may live to see the *State-Coblers* of this Generation reduce the *English* Peers to the same deplorable Condition; for what has been may be again, especially when supported by so signal and fresh a Precedent.

I should now, my Lord, make a great many Apologies, for presuming to enlarge so much on a Subject, in which your Knowledge very far surpasses any Thing I can pretend to; but as it proceeded from Love and Zeal to my own Country, and that this perhaps may serve as an Index to point out some Heads for your Lordship to enlarge upon and improve, I expect your Pardon, and that you will do me the Justice to believe I am, with the most profound Respect,

Your, &c.

A List

*A List of the Nobility and Gentry, now sitting in the
Scots Parliament, who were for and against the
UNION of the Two Kingdoms. 1706.*

Of the Nobility, Approvers 45.

TH E Lord Chancellor.
Marquis of Montrose, P. S. C.
Duke of Argyle.
Marquis of Tweeddale.
Marquis of Lothian.

Earls.

Marr, Secr.	Lowdown, Secr.
Crawford.	Sutherland.
Roths.	Mortoun.
Eglington.	Roxburgh.
Haddingtoun.	Galloway.
Weymes.	Dalhousie.
Leven.	Northesque.
Bellcarras.	Forfar.
Kilmarnock.	Kintore.
Dunmore.	Marchmont.
Hyndfoord.	Cromarty.
Stair.	Roseberry.
Glasgow, Ther. Deput.	
Hoptoun.	Delorain. Isla.

Viscounts.

Duplin. Garnock.

Lords.

Forbes.	Elphinstoun.
Rofs.	Torpichin.
Frazer.	Bamff.
Elibank.	Duffus.
Rollo.	Lord Register.

Lord Justice Clerk.

Of the Nobility, No's 21.

Duke of Hamilton.
Duke of Athol.
Marquis of Annandale.

Earls.

Errol.	Marischal.
Buchan.	Glencarin.
Wigtoun.	Strathmore.
Selkraig.	Kincardin.

Viscounts.

Stormount.	Kilsyth.
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Lords.

Semple.	Oliphant.
Balmerinloch.	Blantyre.
Bergany.	Beilhaven.
Colvil.	Kinaird.

Of the Barons, Approvers 37.

Sir Robert Dickson, of Inverask.
William Nisbet, of Dirletoun.
Jo. Cockburn, Jun. of Ormiston.
Sir John Swintoun, of that Ilk.
Sir Alex. Campbell, of Cessnock.
Sir William Kerr, of Greenhead.
Archib. Douglass, of Cavers.
William Bennet, of Grubbet.
Mr. John Murray, of Bowhill.
Mr. John Pringle, of Haining.
Will. Morieson, of Prestoungrange.
George Baillie, of Jerviswood.
Sir John Jounstoun, of Westerhall.
William Douglass, of Dornock.
Mr. Will. Steuart, of Castle-steuart.
Mr. John Steuart, of Sorbie.
Mr. Fran. Montgomery, of Giffan.
Mr. Will. Dalrymple, of Glenmuir.
Mr. Rob. Steuart, of Tillicultry.
Sir Robert Pollock, of that Ilk.
Mr. Joh. Montgomery, of Wrae.
John Halden, of Glenagies.

Mungo

Mungo Grahame, *of Gorthie.*
Sir Tho. Burnet, *of Leyes.*
 Will. Seton, *Jun. of Pitmedden.*
 Alexander Grant, *Jun. of that Ilk.*
Sir Kenneth Mackenzie.
Mr. Æneas Macloed, *of Catboll.*
Mr. John Campbell, *of Mammore.*
Sir James Campbell, *of Auchinbreck.*
Ja. Campbell, *Jun. of Ardkinglass.*
Sir William Anstruther, *of that Ilk.*
 James Halyburton, *of Pitcurr.*
 Alex. Abercromby, *of Glasloch.*
 William Maxwell, *of Cardinals.*
Mr. Jam. Dumbar, *Jun. of Hemprigs.*
 John Bruce, *of Kinross.*

Of the Barons. No's 33.

George Lockhart, *of Carnwath:*
Sir James Foulis, *of Collingtoun.*
 Andrew Fletcher, *of Saltoun.*
Sir Rob. Sinclair, *of Longformacus.*
Sir Patrick Home, *of Rentoun.*
Sir Gilbert Elliot, *of Minto.*
 Will. Baille, *of Lamingtoun.*
 John Sinclair, *Jun. of Stevenson.*
 John Sharp, *of Hoddon.*
Mr. Alex. Ferguson, *of Isle.*
Jo. Brisbane, *Jun. of Bishoptoun.*
Mr. Will. Cockran, *of Kilmaronock.*
Sir Humph. Colquhoun, *of Lufs.*
Sir John Honston, *of that Ilk.*
 John Grahame, *of Killairn.*
 James Grahame, *of Buchlobie.*
 Thomas Sharp, *of Houstoun.*
Sir Patrick Murray, *of Auchtertyre.*
 John Murray, *of Strowan.*
Sir David Ramsay, *of Balmain.*
 Alex. Gourden, *of Pitlurg.*
 James More, *of Stoniewood.*
 John Forbes, *of Culloden.*
 David Beathun, *of Balfour.*
Mr. Tho. Hope, *of Rankeilor.*
Mr. Patrick Lyon, *of Auchterhouse.*
Mr. James Carnagis, *of Phinhaven.*
 David Grahame, *Jun. of Fintrie.*
 James Ogilvie, *Jun. of Boyn.*
 Alex. Macgie, *of Palgoun.*

Sir Henry Innes, *Jun. of that Ilk.*
 Alex. Douglass, *of Eagleshaw.*
Mr. Geo. Mackenzie, *of Inchcoulter.*

Of the Boroughs. Approvers 33.

Sir Patrick Johnstoun,
 John Scrymgeour.
Lieut. Col. John Muir.
 James Scot.
 Patrick Bruce.
Sir John Arskin.
 James Spittle.
Mr. Patrick Moncrieff.
 George Monro.
Sir Andrew Home.
 William Coltran.
Sir Peter Halket.
Sir James Smollet.
Mr. William Carmichael.
Capt. Daniel Macloed.
Sir David Dalrymple.
Sir Alexander Ogilvie.
Mr. John Clerk.
Mr. John Ross.
Sir Hugh Dalrymple.
Mr. Patrick Ogilvie.
 George Allardice.
 William Alvis.
Mr. Roderick Mackenzie.
 John Urquhart.
Sir James Steuart.
 Daniel Campbell.
Sir Robert Forbes,
Mr. Robert Douglass.
Mr. Alexander Maitland.
Mr. George Dalrymple.
Mr. Charles Campbell.

Of the Boroughs. No's 29.

Robert Inglis.
 Alexander Robertson.
 Walter Stewart.
 Alexander Watson.
 Hugh Montgomery.
 Alexander Edgar.
 John Black.
 James Oswald.
 Robert Johnstoun,

Alexander

Alexander Duff.
Francis Molison.
Walter Scot.
George Smith.
Robert Scot.
Robert Kellie.
John Hutcheson.
Mr. William Sutherland.
Archibald Sheils.
Mr. John Lyon.
Mr. Dougal Steuart.

George Brodie.
George Spence.
Sir David Cunninghame.
Mr. William Johnstoun.
Mr. John Caruthers.
George Home.
Mr. James Bethun.
John Bayne.
Robert Frazer.

Approvers 115. No's 83.
Protestors 67.

A List of those worthy Patriots, who, to prevent the Church of England from being undermined by the Occasional Conformists, did, like truly noble Englishmen, vote, that the Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity might be tack'd to the Land-Tax Bill, to secure its passing in the House of Lords; so that this their Zeal does appear, to all wise Men, as conspicuous for the Interest, as their Lives are Ornaments to that Church of which they are Members. 1705.

<i>The Names.</i>	<i>Places.</i>	<i>County.</i>
J O H N Anstis, Esq;	St. Germain,	Cornwal.
Js. Andteron, Esq;	Ilcester,	Somerset.
Arthur Annesley, Esq;	Cambridge University,	Cambridge.
Sir Edward Acton, Bart.	Bridgenorth,	Salop.
Thomas Bulkley, Esq;		Carnarvan.
Robert Byerley, Esq;	Knaresborough,	York.
Robert Bertie, Esq;	Westbury,	Wilts.
Henry Bertie, Esq;		
Charles Bertie, Esq;	Stamford,	Lincoln.
James Bertie, Esq;	New Woodstock,	Oxon.
Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart.	Orford,	Suffolk.
Sir Charles Blois, Bart.	Dunwich,	Suffolk.
John Bence, Esq;	Ipswich,	Suffolk.
— Bilson, Esq;	Petersfield,	Southampton.
Sir Jacob Banks,	Minehead,	Somerset.
William Bromley,	Oxon University,	Oxon.

Sir

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<i>The Names.</i>	<i>Places.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Sir George Beaumont, Bt.	Leicester,	Leicester.
Orlando Bridgeman, Esq;	Wiggan,	Lancaster.
Sir Cs. Barrington, Bart.		Essex.
Sir Henry Bellafys,	Durham City,	Durham.
John Banks, Esq;	Corfe Castle,	Cornwal.
Sir Henry Bunbury, Bt.	Chester,	Chester.
Richard Bingham, Esq;	Bridport,	Dorset.
James Buller, Esq;		Cornwal.
William Cage, Esq;	Rocheſter,	Kent.
William Cary, Esq;	Lanceſton,	Cornwal.
John Courzon, Esq;		Derby.
Thomas Coulſon, Esq;	Totneſs,	Devon.
Arthur Champney, Esq;	Barnſtable,	Devon.
John Comyns, Esq;	Malden,	Essex.
Charles Cæſar, Esq;	Hertford,	Hertford.
Robert Crawford, Esq;	Queenborough,	Kent.
William Cecill, Esq;	Stamford,	Lincoln.
Sir Walter Clarges, Bart.	Weſtminſter,	Middleſex.
William Coward, Esq;	City of Wells,	Somerſet.
Henry Chivers, Esq;	Calne,	Wilts.
Thomas Caſſin, Esq;		Dorſet.
Sir William Drake,	Honiton,	Devon.
George Daſhwood, Esq;	Sudbury,	Suffolk.
John Drake, Esq;	Agmondeſham,	Bucks.
Lewis Dimmocke, Esq;		Lincoln.
Richard Dyott, Esq;	Litchfield,	Stafford.
Earl of Dyſert,		Suffolk.
Sir Robert Davers,	St. Edmund's Bury,	Suffolk.
James Darcy, Esq;	Richmond,	York.
Sir James Etheridge,	Great Marlow,	Bucks.
William Elſon, Esq;	Chicheſter,	Suffex.
Richard Fowne, Esq;	Corfe Caſtle,	Dorſet.
William Fitch, Esq;	Malden,	Essex.
Ralph Freeman, Esq;		Hertford.
Heneage Finch, Esq;	Maidſtone,	Kent.
Charles Fox, Esq;	New Sarum,	Wilts.
Sir Sam. Garard, Bart.	Agmondeſham,	Bucks.
Henry Gorges, Esq;		Hereford.
Richard Gulſton, Esq;		Hertford.
John Gape, Esq;	St. Albans,	Hertford.
Sir Wm. Glyn, Bart.	New Woodſtock,	Oxon.
Francis Gwinn, Esq;	Chriſt-Church,	Southampton.
Joſeph Girdler, Esq;	Tamworth,	Stafford.
Thomas Gery, Esq;	Coventry,	Warwick.

Francis

<i>The Names.</i>	<i>Places.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Francis Grevile, Esq;	<i>Warwick,</i>	<i>Warwick.</i>
Algernoon Grevile, Esq;	<i>Ipswich,</i>	<i>Suffolk.</i>
Frederick Hern, Esq; } Nathaniel Hern, Esq; }	<i>Hardness,</i>	<i>Devon.</i>
Richard Halford, Esq;		<i>Rutland.</i>
Henry Holmes, Esq;	<i>Yarmouth,</i>	<i>Hampshire.</i>
Thomas Heath, Esq;	<i>Haslemere,</i>	<i>Surrey.</i>
Sir Christ. Hales, Bart.	<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Warwick.</i>
Sir Richard Howe, Bar.		<i>Wilts.</i>
Sir James Howe, Bar.	<i>Hindon,</i>	<i>Wilts.</i>
Robert Hyde, Esq;		<i>Wilts.</i>
William Harvey, Esq;	<i>Old Sarum,</i>	<i>Wiltshire.</i>
Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bt.		<i>Flint.</i>
Sir Willoughby Hickman, Bar.	<i>East Retford,</i>	<i>Nottingham.</i>
John James, Esq;	<i>Brackly,</i>	<i>Northampton.</i>
Sir Robert Jenkinson, Bt.		<i>Oxon.</i>
Robert Kemp, Esq;	<i>Dunwich,</i>	<i>Suffolk.</i>
Wilfred Lawson, Esq;		<i>Cumberland.</i>
Sir Francis Leigh.		<i>Kent.</i>
Tho. Leigh of Lime, Esq;	<i>Newton,</i>	<i>Lancaster.</i>
William Levenz, Esq;	<i>East Retford,</i>	<i>Nottingham.</i>
Henry Lloyd, Esq;	<i>Cardigan,</i>	<i>Cardigan.</i>
Sir Roger Mostyn, Bar.		<i>Chester.</i>
Thomas Mostyn, Esq;		<i>Flint.</i>
Henry Manaton, Esq;	<i>Tavistock,</i>	<i>Devon.</i>
John Manly, Esq;	<i>Bossiney,</i>	<i>Cornwal.</i>
Sir John Mordaunt, Bt.		<i>Warwick.</i>
Sir Humphry Mackworth,		<i>Cardigan.</i>
John Mitchell, Esq;	<i>Sandwich,</i>	<i>Kent.</i>
Sir Edward Norreys,		<i>Oxon.</i>
Francis Norreys, Esq;	<i>Oxon City,</i>	<i>Oxon.</i>
Charles North, Esq;	<i>Banbury,</i>	<i>Oxon.</i>
Hugh Parker, Esq;	<i>Evesham,</i>	<i>Worcester.</i>
Sir John Packington, Bt.		<i>Worcester.</i>
Sir Hen. Parker,	<i>Alisbury,</i>	<i>Bucks.</i>
Granado Piggot, Esq;		<i>Cambridge.</i>
William Pole, Esq;	<i>Camelford,</i>	<i>Cornwal.</i>
Henry Poley, Esq;	<i>Westlow,</i>	<i>Cornwal.</i>
James Praed, Esq;	<i>St. Ives,</i>	<i>Cornwal.</i>
Thomas Price, Esq;	<i>Webley,</i>	<i>Hereford.</i>
Thomas Polgrave, Esq;	<i>Norwich,</i>	<i>Norfolk.</i>
Henry Portman, Esq;	<i>City of Wells,</i>	<i>Somerjet.</i>

<i>The Names.</i>	<i>Places.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Sir John Parsons,	Rygate,	Surry.
Henry Pennel, Esq;	Wotton Bassett,	Wilts,
John Roll, Esq;	Salisbury.	Cornwal.
Thomas Rowney, Esq;	Oxon City.	Oxon.
John Snell, Esq;	Exeter,	Devon.
Sir Ed. Seymour, Bar. }		Berks.
Sir John Stonehouse, Bt.		Chester.
Peter Sackerly, Esq;	Chester,	Cornwal.
Charles Seymour, Esq;	Westlow,	Cornwal.
Sir Henry Seymour, Bar.	Eastlow,	Devon.
William Seymour, Esq;	Totness,	Cornwal.
Francis Scobel, Esq;	Grampound,	Cornwal.
Joseph Sawle, Esq;	Tregony,	Cornwal.
John Spark, Esq;	Newport,	Middlesex.
Hugh Smithson, Esq;	Medena,	Southampton.
William Stephens, Esq;		York.
Sir Bryon Stapleton, Bar.	Boroughbridge,	Northumberland.
Bertram Stote, Esq;	Weymouth,	Dorset.
Tho. Strangeways, Esq;		Dorset.
Henry Thyn, Esq;	Orford,	Suffolk.
Sir Edward Turner,	East Grinstead,	Lincoln.
Sir John Thorold, Bar.		Sussex.
John Toke, Esq;	Haslemer,	Cornwal.
Sir Richard Vivian, Bar.		Surry.
George Vernon, Esq;	Montgomery,	Montgomery.
John Vaughan, Esq;	Leicester.	Montgomery.
Edward Vaughan, Esq;		Chester.
Sir Geo. Warburton, Bt.	Oxon University,	Hereford.
Sir John Williams,		Leicester.
James Winttanly, Esq;		Oxon.
Sir William Whitlock,		Surry.
Leonard Wyffel, Esq;		

A true

A true and just Relation of Major-general Sir Thomas Morgan's Progress in France and Flanders, with the Six Thousand English, in the Years 1657 and 1658, at the Taking of Dunkirk, and other important Places; as it was delivered by the General himself. 1699.

Cromwell, being confirmed in his Protectorship by the Parliament, concludes a League offensive and defensive with the King of France, conditionally, that the Protector should assist the French with six Thousand Men, and that they should be put into Possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk, when taken. But Cromwell's great Aim, in this League, was to destroy the Children of Charles the First, and their Adherents. So,

In Consequence of this Treaty, James Duke of York, and all others that adhered to the Fortune of the Stuarts, had Notice to leave France; and Cromwell sent his six Thousand Soldiers, who, as it plainly appears from all, but especially from the following Account, wrought Wonders in that Expedition, not under the Command of Reynolds and Lockhart, two successive Ambassadors at the Court of France, as Rapin, and most Historians have erroneously recorded, but under that brave Soldier, Sir Thomas Morgan; as this intrepid General has avouched under his own Hand.

I shall say no more of the Value of this Piece of History, without which the Memoirs of those Times are imperfect, but conclude this Introduction with the Publisher's Advertisement.

Sir Thomas Morgan, says he, drew up the following Relation at a Friend's Desire, who was unwilling that Posterity should want an authentick Account of the Actions of the six Thousand English, whom Cromwell sent to assist the French against the Spaniards, and thought the Right they did their Country, by their Behaviour, might make some Amends for the Occasion of their being in that Service. It had been printed in the last Reign^a, if the Authority of it had not interposed, because there was not so much said of some^b, who were then in the Spanish Army, as they expected; and is published now, to let the World see, that more was owing to our Countrymen, at the Battle of Dunkirk, than either^c Monsieur Buffy Rabutin, or^d Ludlow in their Memoirs, do allow. The former, by his Manner of Expression, seems contented with an Opportunity to lessen their Merit; and, being in the right Wing of the French, while this passed in the Left, comes under the just Reflection he himself makes^e a little after, upon the Describers of Fights, who

^a Of K. James II. ^b The Duke of York, the Earl of Bristol, &c. ^c Part II. p. 115.

^d Part II. p. 561.

^e Part II. p. 139.

are particular in what they did not see; and, whether the latter was misinformed, or swayed, by his Prejudice, ^a to those that were engaged to support the new-erected Tyranny, is left to the Reader to judge. It may not be improper to add, That these Papers came to the Publisher's Hand, from the Gentleman, at whose Request they were wrote, and to whom Sir Thomas Morgan confirmed every Paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the Time he delivered them to him: Which, besides the unaffected Plainness of the Stile, may be urged for the Credit of the Narrative, since Sir Thomas was intituled to so much true Reputation, that he had no Need to grasp at any that was false.

Jan. 24, 1698.

THE French King, and his Eminence the Cardinal Mazarine, came to view the six Thousand *English* near *Charleroy*; and ordered Major-general Morgan, with the said six Thousand *English*, to march and make Conjunction with Marshal *Turenne's* Army, who, soon after the Conjunction, beleaguered a Town, called *St. Venant*, on the Borders of *Flanders*. Marshal *Turenne* having invested the Town on the East-side, and Major-general Morgan, with his six Thousand *English*, and a Brigade of *French* Horse on the West, the Army incamped betwixt Marshal *Turenne's* Approaches and Major-general Morgan's; and, being to relieve Count *Schomberg*, out of the Approaches of the West-side of the Town, Major-general Morgan marched into the Approaches, with eight Hundred *English*. The *English*, at that Time, being Strangers in Approaches, Major-general Morgan instructed the Officers and Soldiers to take their Places by Fifties, that thereby they might relieve the Point to carry on the Approaches, every Hour. In the mean Time, whilst we besieged the Town, the Enemy had beleaguered a Town, called *Ardres*, within five Miles of *Calais*. In the Evening, Count *Schomberg*, with six Noblemen, came upon the Point, to see how Major-general Morgan carried on his Approaches; but there happened a little Confusion, by the Soldiers intermingling themselves in the Approaches, so as there was never an intire Fifty to be called to the Point. Count *Schomberg* and his Noblemen taking Notice thereof, Major-general Morgan was much troubled, leaped upon the Point, and called out Fifty to take up the Spades, Pick-axes, and Fascines, and follow him: But so it happened, that all in the Approaches leaped out after him, the Enemy, in the mean Time, firing as fast as they could. Major-general Morgan, conceiving his Loss, in bringing them again to their Approaches, would be greater, than in carrying them forward, passed over a Channel of Water, on which there was a Bridge and a Turn-pike; and, the Soldiers crying out, *Fall on, fall on*, he fell upon the Counterscarp, beat the Enemy from it, and three Redoubts; which caused them to capitulate, and, the next Morning, to surrender the Town, and receive a *French* Garrison; so as the sudden

Reduction thereof gave Marshall *Turenne* an Opportunity afterwards to march and relieve *Ardres*.

The next Place Marshal *Turenne* besieged was *Mardyke*, taken, in twice eight and forty Hours, by the *English* and *French*. After the taking whereof, Major-general *Morgan* was settled there, by Order of the *French* King and *Oliver*, with two Thousand *English* and one Thousand *French*, in order to the beleaguering *Dunkirk* the next Spring.

The rest of the *English* were quartered in *Borborch*. For the Space of four Months, there was hardly a Week, wherein Major-general *Morgan* had not two or three Alarms by the *Spanish* Army: He answered them all, and never went out of his Cloaths all the Winter, except to change his Shirt.

The next Spring Marshal *Turenne* beleaguered *Dunkirk* on the *Newport* Side, and Major-general *Morgan* on the *Mardyke* Side, with his six Thousand *English*, and a Brigade of *French* Horse: He made a Bridge over the Canal, betwixt that and *Bergon*, that there might be Communication betwixt Marshal *Turenne's* Camp and his. When *Dunkirk* was close invested, Marshal *Turenne* sent a Summons to the Governor, the Marquis *de Leda*, a great Captain, and brave Defender of a Siege; but the Summons being answered with Defiance, Marshal *Turenne* immediately broke Ground, and carried on the Approaches on his Side, whilst the *English* did the same on their's; and, it is observable, the *English* had two Miles to march every Day, upon relieving their Approaches. In this Manner the Approaches were carried on, both by the *French* and *English*, for the Space of twelve Nights; when the Marshal *Turenne* had Intelligence, that the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *York*, Don *John* of *Austria*, and the Prince *de Ligny*, were at the Head of thirty Thousand Horse and Foot, with Resolution to relieve *Dunkirk*.

Immediately upon this Intelligence, Marshal *Turenne*, and several Noblemen of *France*, went to the King and Cardinal at *Mardyke*, and acquainted his Eminence therewith; and desired his Majesty, and his Eminence the Cardinal, to withdraw their Persons into Safety, and leave their Orders: His Majesty answered, that he knew no better Place of Safety than at the Head of his Army; but said it was convenient the Cardinal should withdraw to *Calais*. Then Marshal *Turenne* and the Noblemen made Answer, They could not be satisfied, except his Majesty withdrew himself into Safety; which was assented to; and the King and Cardinal, marching to *Calais*, left open Orders with Marshal *Turenne*, That, if the Enemy came on, he should give Battle, or raise the Siege, as he should be advised by a Council of War.

The Enemy came to *Bruges*, and then Marshal *Turenne* thought it high Time to call a Council of War; which consisted of eight Noblemen, eight Lieutenant-generals, and six Marshals *du Camp*; but never sent to Ambassador *Lockhart*, or Major-general *Morgan*. The whole Sense of the Council of War was, That it was great Danger to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battle in that streight Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water;
and

and, several Reasons being shewn to that Purpose, it ran through the Council of War, to raise the Siege, if the Enemy came on. Within half an Hour after the Council of War was risen, Major-general *Morgan* had the Result of it in his Camp, and went immediately to Ambassador *Lockhart* ^a, to know if he heard any Thing of it: He said he heard nothing of it; and complained, that he was much afflicted with the Stone, Gravel, and some other Impediments. Major-general *Morgan* asked him to go with him the next Morning to the Head-quarters: He said he would, if he were able.

Next Morning Marshal *Turenne* sent a Nobleman to Ambassador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan*, to desire them to come to a second Council of War. Immediately, therefore, Ambassador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan* went with the Nobleman to Marshal *Turenne's* Camp; and, by that Time they came there, the Council of War was ready to sit down in Marshal *Turenne's* Tent.

Marshal *Turenne* satisfied the Council of War, that he had forgot to send for Ambassador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan* to the first Council of War, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might be satisfied; and then put the Question: Whether, if the Enemy came on, he should make good the Siege on the *Newport*-side, and give them Battle; or raise the Siege? And required they should give their Reasons for either. The Marshals *du Camp* ran away with it clearly to raise the Siege, alledging what Danger it was to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battle within so streight a Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water; farther alledging, that, if the Enemy came upon the Rock, they would cut between Marshal *Turenne's* and Major-general *Morgan's* Camps, and prevent their Conjunction. Two of the Lieutenant-generals ran along with the Marshals *du Camp*, and shewed the same Reasons: But Major-general *Morgan*, finding it was high Time to speak, and that otherwise it would go round the Board, rose up, and desired, though out of Course, that he might declare his Mind, in Opposition to what the Marshals *du Camp* and the two Lieutenant-generals had declared. Marshal *Turenne* told him he should have Freedom to speak his Thoughts. Then Major-general *Morgan* spake, and said, That the Reasons the Marshals *du Camp* and the two Lieutenant-generals had given for raising the Siege, were no Reasons; for the Streightness of the Country was as good for the *French* and *English*, as for the Enemy: And, whereas they alledged, That, if the Enemy came on the Bank between *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, they would cut between Marshal *Turenne's* and Major-general *Morgan's* Camps; Major-general *Morgan* replied, It was impossible, for they could not march upon the Bank above eight a-breast; and farther he alledged, That Marshal *Turenne's* Artillery and small Shot would cut them off at Pleasure: He added, That that was not the Way the Enemy could relieve *Dunkirk*, but that they would make a Bridge of Boats over the Channel, in an Hour and half, and cross their Army upon the Sands of *Dunkirk*, to offer Marshal *Turenne* Battle.

^a This Man had married *Cromwell's* Niece.

Farther,

Farther, Major-general *Morgan* did alledge, What a Dishonour it would be to the Crown of *France* to have summoned the City of *Dunkirk*, and broke Ground before it, and then raise the Siege, and run away; and he desired the Council of War would consider, that, if they raised the Siege, the Alliance with *England* would be broken the same Hour.

Marshal *Turenne* answered, ' That, if he thought the Enemy would offer that fair Game, he would maintain the Siege on *Newport*-side; and Major-general *Morgan* should march, and make Conjunction with the *French* Army, and leave *Mardyke*-side open.' Upon Marshal *Turenne*'s Reply, Major-general *Morgan* did rise from the Board, and, upon his Knees, begged a Battle; and said, That he would venture the six-thousand *English*, every Soul. Upon which, Marshal *Turenne* consulted the Noblemen that sat next him, and it was desired, that Major-general *Morgan* might walk a Turn or two without the Tent, and he should be called immediately. After he had walked two Turns, he was called in; as soon as he came in, Marshal *Turenne* said, ' That he had considered his Reasons, and that himself and the Council of War resolved to give Battle to the Enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the Siege on *Newport*-side; and that Major-general *Morgan* was to make Conjunction with the *French* Army.' Major-general *Morgan* then said, That, with God's Assistance, we should be able to deal with them.

The very next Day, at Four in the Afternoon, the *Spanish* Army had made a Bridge of Boats, crossed their Army on the Sands of *Dunkirk*, and drew up into Battalia, within two Miles of Marshal *Turenne*'s Lines, before he knew any Thing of them. Immediately, all the *French* Horse drew out to face the Enemy at a Mile's Distance; and Marshal *Turenne* sent immediate Orders to Major-general *Morgan*, to march into his Camp, with the six-Thousand *English*, and the *French* Brigade of Horse; which was done accordingly.

The next Day, about Eight of the Clock, Marshal *Turenne* gave Orders to break Avenues on both the Lines, that the Army might march out in Battalia. Major-general *Morgan* set his Soldiers to break Avenues for their Marching out in Battalia likewise. Several Officers being with him, as he was looking on his Soldiers at Work, Ambassador *Lockhart* comes up, with a white Cap on his Head, and said to Major-general *Morgan*, ' You see what a Condition I am in, I am not able to give you any Assistance this Day; you are the older Soldier, and the greatest Part of the Work of this Day must lie upon your Soldiers.' Upon which the Officers smiled; and so he bid *God be with us*, and went away with the Lieutenant-general of the Horse, that was upon our left Wing; from which Time we never saw him, till we were in Pursuit of the Enemy. When the Avenues were cleared, both the *French* and *English* Army marched out of the Lines towards the Enemy. We were forced to march up in four Lines (for we had not Room enough to wing, for the Canal between *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, and the Sea) till we had marched above Half a Mile; then we came to a Halt on rising Hills of Sand, and, having more Room, took in two of our Lines.

Major-

Major-general *Morgan*, seeing the Enemy plain in Battalia, said, before the Head of the Army, 'See! Yonder are the Gentlemen you have to trade withal.' Upon which the whole Brigade of *English* gave a Shout of Rejoicing, that made a roaring Eccho betwixt the Sea and the Canal. Thereupon, the Marshal *Turenne* came up, with above an hundred Noblemen, to know what was the Matter and Reason of that great Shout. Major-general *Morgan* told him, It was an usual Custom of the Red-coats, when they saw the Enemy, to rejoice.

Marshal *Turenne* answered, 'They were Men of brave Resolution and Courage.' After which, Marshal *Turenne* returning to the Head of his Army, we put on to our March again. At the second Halt, the whole Brigade of *English* gave a Shout, and cast up their Caps into the Air, saying, 'They would have better Hats before Night. Marshal *Turenne*, upon that Shout, came up again, with several Noblemen and Officers of the Army, admiring the Resolution of the *English*, at which Time we were within three Quarters of a Mile of the Enemy in Battalia. Marshal *Turenne* desired Major-general *Morgan*, that, at the next Halt, he would keep even Front with the *French*; for, says he, 'I do intend to halt at some Distance, that we may see how the Enemy is drawn up, and take our Advantage accordingly.' Major-general *Morgan* demanded of his Excellency, 'Whether he would shock the whole Army at one Dash, or try one Wing first?' Marshal *Turenne*'s Reply was, 'That, as to that Question he could not resolve him yet, till he came nearer the Enemy.' Major-general *Morgan* desired the Marshal not to let him languish for Orders, saying, 'That oftentimes Opportunities are lost for Want of Orders in due Time.' Marshal *Turenne* said, he would either come himself and give Orders, or send a Lieutenant-general; and so Marshal *Turenne* parted, and went to the Head of his Army. In the mean Time, Major-general *Morgan* gave Orders to the Colonels and Leading Officers, to have a special Care, that, when the *French* came to a Halt, they keep even Front with them; and farther told them, if they could not observe the *French*, they should take Notice when he lifted up his Hat (for he marched still above threescore before the Center of the Bodies :) But, when the *French* came to halt, it so happened, that the *English* pressed upon their leading Officers, so that they came up under the Shot of the Enemy: But, when they saw that Major-general *Morgan* was in a Passion, they put themselves to a Stand. Major-general *Morgan* could soon have remedied their Forwardness, but he was resolved he would not lose one Foot of Ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were so near the Enemy the Soldiers fell into great Friendship; one asking, Is such an Officer in your Army? another, Is such a Soldier in yours? and this passed on both Sides. Major-general *Morgan* endured this Friendship for a little while, and then came up to the Center of the Bodies, and demanded, How long that Friendship would continue; and told them further, that, for any Thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's Throats, within a Minute of an Hour. The whole Brigade answered, Their Friend-
ship

ship should continue no longer than he pleased. Then Major-general *Morgan* bid them tell the Enemy, No more Friendship: Prepare your Buff-coats and Scarfs; for we will be with you sooner than you expect us. Immediately after the Friendship was broke, the Enemy poured a Volley of Shot into one of our Battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The Major-general immediately sent the Adjutant-general to Marshal *Turenne* for Orders, Whether he should charge the Enemy's right Wing, or whether Marshal *Turenne* would engage the Enemy's left Wing, and advised the Adjutant-general not to stay, but to acquaint Marshal *Turenne*, that we were under the Enemy's Shot, and had received some Prejudice already; but there was no Return of the Adjutant-general, nor Orders. By and by the Enemy poured in another Volley of Shot, into another of our Battalions, and wounded two or three. Major-general *Morgan*, observing the Enemy mending Faults, and opening the Intervals of the Foot, to bring Horse in, which would have made our Work more difficult, called all the Colonels and Officers of the Field together, before the Center of the Bodies, and told them, he had sent the Adjutant-general for Orders, but, when he saw there was no Hope of Orders, he told them, If they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the Enemy's right Wing: Their Answer was, 'They were ready whenever he gave Orders.' He told them, He would try the right Wing with the Blue Regiment, and the four-hundred Firelocks, which were in the Interval of the *French* Horse; and wished all the Field-officers to be ready at their several Posts. Major-general *Morgan* gave Orders, that the other five Regiments should not move from their Ground, except they saw the Blue Regiment, the White, and the four-hundred Firelocks shocked the Enemy's right Wing off of their Ground, and, farther, shewed the several Colonels what Colours they were to charge, and told them moreover, 'That, if he was not knocked on the Head, he would come to them.' In like Manner, as fast as he could, he admonished the whole Brigade, and told them, They were to look in the Face of an Enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away their Reputation, and that they had no other Way, but to fight it out to the last Man, or to be killed, taken Prisoners, or drowned; and farther, that the Honour of *England* did depend much upon their Gallantry and Resolution that Day.

The Enemy's Wing was posted on a sandy Hill, and had cast the Sand Breast-high before them: Then Major-general *Morgan* did order the Blue Regiment, and the four hundred Firelocks, to advance to the Charge. In the mean Time, Major-general *Morgan*, knowing the Enemy would all bend upon them that did advance, removed the White Regiment more to the Right, that it might be in the Flank of them, by that Time the Blue Regiment was got within Push of Pike.

His Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, with a select Party of Horse, had got into the Blue Regiment, by that Time the White came in, and exposed his Person to great Danger: But we knew no Body at that Time. Immediately the Enemy were clear shocked off of their Ground, and the *English*

Colours flying over their Heads, the strongest Officers and Soldiers clubbing them down. Major-general *Morgan*, when he saw this Opportunity, stepped to the other five Regiments, which were within six Score of him, and ordered them to advance, and charge immediately: But, when they came within ten Pikes Length, the Enemy, perceiving they were not able to endure our Charge, shaked their Hats, held up their Handkerchiefs, and called for Quarter; but the Red-coats cried aloud, They had no Leisure for Quarter. Whereupon the Enemy faced about, and would not endure our Charge, but fell to run, having the *English* Colours over their Heads, and the strongest Soldiers and Officers clubbing them down; so that the six thousand *English* carried ten or twelve thousand Horse and Foot before them. The *French* Army was about Musquet-shot in the Rear of us, where they came to halt, and never moved off of their Ground. The rest of the *Spanish* Army, seeing the right Wing carried away, and the *English* Colours flying over their Heads, wheeled about in as good Order as they could; so that we had the whole *Spanish* Army before us; and Major-general *Morgan* called out to the Colonels, To the Right as much as you can, that so we might have all the Enemy's Army under the *English* Colours. The six-thousand *English* carried all the *Spanish* Army, as far as *Westminster-abbey* to *Paul's Church-yard*, before ever a *Frenchman* came in, on either Wing of us; but then at last we could perceive the *French* Horse come pouring on each Wing, with much Gallantry; but they never struck one Stroke, only carried Prisoners back to the Camp. Neither did we ever see the Ambassador *Lockhart*, till we were in Pursuit of the Enemy; and then we could see him amongst us very brisk, without his white Cap on his Head, and neither troubled with Gravel or Stone. When we were at the End of the Pursuit, Marshal *Turenne* and above a hundred Officers of the Army came up to us, quitted their Horses, embraced the Officers, and said, They never saw a more glorious Action in their Lives, and that they were so transported with the Sight of it, that they had no Power to move, or do any Thing. And this high Compliment we had for our Pains. In a Word, the *French* Army did not strike one Stroke in the Battle of *Dunkirk*, only the six thousand *English*. After we had done pursuing the Enemy, Major-general *Morgan* rallied his Forces, and marched over the Sands where he had shocked them at first, to see what Slaughter there was made. But Ambassador *Lockhart* went into the Camp as fast as he could, to write his Letters for *England*, of what great Service he had done, which was just nothing. Marshal *Turenne* and Major-general *Morgan* brought the Armies close to invest *Dunkirk* again, and to carry on the Approaches. The Marquis *de Leda* happened to be in the Counterscarp, and received an accidental Shot, whereof he died; and the whole Garrison, being discouraged at his Death, came to capitulate in a few Days; so the Town was surrendered, and Ambassador *Lockhart* marched into it with two Regiments of *English* for a Garrison; but Major-general *Morgan* kept the Field, with Marshal *Turenne*, with his other four Regiments of *English*.

The

The next Siege was *Bergen St. Winock*, six Miles from *Dunkirk*, which Marshal *Turenne* beleaguered with the *French* Army, and the four Regiments of *English*; and, in four or five Days Siege, *Bergen St. Winock* was taken upon Capitulation. Marshal *Turenne* did rest the Army for two Days after, and then resolved to march through the Heart of *Flanders*, and take what Towns he could, that Campaign.

The next Town we took was *Furnes*, the next *Menin*, after that *Oudenard*; and, in a Word, eight Towns, besides *Dunkirk* and *Ypres*; for, so soon as the Red-coats came near the Counterscarp, there was nothing but a Capitulation, and a Surrender presently: All the Towns we took were Towns of Strength.

The last Siege we made was before the City of *Ypres*, where the Prince *de Ligny* had cast himself in before, for the Defence of that City, with two-thousand five-hundred Horse and Dragoons: Besides, there were in the City four-thousand Burghers, all proper young Men, under their Arms; so that the Garison did consist of six-thousand five-hundred Men. Marshal *Turenne* sent in a Summons, which was answered with a Defiance: Then Marshal *Turenne* broke Ground, and carried on two Approaches towards the Counterscarp: Major-general *Morgan* went into the Approaches every Night, for Fear of any Miscarriage by the *English*, and came out of the Approaches at Sun-rising to take his Rest; for then the Soldiers had done working. The fourth Morning, Major-general *Morgan* went to take his Rest in his Tent, but, within half an Hour afterwards, Marshal *Turenne* sent a Nobleman to him, to desire him to come to speak with him; when the Major-general came, there were above a hundred Noblemen and Officers of the Army walking about his Tent. And his Gentlemen had decked a Room for his Excellency with his Sumpter-cloaths, in which homely Place there were about twenty Officers of the Army with him; but, as soon as Major-general *Morgan* came, Marshal *Turenne* desired all of them to retire, for he had something to communicate to the Major-general. The Room was immediately cleared, and Marshal *Turenne* turned the Gentleman of his Chamber out, and shut the Door himself. When this was done, he desired the Major-general to sit down by him, and the first News that he spake of, was, that he had certain Intelligence, that the Prince of *Conde* and Don *John* of *Austria* were at the Head of eleven-thousand Horse, and four-thousand Foot, within three Leagues of his Camp, and resolved to break through one of our Quarters, to relieve the City of *Ypres*; and therefore he desired Major-general *Morgan* to have all the *English* under their Arms every Night at Sun-set, and the *French* Army should be so likewise. Major-general *Morgan* replied, and said, 'That the Prince of *Conde* and Don *John* of *Austria* were great Captains, and that they might dodge with Marshal *Turenne* to fatigue his Army.' The Major-general farther said, 'That, if he did keep the Army three Nights to that hard Shift, they would not care who did knock them on the Head.' Marshal *Turenne* replied, 'We must do it, and surmount all Difficulty.' The Major general desired to know of

his Excellency, Whether he was certain the Enemy was so near him; he answered, He had two Spies came just from them. Then Major-general *Morgan* told him, His Condition was somewhat desperate, and said, That a desperate Disease must have a desperate Cure. His Excellency asked, What he meant? Major-general *Morgan* did offer him, to attempt the Counterscarp upon an Assault, and so put all Things out of Doubt with Expedition. The Major-general had no sooner said this, but Marshal *Turenne* joined his Hands, and looked up thro' the Boards towards the Heavens, and said, 'Did ever my Master, the King of *France*, or the King of *Spain*, attempt a Counterscarp upon an Assault, where there were three Half-moons covered with Cannon, and the Ramparts of the Town playing point-blank into the Counterscarp?' Farther he said, 'What will the King my Master think of me, if I expose his Army to these Hazards?' And he rose up, and fell into a Passion, stamping with his Feet, and shaking his Locks, and grinning with his Teeth; he said, Major-general *Morgan* had made him mad. But, by Degrees, he cooled, and asked the Major-general, Whether he would stay to Dinner with him: But the Major-general begged his Pardon, for he had appointed some of the Officers to eat a Piece of Beef at his Tent that Day. His Excellency asked him, If he would meet him at Two of the Clock, at the Opening of the Approaches? The Major general said, He would be punctual; but desired he would bring none of his Train with him (for it was usually a hundred Noblemen with their Feathers and Ribbands) because, if he did, he would have no Opportunity to take a View of the Counterscarp; for the Enemy would discover them, and fire incessantly. His Excellency said, He would bring none, but two or three of the Lieutenant-generals. Major-general *Morgan* was at the Place appointed a Quarter of an Hour before his Excellency, and then his Excellency came, with eight Noblemen, and three Lieutenant-generals, and took a Place to view the Counterscarp. After he had looked a considerable Time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the Noblemen and Lieutenant-generals, and said, 'I do not know what to say to you; here is Major-general *Morgan* has put me out of my Wits; for he would have me attempt yonder Counterscarp upon an Assault.' None of the Noblemen or Lieutenants made any Reply to him, but Count *Schomberg*, saying, 'My Lord, I think Major-general *Morgan* would offer nothing to your Lordship but what he thinks feasible, and he knows he has good fighting Men.' Upon this, Marshal *Turenne* asked Major-general *Morgan*, How many *English* he would venture? The Major-general said, That he would venture six hundred common Men, besides Officers, and fifty Pioneers. Marshal *Turenne* said, That six-hundred of Monsieur *la Ferte's* Army, and fifty Pioneers, and six hundred of his own Army, and fifty Pioneers more, would make better than two-thousand Men: Major-general *Morgan* replied, 'They were Abundance to carry it, with God's Assistance.' Then his Excellency said, he would acquaint the King and his Eminence, That Major-general *Morgan* had put him upon that

that desperate Design; Major-general *Morgan* desired his Pardon; for it was in his Power to attempt it, or not to attempt it: But, in the Close, Marshal *Turenne* said to the Major-general, That he must fall into Monsieur *la Ferte's* Approaches, and that he should take the one Half of Monsieur *la Ferte's* Men, and that he would take the other Half into his own Approaches. Major-general *Morgan* begged his Pardon, and said, He desired to fall on with the *English* intire by themselves, without intermingling them. Marshal *Turenne* replied, He must fall on, and cut off one of the Approaches: The Major-general replied, That he would fall on in the Plain between both Approaches. His Excellency said, That he would never be able to endure their Firing, but that they would kill Half his Men, before he could come to the Counterscarp; the Major-general said, that he had an Invention, that the Enemy should not perceive him, till he had his Hands upon the Stockadoes. Next, his Excellency said, for the Signal, there shall be a Captain of Monsieur *la Ferte's*, with twenty Firelocks, shall leap upon the Point, and cry, *Sa sa! vive le Roy de France*; and, upon that Noise, all were to fall on together. But Major general *Morgan* opposed that Signal, saying, The Enemy would thereby be alarmed, and then he should hardly endure their Firing. His Excellency replied then, That he would give no Signal at all, but the Major-general should give it, and he would not be persuaded otherwise. Then the Major-general desired his Excellency, that he would give Orders to them in the Approaches, to keep themselves in Readiness against Sun-set; for, at the Shutting of the Night, he would fall on: He likewise desired his Excellency, That he would order a Major out of his own Approaches, and another out of Monsieur *la Ferte's* Approaches, to stand by him; and, when he should be ready to fall on, he would dispatch the two Majors into each of the Approaches, that they might be ready to leap out, when the Major-general passed between the two Approaches, with the commanded *English*. Just at Sun-set, Marshal *Turenne* came himself, and told the Major-general, He might fall on when he saw his own Time. The Major-general replied, He would fall on just at the Setting of the Night, and when the Dusk of the Evening came on. The Major-general made the *English* stand to their Arms, and divided them into Bodies; a Captain at the Head of the Pioneers, and the Major-general and a Colonel, at the Head of the two Battalions; he ordered the two Battalions, and the Pioneers, each Man to take up a long Fascine upon their Musquets and Pikes, and then they were three small Groves of Wood. Immediately the Major-general commanded the two Majors to go to their Approaches, and that they should leap out, so soon as they should see the Major-general march between their Approaches. The Major-general did order the two Battalions, when they came within threescore of the Stockadoes, to slip their Fascines, and fall on. But so it happened, that the *French* never moved out of their Approaches, till such Time as Major-general *Morgan* had overpowered the Enemy. When the Pioneers came within Sight of the Stockadoes, they slipped the Fascines down, and fell on; the Major-general and the other two Battalions were

were close to them, and, when the Soldiers began to lay their Hands on the Stockadoes, they tore them down for the Length of six Score, and leaped pell-mell into the Counterscarp amongst the Enemy; Abundance of the Enemy were drowned in the Moat, and many taken Prisoners, with two *German* Princes, and the Counterscarp cleared; the *French* were in their Approaches all this Time; then the *English* fell on upon the Half-moons, and immediately the Red-coats were on the Top of them, throwing the Enemy into the Moat, and turning the Cannon upon the Town; thus the two Half-moons were speedily taken: After the manning of the Half-moons, he did rally all the *English*, with Intention to lodge them upon the Counterscarp, that he might be free of the Enemy's Shot the next Morning; and they left the other Half-moon for Marshal *Turenne's* Party, which was even before their Approaches.

Then the *French* fell on upon the other Half-moon, but were beaten off. The Major-general considered, that that Half-moon would gall him in the Day-time, and therefore did speak to the Officers and Soldiers, that it was best to give them a little Help; the Red-coats cried, ' Shall we fall on in ' Order, or Happy-go-lucky?' The Major-general said, ' In the Name of ' God, at it Happy-go-lucky;' and immediately the Red-coats fell on, and were on the Top of it, knocking the Enemy down, and casting them into the Moat. When this Work was done, the Major-general lodged the *English* on the Counterscarp; they were no sooner lodged, but Marshal *Turenne* scrambled over the Ditches, to find out the Major-general; and, when he met with him, he was much troubled the *French* did no better; for indeed they did just nothing: Then his Excellency asked the Major-general, to go to his Approaches to refresh himself; but the Major-general begged his Pardon, and said, He would not stir from his Post, till he heard a Drum beat a Parley, and saw a white Flag over the Walls. Upon that, Marshal *Turenne* laughed and smiled, and said, They would not be at that Pass in six Days, and then went to his Approaches, and sent the Major-general three or four dozen Bottles of rare Wine, with several Dishes of cold Meats and Sweet-meats. Within two Hours after Sun-rising, a Drum beat a Parley, and a white Flag was seen over the Walls. The Major-general ordered a Lieutenant, with a File of Musquetiers, to go and receive the Drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him strait to Marshal *Turenne* in his Approaches. Marshal *Turenne* came immediately with the Drummer's Message to the Major-general, and was much troubled he would not receive the Message before it came to him. The Major-general replied, That that was very improper, his Excellency being upon the Place. The Message was to this Effect, ' That, whereas his Excellency had offered them honourable Terms ' in his Summons, they were now willing to accept of them, provided they ' might have their Charter, and the Privileges of the City preserved: That ' they had appointed four of their Commissioners, to treat farther with four ' Commissioners from his Excellency.' Marshal *Turenne* was pleased to ask the Major-general, whether he would be one of the Commissioners; but

but the Major-general begged his Pardon, and desired that he might abide at his Post, till such Time as the City was surrendered up. Immediately then his Excellency sent for Count *Schomberg*, and three other Commissioners, and gave them Instructions how to treat with the four Commissioners from the Enemy. Just as Marshal *Turenne* was giving the Commissioners Instructions, Major-general *Morgan* said, That the Enemy were hungry, so that they would eat any Meat they could have; whereupon his Excellency smiled, and shortened their Instructions, and sent them away. Within half an Hour, the Commissioners had concluded, That they should have their City-Charter preserved, and that they were to receive a *French* Garrison in, and the Prince *de Ligny* was to march out with all his Forces next Morning, at Nine of the Clock, with one Piece of Cannon, Colours flying, Bullet in Mouth, and a Match lighted at both Ends, and to have a Convoy to conduct him into his own Territories. Marshal *Turenne* was, in the Morning betimes, with several Noblemen and Officers of the Army, and Major-general *Morgan*, attending near the Gare for the Prince *de Ligny's* Coming out. The Prince, having Notice that Marshal *Turenne* was there, came out of his Coach. Marshal *Turenne*, being alighted off from his Horse, and the Major-general *Morgan*, at both their Meeting there was a great Acclamation, and embracing one another. After a little Time, Marshal *Turenne* told the Prince, He very much admired, that he would expose his Person to a Garrison before a conquering Army: The Prince *de Ligny* replied, That, if Marshal *Turenne* had left his *English* in *England*, he durst have exposed his Person into the weakest Garrison the King of *Spain* had in *Flanders*; and so they parted, and his Excellency marched into the Town with a *French* Garison, and the Major-general with him. So soon as the Garrison was settled, Marshal *Turenne* writ his Letters to the *French* King, and his Eminence the Cardinal, how that the City of *Ypres* was reduced to the Obedience of his Majesty, and that he was possessed of it; and that Major-general *Morgan* was instrumental in that Service, and that the *English* did Wonders; and sent the Intendant of the Army with his Letters to the King and Cardinal. Monsieur *Tallon*, the Intendant, returned back from the King and Cardinal to the Army within eight Days, and brought a Compliment to Major-general *Morgan*, that the King and his Eminence the Cardinal did expect to see him at *Paris*, when he came to his Winter Quarters, where there would be a Cupboard of Plate to attend him. Major-general *Morgan*, instead of going for his Cupboard of Plate, went for *England*, and his Majesty of *France* had never the Kindness to send him his Cupboard of Plate: So that this is the Reward that Major-general *Morgan* hath had from the *French* King for all his Service in *France* and *Flanders*.

Killed at the Battle of Dunkirk,
Lieutenant-colonel *Fenwick*, two Captains, one Lieutenant, two Ensigns,
two Serjeants, thirty-two Soldiers; and about twenty wounded.

Killed

Killed at the Storming of Ypres,

One Captain, one Serjeant, eight private Soldiers, about twenty-five Officers of thirty-five; and about six Soldiers slightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the Counterscarp; Sir *Thomas Morgan* himself slightly hurt, by a Shot in the Calf of his Leg.

An Account of the Original of Writing and Paper, out of a Book, intituled, La Libreria Vaticana, written by Mutio Panfa, Keeper of the said Library. Printed at Rome.

1st, *Of the Use of Books, and Invention of Letters.*

DISCOURSE I.

THAT the Use of Books and Libraries is very ancient, appears by many Authors, both *Christian* and *Heathen*, from whom it may in some Measure be gathered, that they have been in Use ever since the World began; for we read, that *Jude* the Apostle, in one of his Epistles, quotes the Book of *Enoch*, which was before the Flood. (The Words of the Epistle are: *And Enoch also, the Seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, &c.* So that here is a Prophecy, but nothing expressly of a Book of his Writing, whence a Debate may arise, whether this Prophecy was not left by oral Tradition, without more positive Proof; but to return to our Author.) And tho' Authors differ very much concerning the Invention of Letters, of which afterwards Books were composed; yet we take it for granted, that they were invented by *Adam*, his Sons, and Grandsons, in the first Age of the World, before the Flood, and were after preserved by *Noah* and his Progeny, till they came to *Abraham*, and so to *Moses*; and of this Opinion was St. *Augustin*, lib. xv. *de Civitate Dei*, and *Josephus*, a *Jewish* Writer of great Credit, who, in the first Book of his Antiquities, writes, That *Adam's* Grandsons, the Sons of *Seth*, erected two Pillars, the one of Stone, and the other of Brick, on which they left written, and engraved, all the Arts discovered by them, and he affirms he saw one of these Pillars in *Syria*; from the which, I am of Opinion, the *Egyptians* afterwards learnt the Way of Writing, and expressing their Mysteries with those Characters called *Hieroglyphicks*, on several Obelisks, wherein *Egypt* formerly so much abounded, that some of them are still to be seen in *Rome*, whither they were transported by the first Emperors. This is the more credible, because we read, that *Adam* was by God created in so great a State of Perfection, of Knowledge, and of Wisdom, that he gave Names to all Things, according

to

to their Nature and Qualities; and that none ever so well understood the Revolutions of the Heavens, the Motions of the Stars and Planets, and so thoroughly knew the Nature of Herbs, Plants, Animals, and all other Things in the World, as he did. It is therefore to be believed, that he found out the Method for preserving the Memory hereof to Posterity. *Pliny*, in his *Nat. Hist. lib. vii. Cap. ult.* confirms this Opinion; for there, after delivering the Sentiments of many concerning the Invention of Letters, as that some pretend they were invented in *Syria* by the *Assyrians*, and others in *Egypt* by *Mercury*; that they were brought into *Italy* by the *Pelasgi*; and into *Greece* by the *Phœnicians*, and *Cadmus* their Leader; that *Palamedes*, during the *Trojan War*, added four more; he concludes, it is his Opinion, that Letters were eternal, which is almost the same as to say, they began with the World. Hence it follows, that their Opinion is vain, who say the *Egyptians* were the Inventors of Letters and Arts, as *Diodorus Siculus* holds, *Lib. i.* where he says, that *Mercury* found them out in *Egypt*; though, in his fourth Book, he writes, that others think the *Æthiopians* had Letters before, and the *Egyptians* from them. Hence we may further infer, that *Moses* was not the first Inventor of Letters, as some *Jews* and *Christians* affirm, because he was ancients than any one of those by whom they are said to have been first found; as *Cadmus*, who lived in the Days when *Othniel* governed *Israel*, which was forty-seven Years after the written Law was given to *Moses*; and therefore the *Egyptians* learnt the Letters of him, and they communicated them to the *Phœnicians*, whence *Cadmus* carried them into *Greece*. True it is, that *Attabanus* and *Eupolemus*, Heathen Authors, say, that *Moses* was by the *Egyptians* called *Mercury*, and the same that taught them Letters. Thus, we see, the Invention of Letters was ancients than *Philo* the *Jew* believes it, who says, that *Abraham* first found them; for, as has been said, they were in Being even in the Days of *Adam* and his Children, and afterwards preserved by *Noah*, who was a Man of Learning and Letters; and it is to be believed, that he saved them with him in the Ark; though, after the Confusion of Tongues at the Tower of *Babel*, most Nations might lose the Letters, and the Knowledge of them might only remain in the Family of *Heber*, from whom the *Hebrews* afterwards descended, who lost not their first Language, as *St. Augustin*, *Eusebius*, and most learned Men of our Time affirm. *Philo*, and the rest, who thought that *Moses* had been the Inventor of Letters, were the more easily deceived, because it is manifest, that the Books and History writ by *Moses* are the ancientest in the World, or than the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*, or the Philosophy of the *Greeks*, as is made out by *St. Augustin* and *Josephus*, writing against *Appion* the Grammarian, as also by *Eusebius* and *Justin Martyr*: And that there were Letters before *Moses* is visible, because we find it written, that he learnt in *Egypt* unto *Pharaoh* the Arts and Wisdom of the *Egyptians*; nor do I know how this could be, unless they had Letters before, though, it is true, we know they had some Characters called *Hieroglyphicks*, by which they taught most of their Sciences. Howsoever it was

the Invention of Letters is certainly divine, as being those that preserve and secure all other Invention, for without them none can subsist; and they are of such Worth, that they make Men immortal, rendering those Things present which happened a thousand Years ago, and joining those which are distant, communicating them, as if they were not asunder. By them are known and learnt all Sorts of Sciences, teaching those in being all that past Ages knew, and preserving for Posterity all that those now living found out. In short, the Benefit of them is almost infinite and inexpressible, and therefore their Invention may deservedly be called rather *divine* than *human*. What Order was observed in the Characters of ancient Times, methinks is not to be sought after, as depending on the Will and Pleasure of the Inventor; as we daily see is done by those who frame Cyphers or Characters, and other Sorts of common Letters, who observe no Order. It is true, they were, in Process of Time, for the more Distinction, put into that Order we now see them: And, because many afterwards successively added other Letters, or made new Characters, therefore many were thought the Inventors of them; of whom we shall speak to the Purpose hereafter, when we come to discourse of the Pictures in the *Vatican* Library, among which are those of all such as were famous in the World for the Invention of Letters, or for adding any to them.

Of the Paper of the Ancients, of the Papyrus of the Romans, of the several Sorts of it, and of the Paper of our Times.

DISCOURSE II.

HAVING hitherto discoursed of the Letters, it will now be convenient to say something of Paper, as the Matter on which they are made; and, to speak the Truth, it is no small Difficulty to decide what they writ on in former Ages, because we have no Account in History what they did write on before the Flood, but what we said before, that *Adam's* Grandchildren, the Sons of *Seth*, writ an Account of Arts on those two Pillars abovementioned. After the Flood, all Authors agree, that Men had no Paper, but writ on the Leaves of *Palm* Trees, whence, to this Day, those of Books are called Leaves. Next they writ on the fine Bark of Trees, and particularly on that Sort which slips off easiest; such as the *Elder*, the *Plane*, the *Ash*, and the *Elm*; and these were the inward Films, which grow between the Bark and the Wood, which, being curiously taken off, were joined together, and Books made of them; and, because this Film in *Latin* is called *Liber*, thence the same Name was given to a Book, though now they are not made of that Substance. The Wit of Man, which still improved, after this found out a Way of writing on the thinnest Sheets of Lead, of which

which private People made Books and Pillars. Next, the Ancients found the Way of Writing on Linnen-Cloths slicked and waxed, on which they writ, not with a Pen, but with a small Cane or Reed, as some write to this Day. And, as *Pliny* tells us, we find in *Homer*, that these waxed Cloths were used before the Time of the *Trojans*; and *Mutianus*, who, as he writes himself, was thrice Consul, that, when he was President in *Lycia*, he read there, in a Temple, a Letter writ on one of these Cloths by *Sarpedon*, King of *Lycia*, then at *Troy*, where he assisted *Priam* in his War against the *Greeks*, and was at last killed by *Patroclus*. In Process of Time, the Method was found out of writing on Parchment made of Sheep-Skins, mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Lib. vii.* the Invention whereof *Varro* assigns to the People of *Pergamus*, a City in *Asia*, on the Banks of the River *Caicus*, whereof *Eumenes* was King, and from that City it was called *Pergamenum*, which we have corrupted to Parchment. *Pliny* says, this *Eumenes* first sent it to *Rome*; but *Eliaus* says it was *Attalus*, King of the same Country, who first sent it. *Josephus*, the *Jew*, makes the writing on Parchment ancients, and says, the Books of the *Jews*, so much ancients than *Eumenes*, and the rest of that Sort, were writ upon Skins; and relates, that when *Eleazer*, the High Priest, sent the Books of the Holy Scripture to *Ptolemy* by the Septuagint, to be translated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, King *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was much amazed at the Fineness of those Skins or Parchment; so that writing on them was easier, and more lasting than the ancients Use of Barks and Leaves of Trees; and it is to be believed, this Invention was not yet in *Egypt*, since *Ptolemy* wondered at it. After this, there was found a Sort of Paper made of a Rush, or Plant, called *Papyrus*, growing in the Marshes, about the River *Nile*, though *Pliny* says there are some of them in *Syria*, near the River *Euphrates*. These Rushes bear small Leaves betwixt the outward Rhind and the Pith, which, being neatly opened with the Point of a Needle, and then prepared with fine Flour and other Ingredients, served to write on and made Paper, the innermost Part making the finest, and according to the several Sorts it had several Names, and was put to sundry Uses; being from this Rush called *Papyrus*, which Name has continued to our Days, and is given to our Paper, though made of Rags, because this serves for the same Uses as that did. I saw one of these Rushes at *Rome*, which was shewed me by that worthy Gentleman *Castor Durante*, of happy Memory, my Master in the College, who told me it came from *Egypt*; and he had it from *Padua*, sent him by Signior *Cortuso*, a Man excellently learned in Simples, of whom he had got other more strange and rare Things, as I have several Times seen myself, and particularly a Sheet of this *Papyrus*, or Paper, made of that Rush.

The first Invention of making Paper of this Rush, *Varro* affirms, was in the Days of *Alexander the Great*, when *Alexandria* was founded; but *Pliny* proves it was ancients, by the Books which *Gn. Tarentinus* found in his Vineyard in a Marble Chest on the Hill *Janiculus*, in which were also the Bones of *Numa Pompilius*. These Books were of the *Papyrus*, and it is certain,

certain, that *Numa Pompilius* was long before *Alexander*. The Romans had several Sorts of this Paper; one of them was called *Hieratica*, as *Pliny* writes, and only dedicated to religious Books, which afterwards, through Flattery, took *Augustus's* Name, and was called *Augustana*, as the second Sort, from his Wife *Livia*; was called *Liviana*, as among us there is now Imperial and Royal Paper. There was another Sort called *Amphitheatrica*, from the Place where it was made, being about the Amphitheatre; and the first that began to make this Paper in *Rome* was one *Fannius*, who brought it to such Finess, that, whereas before it was for common Use, it became equal with the best, and took his Name, being called *Fanniana*, whereas that, which was not so curiously prepared, kept its own Name of *Amphitheatrica*; and these were the best Sorts of Paper in those Days. Afterwards came the *Saitica*, so named from a City where it was made, where there was great Abundance of the *Papyrus*, and this was made of the worst Part of it. There was still another Sort made of the outward Part next the Rhind, and called *Teniotica*, from the Place where it was made, which was sold rather by Weight than by Choice. Lastly, there was the *Emporetica*, answerable to our Brown or Wrapping-Paper, unfit for writing, and only used to make Covers for the other Paper, and to wrap up Goods, therefore called Shop-Paper. All these Sorts of Paper were very different from one another; for the best was thirteen Inches broad, the *Hieratica* two Inches less, the *Fanniana* of ten, and the *Amphitheatrica* two narrower; the *Saitica* still less, and the coarse *Emporetica* not above six. Besides, *Augustus's* Paper was in great Esteem for its Whiteness, as well as its Smoothness, but was so thin, it would scarce bear the Pen; besides that, it sunk, and the Letters appeared through it; and therefore, in the Reign of *Claudius Cæsar*, it lost the first Place, and another Sort was made, from him called *Claudia*, which was preferred before all the others, and the *Augusta* was reserved for writing of Imperial Letters. The *Livian* Paper kept its Rank, having nothing of the first, but, in all Respects, like the second. This Sort of Paper, made of *Papyrus*, the Romans used a long Time, on which many Books were writ; and, as *Pliny* informs us, there were, in his Times, abundance of Volumes of *Caius*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*, of *Cicero*, of *Augustus*, and of *Virgil*.

That this Paper was good and lasting, appears by what was said above of *Numa's* Books, found in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius*, *L. F. Cethegus*, *M. Balbius*, and *Q. F. Pamphilius*; and, from the Reign of *Numa* till their Time, we find there passed five hundred and thirty five Years, it being wonderful they should last so long without rotting, especially having been all that While buried under Ground. Authors differ very much about the Number of these Books; for some, as *Livy*, say they were two, and found by *Lucius Petilius*; of which Opinion are *Lactantius* and *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Numa*. Others say, they were fourteen, seven of the Pontifical Laws, and the other seven of the Precepts of *Pythagorean* Philosophy; others say, they were twelve, as *Varro* in his *Book of Antiquities*. *Tuditanus*, *Lib. ii.* writes, they were thirteen of *Numa's* Decretals, yet *Antia* affirms, there were

two *Latin*, one of the Pontifical Rites, and as many *Greek* of *Pythagorean* Philosophy, and were therefore burnt by *Q. Petulius* the Pretor. Certain it is, that the Invention of Paper, made of the Rush *Papyrus*, continued long among the *Romans*, and very many Books were writ on it by several Authors, as has been said above.

In the last Place was found out the Paper of our Days, a most noble Invention, which has afforded the Opportunity of writing and publishing a vast Quantity of Books. It is made of Linnen Rags beaten to Atoms; and it is wonderful that so mean a Thing should perpetuate and immortalise the memorable Actions of Men. It is made in all Parts of the World, and of several Sorts great and small, and so white and curious, that nothing can exceed it. On this, as the most perfect, are printed so many Volumes as are daily seen, laying aside the *Papyrus*, the Parchment, and all others, which gave Occasion to the finding out of this in our Forefathers Days.

Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King William III. First, From his Birth to the Abdication of King James II. Secondly, From his Accession to the Crown of England to his Death.

First. **T**HOUGH Fortune might seem a Step-mother to this Prince, by depriving him of a Father, before scarce a human Soul had been breathed into the Infant, yet she abundantly made Amends for that Unkindness, by the Prudence and Indulgency of his Mother, eldest Daughter of King *Charles I.* who, by means of the Blood from whence she sprung, not only conveyed to him a Prospect of attaining to three Kingdoms, but also, by the Care she took of his Education, she formed his Soul worthy of the Crowns he was destined by Providence to wear.

We read a Story of *Sempronius*, that he caught two Snakes ingendering, and that, being surprized at the Novelty, he consulted the Oracle what the unlucky Omen meant: The Priests returned an Answer, that either himself or his Wife must die; and that it was at his Election, whether he would submit to Death himself, or doom the Partner of his Bed to that Misfortune: That, upon his killing the Male Snake, it was his Turn to die; and that, upon the Death of the Female, his Wife must undergo the same Destiny. This generous *Roman*, unterrified with the Apprehensions of another World, caused the Snake to die, whose Fate was twisted with his, confiding in the known Piety and Prudence of his Lady, and believing her Life more necessary to the common Good of his Family than his own. The Oracle and his uxorious Confidence were just; he died according to the Prediction of the

the first, and his Family, by the Conduct of his Widow, found themselves little prejudiced in the Loss of so eminent an Example of Tenderneſs.

I ſhall not inſiſt upon the Truth of this Story, we have ſome good Authors to vouch it; but certainly, if the Prince of *Orange*, Father to the late King *William*, had been permitted ſuch an unhappy Choice, he might, without a Blemiſh to his Character, have followed the Steps of that illuſtrious *Roman*, and ſpared his Lady, whoſe Wiſdom, Courage, and Civility laid the firſt Foundation of that Grandeur, which her warlike Son, in ſucceeding Ages, attained to.

The States of the Seven Provinces ſtood his Godfathers; nor did his Mother, though ſo nearly allied to the Crown of *England*, think it beneath her Quality to implore the Protection of Perſons meanly born, in Compariſon of her illuſtrious Offspring, nor were the Methods ſhe undertook unagreeable to ſound Policy. The princely Widow underſtood her Intereſt very well, and the Godſon of thoſe High and Mighty Potentates received, both in his own Perſon, and in the Reſpect was paid his Mother, the greateſt Arguments of their ſincere Friendſhip and Eſteem.

No blazing Star preceded his Birth, and, with its prophetick Beams, preſaged his future Grandeur. The *Dutch* Astrologers could not ſee ſo clearly as the *English*, who affirmed, that a Star of ſuch a Nature was ſeen juſt before the Nativity of King *Charles II.* In this his Country-men acted unhandſomely, in depriving his Birth of ſo glorious and remarkable an Accident.

And it muſt be acknowledged, as more reaſonable in itſelf, if thoſe Celeftial Luminaries attend our Actions here below, that the brighteſt of them ſhould rather have waited on the Nativity of King *William*, who reſtored the Glory of the *English*, than upon King *Charles II.* who, by the Supineſs of his Conduct, had near loſt the Reputation of his Country, and the Balance of *Europe*.

This Humility of the Princeſs of *Orange* was as much commended by ſome as cenſured by others; but whoever weighs it, muſt acknowledge it a Piece of refined Policy, and that her Conſideration was both juſt and rational: By this Step, and others of the like Nature, ſhe entirely rooted out thoſe Ideas, and that Umbrage the States had conceived at the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Orange*, and ſhewed herſelf rather a Grand-daughter of King *James I.* than a Siſter of King *James II.*

His Education was conſiſtent with the Manners of the Country where he was educated; the Methods preſcribed him by thoſe that had the Honour of his Tuition, were ſolid and ſevere; nothing gay or glittering was ſeen in his Court, or the Converſation of thoſe Perſons who were intruſted with the Management of his tender Years: His Mind adjusted itſelf to the Admonitions of his Tutors, and produced a Temper ſerious and thoughtful, quite averſe from the uſual Gallantries practiſed in the more refined and polite Courts, as they ſtiled themſelves, of *Europe*.

He was never a mighty Scholar himself, nor did he much affect Learning, or the Charms of a witty Conversation; such as were Masters of those happy Qualities were seldom employed by him, unless some of the first in the Affairs of the Church; and if ever he made Use of Persons so distinguished in his secular Concerns, it was rather to please others than himself, and to acquire a Reputation to his Councils, more than for any Pleasure he took in their Harangues or Conversation; and this may be truly said of him, without Injustice to his Memory, That he was a much greater King, but nothing so fine a Gentleman as his Uncle.

Though he was no great Friend to polite Learning, yet he took Care to acquire the *French* and *English* Languages, which, afterwards, were of the highest Importance to his Management of several Treaties of the last Consequence to himself and his Allies.

He never had many Favourites, and it was well for *England* that he had no more than two: The first of these was Monsieur *Bentinck*, now Earl of *Portland*, who obtained his Esteem and Friendship by one of the most generous Actions imaginable.

This young Gentleman was Page to the Prince of *Orange*, and much of the same Age with his Master. It happened, that the Prince was taken ill of the Small-pox, which not rising kindly upon him, his Physicians judged it necessary that some young Person should lie in the same Bed with the Prince, imagining, that the natural Heat of another would drive out the Disease, and expel it from the nobler Parts: No-body of Quality could be found in all the Court to make this Experiment; at last, Monsieur *Bentinck*, though he had never had the Small-pox, resolved to run the Risque; he did so, the Prince recovered, his Page fell ill, and, in a little Time, had the Happiness to find himself in a healthy Condition, and as well as his Master. Ever after this Action of Monsieur *Bentinck's*, which was truly great and noble, the Prince had an entire Affection for so faithful a Servant, and particularly trusted him in Affairs of the highest Consequence. It was my Lord *Portland* that transacted the Peace of *Reswick*, and the same Nobleman managed the Negotiations that were set on Foot betwixt the then Prince of *Orange* and the *English* Nobility, who had Recourse to his Highness before his Accession to these Realms. If the Favours of the King had stopped here, and his faithful Minister had received no other Arguments of his Master's Esteem, than reasonable Gifts and Honours, perchance the Character of the deceased Monarch might have been something greater; but Things were pushed too far, and, when the Parliament put a Stop to some Concessions intended for my Lord, it was a plain Discovery of a Weakness which had been better omitted.

Though his Highness commanded the Army of the States very young; when he was scarcely Seventeen, an Age when some Noblemen are hardly exempt from the Tuiton of a Pedant, yet he behaved himself with greater Vigilance, Prudence, and Conduct, than could be reasonably expected of him at that Time of Day.

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But though his Conduct was surprizing when he entered upon those high Employments of Stadt-holder and General, yet he seems rather indebted to Chance and the Miseries of his Country for those Posts, than to any personal Merits of his own, or the Atchievements of his Ancestors.

The *French* had near over-run all *Holland*, their Armies had possessed themselves of *Utrecht*, and most of the rest of the Frontier-Towns belonging to the States had submitted themselves to that invincible Deluge, which their Troops could not resist, nor their Prudence or Negotiations avoid. The Faction of *Barnevelt*, well known by that Name in the *Low-Countries*, were then at the Helm, and the two Brothers, the *De Wits*, were looked upon as Chiefs of a Party who opposed the Grandeur of the House of *Orange*. One of these was Pensionary, which is Principal Secretary of State, and was either, in Reality, a Traytor to his Country, or esteemed as such by the Boors and common People, whose Misfortunes sowed their Humours, and made them ripe for Tumults and Rebellions. Upon the constant Series of their ill Success, the Populace arose, tore in Pieces the two unhappy Brothers, and wrested the Government from the Hands of those who were averse to the House of *Orange*. They continued their Resentments, and obliged the States to restore his Highness to all the ancient Honours of his Family. Yet, though this young Gentleman was made General by a Tumult, yet, once possessed of that high Command, he behaved himself not like a tumultuary General; he soon repulsed the *French* out of their new Conquests, with a greater Chain of Success than ever afterwards attended his military Actions.

Though severe and reserved in the Cabinet, yet, in the Camp, he was fiery to a Fault, and often exposed himself, and the Cause he defended, with a Rashness, blameable in an Officer of his Dignity.

Yet one Thing is very observable in his Conduct, though he had the Spirit and Gallantry of a Hero, yet he wanted the Passion of Love to make that Character compleat; neither before, at the Time of his Marriage, or afterwards, was he ever noted for any extraordinary Tendernefs; nor could the Beauty of his Queen, nor the Address of any other Lady, raise in him extraordinary Transports; his Soul was free from these Weaknesses, or he had the Art to conceal them.

But notwithstanding his whole Life was an Instance of his Prudence in Affairs of this Nature (one Case only excepted) yet he never shewed so great a Reservedness, nor, indeed, a greater Piece of Wisdom, than upon his Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, eldest Daughter of the late King *James*: She was a Princess, who, for her Beauty, good Humour, Sense and Piety, had no Equal in *Europe*: Her Zeal for the Protestant Religion was surprizing in a Lady of her Youth, and what did not a little add to her shining Qualities, was her being presumptive Heiress to three Kingdoms. The People of *England* were infinitely desirous this Match should take Effect; and King *Charles* persuaded the World he had the same Inclinations, but privately insinuated to the Prince, that his making a Peace with *France*, and his inducing the *Spaniards* to do the same, upon such Terms as his *Britannick* Majesty proposed (which

Terms,

Terms, in Truth, were too favourable to the *French*, were the only Means his Highness had to obtain the Lady. Here was Love and Glory in Opposition to one another; but the Prince, under these extraordinary Circumstances, shewed an unchangeable Temper, and a Mind impregnable against the strongest Assaults. He assured the Crown of *England*, that, although he had the highest Veneration for the Princess *Mary*, yet nothing could make him recede from the Interest of the Allies, and he should always prefer his Honour to all other Considerations whatsoever. Fortune was just to his Virtue; he gained his Point both Ways, and obtained the best of Princesses for himself, and those Articles of Peace he insisted upon for his Confederates.

It seems a Wonder, if King *Charles* was a *Roman* Catholick, or, in Reality, inclinable to that Interest, he should permit the Princesses to be educated in the Protestant Faith: Yet there seem so many Arguments for this Opinion, that I believe few Persons stand in Doubt of it; but, if so, it is plain he preferred the Easiness of a Crown to his future Considerations.

If the Prince was fond of any Thing to a Degree, it was of Hunting, and the Diversions of the Field; he paid his Servants well that took Care of his Pleasures this Way, and gave them all reasonable Encouragement. Perchance some of these might receive their superfluous Pensions, when the Army Abroad wanted their necessary Subsistence.

Some Persons are of Opinion, that the Prince held Predestination; that it was his Judgment all Balls were commissioned, and had their Bounds set them, farther than which they were not able to go. It is true, at the Fight of *Senef*, and the Battle of the *Boyne*, he fought with such a Spirit, as generally possesses those who have firmly imbibed a Belief of this Nature; but, whether his Judgment induced him to be of this Opinion or not, he countenanced the Thought, which he was satisfied made his Soldiers regardless of Danger, and contributed to their Courage and Resolution.

During his being at the Helm of the *Dutch* Government in *Holland*, he was sparing of his own Money, but yet not teracious to that Degree, but he concluded several Alliances with the Protestant Powers of *Germany*, for which he paid dear enough; and it is even said, that the Holy Father himself entered into an Engagement with him against the King of *France*, that Disturber of Mankind. Certain it is, he knew how to spare, and how to lay out his Money to a good Advantage; and, if he could have commanded the Purse of *England*, when he was once Prince of *Orange*, as he did afterwards, when he was King of *England*, in all Probability, he had never permitted the Growth of a Power which grew, in Time, to be so formidable to all *Europe*.

It is no strange Thing, that the Pope opposed the King of *France*; Interest cements the closest Friendship; the Head of the most Holy Church and St. *Peter's* Successor, as he styles himself, joins with a Prince of a different Faith, in order to protect their common Liberties: His most Christian Majesty acts the same Part, and confederates with his good Friends the

Musselmen. The one leagues with a Protestant, the other with an Infidel, each for their separate Advantage; and, in this Affair, the Pope's Dealings must be owned the juster of the two: His Reason for the Union was Self-defence, and what obliged the King of *France* to his Confederacy was no other than the dishonest Motives of Tyranny and Ambition.

The Prince of *Orange*, landing in the *West* of *England*, marched from thence to *Exeter*, of which City he made himself Master, and went forward with the Success that we all know of. Yet his Preparations for this Descent were not carried so privately, but the Count *de Vaux*, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty at the *Hague*, discovered the whole Affair, and gave Notice of it to his Master, and to the Envoy of King *James the Second*. The King of *France* immediately caused a Memorial to be presented to the States of *Holland* on this Subject, who very fairly denied the Matter, and turned the Blame of the whole Affair on the Prince of *Orange*. The King of *France* was satisfied with this Answer, and certainly the Genius of that Empire was then asleep, or so employed about the War going to be made against the House of *Austria*, that it could not be at Leisure to respect the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*. If the Troops of his most Christian Majesty had fell down into the *Spanish Netherlands*, instead of marching into *Germany*, the *Dutch* had been obliged to have kept that warlike Prince at Home, to defend their own Territories; *England* might have justly despaired of a Revolution, and *Europe* of its Liberties: But Providence had ordered Things otherwise; the Court of *France* committed this unalterable Blunder, and the great *Lewis*, upon this Occasion, failed to exert that Judgment which he so often convinced the World he was Master of, both before and afterwards.

The Battle of *Mons* was an Action in which the Prince of *Orange* acquired a great deal of Glory: He beat the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who lay encamped before that Town, out of his Intrenchments, and forced his Army to a precipitate Flight. This Relation, without other Circumstances, is indeed extremely honourable to the Memory of that Monarch; but, if it be also true, which Tradition acquaints us with, concerning that Battle, the Prince deserved no Laurels. It is most certain, that, a few Hours before the Fight, a Peace was concluded betwixt his most Christian Majesty and the States of *Holland*; but, whether the Prince had any Notice of this Pacification, I cannot tell; but, if so, to fight with the Articles of Peace in his Pocket, proves him vain-glorious and revengeful.

His Enterprize upon *England* must be allowed very just; that Step towards the Revolution, there are but few which cavil at; it is true, some Persons would have been contented that he had proceeded but little farther, and only tied up the Hands of his unfortunate Predecessor. But these Gentlemen argue very little like Politicians, King *James* would have been King *James* still, and soon, by the Violation of the People's Liberties, returned to that Course from whence the Success of the Prince's Arms had obliged him to deviate; and admitting King *James* to have kept within the Bounds
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of Reason and Moderation, yet still the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of all *Europe*, must have been betrayed to the Ambition of *France*, by the bare Neutrality of *England*, our Island being the only Balance to that incredible Power which the *French* has lately assumed; so that King *William's* taking upon him the Regency of this Nation seems rather to have been an Act of Necessity than Ambition. Happy is that Prince, who finds such an Opportunity of mounting a Throne, where Fate, or Providence, pushes upon him that Grandeur, which it is the Nature of all Mankind to be desirous of.

The securing those Lords, by the Prince of *Orange*, which were sent to him on the Part of King *James*, when he fix'd his victorious Standards at *Windsor*, carried with it an Air of Ill-nature and Hardship, and looked like a Violence upon the Law of Nations; but they were soon discharged, and were only secured from receiving Injuries themselves, and injuring others by their ill-timed Errand.

The Message which the Son-in-Law sent to his Royal Father, a little before the Blue Guards took their Post before *Whitehall*, was looked upon in these Times, by such as had an Inclination to their old Master, as bitter, undutiful, and wicked; but, certainly, the Prince never shewed his Clemency, or indeed his Tendernefs, for King *James*, more than upon that Occasion. The Prince was under an unavoidable Necessity of entering *London*, the Heart and Capital of this Realm, in order to bring those great Designs to a Conclusion, on Account of which he had run so many Hazards. The Troops that he commanded, and would, in all Likelihood, have took Possession of *Whitehall*, were Foreigners, of a different Language and Religion than King *James*, and such who might have offered Violence to the Person of that Monarch, notwithstanding their Orders to the contrary: But allowing that King *William* had detached for that Service the *Scotch* and *English*, which bore his Colours, still the Hazards of King *James* would have been the greater; several of the Officers, belonging to those Regiments, had served in *Ireland* under King *James*, and had been broke of their Commissions, purely for being Protestants; others had voluntarily quitted *England* or *Ireland*, to find a Liberty of their Religion Abroad, and which they conceived was in Danger at Home. In the Number of these were Major-General *Mackay*, and several others: Another Party were personally disgusted by the late King *James*; such were Lieutenant-General *Talmash*, my Lord *Cutts*, and many more of Quality and Distinction: To have commanded, therefore, these to guard their old Master, against whom they had, or pretended to have, so many Causes of Dissatisfaction, would have been Madness in any Person, who intended or designed that Monarch should live, till cut off by the Course of Nature; which was the visible Design of King *William*, in respect to the late King *James*, as appears by this, and will be made yet further appareent by the subsequent Observations. It is true, the Honour of General *Talmash* and my Lord *Cutts* would have guarded the late King from Violence and Injuries to their Power: But who could an-

swer for the Caprice and Whimsies of the private Centinels? Or, who can say to their Humours, Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.

Thus, we frequently see the best of Accounts misinterpreted; we turn the great or little End of the Perspective suitable to our own Inclination or Fancy, and the Fact bears no Colour from itself, but from the false and prejudiced Gloss we put upon it.

The Church of *England* was as forward in soliciting King *William* to invade *England* as the Dissenters; the Reason of this was evident, because King *James* invaded the Church, assumed a Power to new-model the Universities, silenced Dr. *Sbarpe*, then Minister of *St. Giles's in the Fields*, set up an Ecclesiastical Court, superior to that of *Doctors Commons*, and imprison'd the Bishops in the *Tower*. Yet this very Church of *England*, I mean some of the Clergy, the Representatives of the Church, refused to take the Oaths to King *William*, equally dissatisfied with their elective and hereditary King; they forgot the Memorials delivered, on their Behalf, to the Prince of *Orange*, their Honour, and their Misfortunes; but the Reason of this Uneasiness appeared most plainly; King *William* had not Dishes enough to satisfy all the Longings and Expectations of his Guests; he could not cut out the whole State into Deaneries and Bishopricks; and, indeed, King *William*, as politick a Prince as he was, had not yet Craft enough to humour the Clergy, neither, perchance, at that Time of Day, did he think it his Interest so to do; believing that, here in *England*, the Tribe of *Levi*, and their Doctrines, always depended on the Government, as in *Holland*.

Sir *Charles Sidley*, in a Speech made to the House of Commons, took the Liberty to say, That King *William*, though a Prince in Years, was but a young King; insinuating, that Monarch, though a very wise Man, was not, by Reason of the Shortness of his Reign, at that Time acquainted with several Systems of Government, necessary to be known by *English* Princes; and, sure, one of the Mistakes of that Reign appeared, in not managing the various Factions of the Clergy at first; which if the King had done with Address, they had perfectly forgot the Notions^a of *Sherlock*, *Sibthorp*, or *Manwaring*.

The Prince made a Bridge of Gold for King *James*; he was taken by his own Subjects, and in a Sort of Confinement, brought back to *London*. That Sun, which was dreaded in the *West* as bad as Death itself, sets in a small Town, the Scorn and Mockery of the Rabble; but the unhappy King, however barbarous his Subjects were to him, would have had no great Cause of Complaint, had his Government been equal. The King of Kings was despised by his Friends and Relations, and that Monarch, like the suffering *Jesus*, met with ill Usage from those Creatures he had made.

Yet the Permission allowed King *James* to retire where he would was a plain Indication, that the Prince had no Manner of Design of injuring his

^a Of Passive Obedience.

Person, nor harboured any Sentiments of Revenge against a Father, whom he conceived endeavoured, by ungentleman-like Methods, to deprive him of a Throne, and his Right, by the Birth and Merits of his Lady, a Princess of inimitable Piety and Virtue.

It was an unaccountable Mistake in Policy, and an Error ill-agreeing with the Prudence of King *William*, in not securing and bringing to Justice those Traytors, who, by their flagitious Councils, had near ruined the Church and State; I mean those who once disgraced the Bench, and from that Seat of Justice, forgetting the Duty they owed their God, their King, and their Country, and as little mindful of their own Honour and the publick Liberty, gave their Opinion, That the King might dispense with the Penal Laws and the Test, those Bulwarks of the *English* Franchises: A just Severity on these People, and a Retrospection into their Actions, would have given their Successors sufficient Warning to make them honest; and, though our modern Judges have behaved themselves with all the Worth and Probity imaginable; yet their Impartiality must not be esteemed the Effects of any Terror that was struck into them by a just Punishment of their Predecessors, but rather springing from their own internal Goodness and Virtue.

As those Gentlemen, who were false to their Country, might have easily felt the Resentments of the Convention, just before the Prince's Accession to these Realms; so he had an extraordinary Opportunity of doing himself and the Nation Justice, upon such infamous Persons, as betrayed both, without exposing himself in the Quarrel: An *Old Bailey* Jury would certainly have measured to them the same Mercy as other supposed Criminals had found from their bloody Hands; for, by the Way, most Juries are for the strongest Side, and few Persons, as I ever heard or read of, when indicted for Treason, had the good Fortune to escape safe and sound from their fiery Trial; and all this might have been done without Reflection upon the Prince, or calling his Nature or Mercy into Question; if any Odium had happened, it would have been charged upon the Ferment of the Nation.

A Scrutiny of this Nature, though it had let some ill Persons Blood, it might have been yet very necessary for the Health of the Republick; and I believe few Persons would have been angry, if the Blood of *Russel*, *Sidney*, and *Cornish* had been sufficiently expiated.

My Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, who exercised that Office in those Times, perchance a Man more innocent than some of his Contemporaries, and not inferior to any of his Successors in Learning, foresaw such a Storm a-coming, and very fairly got away into *France*, beyond the Reach of it: But his Prospect was erroneous, and he banished himself to no Purpose; yet his Flight plainly evinced what he thought would be the Fate, or was the Merit of his Associates; and, whether the *English* would have pardoned him or not, it is plain, he did not pardon himself.

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No Wonder then our Navy, our Councils, and our Army were betrayed; no Wonder our Ships wanted Men, and our Men Victuals; nor is it surprising, that our Army had no Pay, whilst Pay-Masters, Agents, and Clothiers, sucked the Blood of the Subject, and hamstrung the Sinews of War. All these Misfortunes were owing to this Piece of Indulgence, and it may be justly affirmed, that he, who neglects to punish one known Traitor, makes a hundred more.

Thus the Prince of *Orange*, through a thousand Difficulties, mounted the Imperial Throne of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a Parliamentary Title, rather than by any other: It is true, his Lady was next in Blood, supposing the pretended Prince of *Wales* illegitimate. But he never insisted upon that Title, so much as upon the Election of the People by their Representatives convened in the most solemn Manner: Yet such is the Wickedness of Mankind, and the Baseness of their Nature, that even when he had enjoyed these Realms with the general Consent of his People, and they had quietly enough submitted to the Government they had made; yet these *Pontifens* must needs be giving him a new Right, which forsooth was that of Conquest. The *Dutch* at first were well enough pleased with the Fancy, and the Court itself shewed not much Aversion to the ill-grounded *Chimera*: But the Parliament soon took up the Quarrel, and shewed the Vanity of these Pretensions, and gave the World to understand, that *England* never submitted but once (if it did so) in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. And thus I conclude my Observations on the Life of the Prince of *Orange*, now called to the Throne of *England*, on the Abdication of King *James* the Second. So that it remains to remark on the latter Part of his Life and Reign, as was at first proposed. And,

Secondly, I have chosen to divide these Political Remarks on the Life and Actions of our late Monarch, into two Divisions, because there seems to be a vast Variety in the Fortune of that Prince, in these several Periods of his Life.

The first Part of his Life he struggled with all the Difficulties of a crazy State, at a Time when his Youth and frequent Indispositions gave those, who were really in the Interest of their Country, little Hopes from him of bettering their melancholy Circumstances; but he equally deceived the Expectations of his Friends and Enemies, asserted the Honour and Happiness of his Country, vindicated its Liberties, raised himself and those Provinces, which gave him Birth, to a Degree of Grandeur, which neither the House of *Orange*, nor the United States of the *Netherlands*, had before that Time been acquainted with.

The Faction of *Barneveldt*, when this Prince first took the Helm of the *Belgick* Provinces into his Protection, had ingrossed all the chief Employments of the State under the specious Pretence of Liberty; they had deluded the better and wealthier Part of the Commonwealth, to take Part with them, and be at their Devotion. The Military Commands were in their Hands, the Treasure and all Things else in Disorder at Home, and the King of
France's

France's Armies at their Gates; yet from all these Misfortunes the Prince rescued the Commonwealth, and by its Miseries made himself the happier.

The second Part of his Life was yet more glorious; he obliged King *James* to do him Justice, asserted his Right to the Imperial Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, conquered the last, restored the Reformed Religion to its former Vigour in these Kingdoms, and suppressed the Enemies of himself and the Nation he ruled over; he was triumphant at the *Boyne* and *Athlone*, gave Peace to *Scotland*, and saw himself Master, as far as agrees with our Constitution, of a bold and daring People.

But the Remainder of his Life was nothing so glorious to the State, or fortunate to himself; he lost the memorable Battles of *Steinkirk* and *Landen*, and though he took *Namur*, after an obstinate Defence, made by the Besieged, yet he threw away more Reputation by that patched up Peace at *Reswick*, than he gained Honour by the Acquisition of that important Fortrefs.

King *William*, upon his taking upon him the Government of these Realms, found *England* inclinable to his Wishes; some few indeed of the Clergy and Laity forgot their recent Obligations to him, and the late Danger of their Country; but he soon reconciled their jarring Spirits to his Government, or made them incapable of injuring him.

Thus far his Administration sailed with a successful Wind, but his Affairs in *Scotland* soon took another Face; the Scene was changed there; a few of the Noblemen indeed adhered to his Interest; the rest in general were dissatisfied; and the Worst of it was, that the Episcopal Clergy, for the most Part, struck in with the Interest of the late King *James*. This obliged the Kirk of *Scotland*, which now, by the Concessions of King *William*, might be called the Church of *Scotland*, to stand upon their Guard; and indeed, fairly speaking they used the Non-Conformists to the new Model of Religious Worship a little hardly: From hence sprung the Rebellion of my Lord *Dundee*, and of several of the *Highland* Clans, many of whom followed his Lordship's Fortune for Affection or Plunder, and some, very few on the Score of Religion.

It is most certain, that my Lord *Dundee* did not originally design to break with King *William*; he had served under his late Majesty in *Flanders*, was a Protestant, and it is generally believed had no great Inclination to King *James*; but he was forced upon what he did, by the haughty Carriage of a fine Gentleman, and a very good Officer^a, who afterwards lost his Life in the Quarrel^b, and who, by his own Death, and the Disservice he did the Government, may teach us, that, if it be dangerous to drive a Coward, it is much more so to push a brave Man on Extremities.

^a Mr. *Cleeland*, Lieutenant-Colonel to my Lord *Angus*.
Killicranky.

^b At the Battle of
Yet,

Yet, however cloudy this Affair was at the Beginning, it ended fortunately enough for King *William*: My Lord *Dundee* was killed at the Battle of *Killicranky*, at a Time, when Victory sat upon his Helmet, who, had he lived, might have pushed our late Monarch as far as the same Shores on which he landed.

But Heaven had decreed it otherwise; that Lord received a Shot under his Arm, or as some will have it, a Thrust by a Halbert thro' his Armour, convincing us, that there is no Defence against Fate, and that Providence regarded more our Happiness than the Council of *Scotland*.

Soon after the Decease of this Gentleman, the Laird of *Glencow*, with several of his Followers and Dependants, were put to the Sword in their Beds, after they had embraced a Pardon, which the Government condescended to offer. If King *William* was acquainted thoroughly with the Matter, and they suffered after their Submission by his express Order, it was an Action contrary to all Justice, below the Majesty of a King, and beneath the Character of his Courage, which he had acquired, at the Peril of his Life, in several bloody Rencounters.

By viewing this King at the Battle of *Seneff*, at the Battle of the *Boyne*, and the Fight of *Landen*, a Man would not easily conjecture, that his Soul could entertain Thoughts of so infamous a Nature; but what startles our Imagination, and makes us doubtful in this Argument is, the Authority produced by those who committed these Homicides in their own Vindication; but what Arguments induced the Grant of these Powers is uncertain; Heaven pardon the Authors of so bloody an Enterprize!

The Siege of *London Derry* gave a greater Turn to King *William's* Affairs than could be expected, and plainly demonstrates to the unthinking Part of Mankind, that there is no such Thing as Certainty in human Affairs. King *James* sent thither the Duke of *Berwick*, several *French* Generals, and the best of his Militia, rather to obtain Glory and Plunder, according to their several Capacities, than to hazard themselves and his Army, before a Town he conceived naked and defenceless; but what was his Success? All his fine Troops were ruined or killed, that City, and *Iniskilling* changed the Complexion of his Conquests, and he never succeeded in one single Attempt he made afterwards.

Had this Town surrendered to the Catholick Forces, the late King *James* had intirely made himself Master of *Ireland*, and been at Leisure to have poured in a numerous Army upon *Scotland*; which he might easily have done, the Passage from one Kingdom to another being not above four Hours Sail; and what would have been the Consequence it is not hard to judge, when my Lord *Dundee* was in Arms at the same Time, and had, if he had lived, over-run all *Scotland*, and endangered the Loss of *England* into the Bargain.

What Rewards then were suitable to the Merit of those Gentlemen, who stopped a Deluge, which might have proved fatal to these Kingdoms, more than at first Blush can be imagined? But, let their Deserts be what they will,

will, they starved, as my Lord *Haversham* expresses himself, with Testimonials of their Service in their Pockets.

The Battle of *Bantrey Bay*, in which the late Sir *Cloudefly Shovel* exerted a most remarkable Courage, taught King *William*, as wise a Prince as he was, a Secret which he was a Stranger to, and that was, that the *French* were no despicable Enemies by Sea; and, if he was not thoroughly convinced of this Truth, in a little Time afterwards, he knew it by a dear Experience.

All that were Witnesses to *Cloudefly's* Conduct and Bravery, upon the Occasion I have just mentioned, thought it a Piece of extraordinary Merit; but our Monarch was obliged to him in a higher Degree soon after; for that Admiral, in the Sight of King *James*, and in the Presence of his Guards, who were drawn up to their Relief, burnt or took a Man of War in *Dublin Bay*, and two or three other Ships. The extraordinary Merit of the Service lay here; a great many Officers of the Fleet, at the same Time, were not sufficiently hearty to the Government, and this Action was a Precedent to the rest, and quite dispirited several Persons who were in the Interest of the abdicated King.

The King had a great Opinion of Duke *Schomberg*, and indeed that Gentleman deserved it; but I am fully persuaded, that there was an *English* Officer, in his Dominions, every jot as fit for the high Command of Captain-General, and Time has abundantly declared it.

The Camp of *Dundalk* was fatal to the *English*; we lost a great many brave Men there, amongst whom were Colonel *Wharton*, Colonel *Deering*, and several other Persons of Quality; and it is thought, that, if his Grace the Duke of *Schomberg* had fought the *Irish* with all their boasted Odds, he would hardly, though beaten, been a greater Loser.

But, whether King *William* approved the Duke of *Schomberg's* managing the Army or not, it is plain, he acted contrary to his Grace; for no sooner could he reach the *Boyne* with his Troops, but he gave the Enemy Battle, humouring, or approving of the Inclinations of the *English*, whose Custom it has been always, to engage at Sight, without counting Numbers.

What made the King so fiery at the *Boyne* is uncertain; some attribute it to the Rashness of his Temper; others, with more Justice, believe the Precipitation, he then shewed, was occasioned by the ill News he had received from *England*, that my Lord *Torrington* had engaged the *French* Fleet off *Beachy-head*, and was worsted in the Combat; he lost the *Anne*, commanded by Captain *Tyrrel*, and the *Dutch* suffered extremely in the Engagement; see here the Vanity of the *English*, and the Industry of our Enemies. We proudly imagined, that a single Squadron of ours was a superior Match for all the Naval Power of *France*, and now we find, that our united Fleets give Way to the Admirals of *France*.

My Lord *Torrington's* Conduct was mightily blamed, with what Reason I shall not determine; at the Instance of the *Dutch* Captains he was tried at a Court Martial, and acquitted immediately; thereupon he laid down his

Commission, and it is yet uncertain, whether we did not sacrifice a brave Man, who deserved a better Fate, to the Ferment of the People, and the Fury of their Resentments; and it is equally strange, that in such publick Actions, where so many Thousands were Witnesses of the Fact, the Commonwealth should not be capable of knowing whether an Officer did his Duty, or omitted it.

Had the *French* staid much longer on our Coasts, it is reported, King *William* designed to have commanded his Fleet himself, and to have given them Battle; but, as the World is malicious, so this Monarch found this Design of his ridiculed by some pretended Politicians, who imagined, that the Command of an Army at Land is very different from the Management of a Fleet at Sea; never considering, that the *Dutch* had an *Opdam*, and the *English* a *Monk*, and an *Ossory*, who, though they were no Marine Officers, yet behaved themselves with as much Honour, Prudence, and Courage, as any who ever ploughed the Surface of the Ocean.

The Reduction of *Ireland*, some two or three Towns excepted, was the Consequence of the Battle of the *Boyne*, and King *James* himself took Shipping at *Waterford*, deserting now this Realm, as he had lately done that of *England* some Time before; and indeed, by so precipitate a Flight, he made himself unworthy of any other Fate than that which he sustained.

King *William* found himself repulsed at the first Siege of *Limerick*, more by the Inclemency of the Air, and the Badness of the Season, than by the Valour of the Garrison, though the Town was commanded by three Officers of great Experience, and sheltered the Remains of the whole *Irish* Army: But there's no fighting against the Elements; they were appointed and commanded by a greater King than *William the Third*; and *Canutus*, the *Danish* Monarch, might have instructed our Royal General in the Truth of this Maxim, if the latter had given himself the Trouble of consulting the *English* History.

The King quitted *Ireland* the latter End of this Campaign, and left Monsieur *Ginkle*, afterwards Earl of *Atblone*, to reduce that Part of the Kingdom which continued in the Interest of King *James*. It is true, that Lord, by the Instances of the *English* Commanders, and by the Valour of their Troops, ventured to fight, and won the Battle of *Agbrim*, and obliged all the Enemies of his Master to submit themselves to his Obedience; yet it is the Opinion of our Officers, if a General of our own Nation had commanded our Troops, the Matter would as soon have been effected.

Thus far King *William* had all the Success he could in Reason desire; but Fortune was not always indulgent to his Wishes, and the rest of her Conduct towards that Monarch shewed, that Kings as well as Peasants are often mortified by her Caprices.

The Battle of *Steinkirk* was glorious to the *English*, though they smarted severely by the Numbers, and continual Fire of the *French*. My Lord *Cutts* was wounded in the Action, the Generals *Lanier* and *Mackay* killed, and Troops of our bravest Officers attended them to the Regions of Futurity.

The

The *English* were exasperated at the Cowardice or Ill-nature of some *Dutch* Officers, who refused to sustain our Battalions, and seemed to make a Jest of their Ruin. Our Soldiers took all Opportunities of quarrelling with the Officers and Soldiers belonging to the States; and the Umbrage we had received from the Misfortunes of that Skirmish, had like to have been of the worst Consequence to both Nations.

But the Prudence of King *William*, or, to speak plainly, the Influence he had over the superior Officers, allayed the Ferment our Soldiers were in, which, perchance, had he not been King of *England*, and Stadtholder of the *United Provinces*, he had never effected.

But Vengeance seldom sleeps, and, if Count *Soames*, by his omitting to succour the *English*, occasioned the Death of several brave Men, he himself died soon after, being struck with a Cannon-Ball; and that General, in the Hour of his Death, so far forgot his Honour, as to call to the Soldiers to shoot him, in order to be freed from the violent Pains he was tormented with.

If our Loss at *Steinkirk* was considerable, it was much more so at *Landen*; several Reasons were given out to colour the Shame of our Defeat, but nothing could be alledged to vindicate our Disgrace, or extenuate the Glory of the *French*.

The Intelligence which the Duke of *Bavaria's* Secretary held with the *French*, was generally assigned to be the Cause of the Loss of this Battle; whether the Correspondence he managed was by the Order of his Master, is uncertain; but the Servant was hanged very fairly, and tried afterwards.

The Elector of *Bavaria* is reckoned a superstitious Prince, brave enough, and very much devoted to his Religion; but the Execution of this Gentleman in so odd a Manner, without any Examination, Tryal, or Conviction, convinces us of the late Elector's Policy, but gave us no great Proofs of his Piety.

Our Horse, excepting two or three Regiments, behaved themselves but indifferently, and they declared openly, that they fought as they were paid; but our Foot did good Service, if not to the *English* Nation, yet to the rest of the Confederates; for they stood very firmly, and maintained their Ground with all the Courage imaginable, and by this Means gave the Allies an Opportunity of running away.

General *Talmash* and Sir *Henry Bellasis* continued last upon the Field of Battle; and one of these had won immortal Reputation, if the Memory of *Vigo* and *Port St. Mary's* did not cancel the Glory he acquired in *Flanders*.

But he survives, and *Talmash* lies as low as Envy or Jealousy could desire him; though it is impossible to imagine he was sacrificed to the Resentment of a Court Party, yet it is easy to believe some in the Ministry heartily wished his Ruin.

He was too brave and too publick a spirited Man, either to let himself, the Parliament, or Nation be imposed on; he loved a Soldier, and, as he was

the readiest to lead his Men to Battle, so he took the greatest Care to see them rewarded after the Combat. His Principles of Honour and his Sense were too good to be bribed or amused, and his personal Courage and Integrity too great to be forced or threatened into an unworthy Silence.

Such Qualifications as these were, without Dispute, made him obnoxious to such as hated the Interest of *England*; and, at last, they prevailed so far, as to have him employed in an Attempt, where he must of Necessity lose his Honour or his Life.

But these were not the only Losses that afflicted King *William*; he had the Misfortune to see his Queen fall ill of the Small-Pox, and a few Days robbed the *English* of a Princess, a better than whom never mounted a Throne, or gave Laws to a willing People.

She died as unconcerned, as his Majesty her Husband fought, and braved the King of Terrors with as great a Resolution on her Bed of Sickness, as he did in the Field of Battle; and certainly that Lady's Piety or Courage was the greater; since, as she said herself to my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, she was always prepared to die, and her Royal Spouse very often took the Sacrament before a Battle.

King *William*, as it is reported, was very much concerned at her Death; and, if he had expressed a more visible Sorrow, the Nation would have resented it still more kindly, who sincerely mourned the Loss of that Princess, and still do upon her Memory.

But, though the Loss of so good a Princess afflicted King *William* very much, yet the Peace of *Reswick* mortified him much more; he was obliged at last, by the murmuring Temper of his Subjects, to acquiesce in Terms very dishonourable to *Europe*, and not over-glorious to his Majesty. By this Treaty of Pacification, the *French* were to retain *Luxemburg* and *Strasbourg*, those Bulwarks of *Flanders* and the Empire, who instead of them were only to have an Equivalent, which, in Fact, was far from the intrinsic Value of those Provinces; but, notwithstanding the Inequality of these and other Articles, the Conduct of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Neutrality in *Italy*, powerfully persuaded the Allies to put an End to the War.

Soon after the Peace, the Partition Treaty followed, and, by too much Precaution, the Government involved the Nation in a dreadful War, which, to their best thinking, they endeavoured to avoid. The *Spaniards*, who are a haughty People, so much resented the intended Division of their Monarchy, that their Grandees made a Will, or influenced their Monarch so to do; by which he devised all his Dominions in *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*, to the House of *Bourbon*, in the Person of the Duke of *Anjou*, who, notwithstanding the most dreadful Imprecations of his Grandfather to the contrary, took Possession of those States and Provinces, by the Assistance of that Monarch, who, to prefer his Family, despised all Sanctions, both divine and human.

It is frequently observable in Politicks, that Men often lose the Substance, by an Inquisition after the Shadow; old *Æsop* told us this a great many
Years.

Years ago, and we see it every Day's Experience, that, greedily desiring the Whole, we even lose that Part of which we might have securely possessed ourselves. But it fell out quite otherwise, in relation to this Partition-Treaty; for the House of *Austria*, not being contented with a Part of the *Spanish* Provinces, lost them the Whole, and the Balance of *Europe* was turned to the Part of *France*, which they thought would have been at the Discretion of the Confederates.

When the Peace of *Reswick* was brought to a Conclusion, the Parliament of *England* thought it high Time to disband some of their National Regiments, and all the Foreigners in their Service. Amongst these last were the *Dutch* Blue Guards, and my Lord *Portland's* Regiment of *Dutch* Horse, who attended his Majesty in all his Expeditions, long before and after his Accession to the Throne of *England*. His Majesty was much dissatisfied at the Proceedings, and made all the Interest he possibly could in the House, to disannul the Injunctions of his Supreme Council; but all to no Effect; he used Intreaties to the Parliament, but to no Purpose; and upon this Occasion, behaved himself much different from the haughty Character he had all along maintained.

He laid the Scheme of the present War we are engaged in against *France* and *Spain*, and made all the Provision the Grandeur of such a Design required. After the unfortunate Accident of breaking his Collar-bone, he fell into a Fever, which quickly put an End to his Reign and Glory.

During his Sicknefs, he behaved himself with that Greatness of Soul, which he had often shewed in the Field, and died with the same Bravery as he had expressed in the Heat of Action.

A Letter

A Letter to a new Member of the honourable House of Commons, touching the Rise of all the Imbezlements and Mismanagements of the Kingdoms Treasure, from the Beginning of the Revolution unto this present Parliament. With an Account, from Time to Time, of the many Oppositions the House of Commons met with about redressing the said public Grievances. And lastly, A Proposal humbly offered to their Consideration, how to prevent the like Miscarriages for the future. To which is added, A parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659. And from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700. 1710.

S I R,

YOU being a new Member of this honourable House, I presume you are not so well acquainted with the Transactions of several former Parliaments, in relation to the Miscarriages and Imbezlements of the Publick Monies of this Kingdom; because I perceive you are somewhat surprized at her Majesty's Speech, touching that Paragraph, wherein she complains to your House, *That she cannot, without great Concern, mention to you, That the Navy and other Offices are burthened with heavy Debts*; which so far affect the publick Service, that she most earnestly desires you to find some Way to answer those Demands, and to prevent the like for the Time to come: The Justice of Parliament in satisfying former Engagements being the certain Way for preserving and establishing Credit.

I say, being a new Member, you are utterly at a Loss in this Matter, and want thoroughly to be instructed in Mismanagements of the Ministry; for you are earnestly desired by the Queen to find out now some Way to answer those Demands, and to prevent the like Imbezlements and Misapplications for the Time to come; it being but Justice of the Parliament in satisfying former Engagements, and it is the most certain Way for preserving and establishing of Credit.

Is this the Way of establishing and preserving of future Credit? Then 'tis plain, That by her Majesty's Confession, the Credit of the Nation begins
now

now to flag: And if so, the Question will be, Whether it is occasioned by the Funds not answering the intended End they were raised for, or whether the Credit of the Nation is sunk by crafty Ministers, that have lick'd themselves into fair Estates, and so have embezzled and misapplied the Kingdom's publick Treasure? Now, if you can find out but where this Shoe pinches, you have done your Work; for her Majesty's earnest Desire is to prevent the like Practices for the Time to come.

In order to which, give me Leave to inform you, That the Right H—— the H—— of P——, in their Address to her Majesty, do as frankly complain of Mismanagements and Imbezzlements in several of the Queen's Offices heretofore committed, as well as her Majesty; which, at your Leisure, you may read in their Address to the Queen, printed in the Year 1705.

And I must beg your Patience to shew also, That the Honourable House of Commons have formerly made as hearty and heavy Complaints as most have done, and publicly declared, that common Justice was refused to be done this honourable House, when so often desired to redress the publick Grievances of the Nation, especially touching the Mismanagements and Imbezzlements of the publick Monies of the Kingdom. *Vide* their Votes of *March* 24, 1701.

Since they have had every one their Turn of complaining, don't you admire where the Fault lies all this while, and *that there is no Remedy as yet found out*; that is to say, from the Year 1701, to this present Year 1710, being full nine Years?

One would think at first Dash, That the Queen, the Lords, and the Commons, were all at a Loss, and willing, hearty, and ready to embrace any Expedient, and listen to any Proposal that could be found out to put a Stop, and prevent the like Mismanagements and Imbezzlements of the Kingdom's Money for the future; or else they would never certainly make their Complaints so often: But alas! Sir, there lies the Mystery.

Now, Sir, to unriddle this grand Secret, is, to let you into our former Miscarriages, and the Way that was then taken to stop and redress those grand Grievances, and the many Obstructions former Parliaments met with, though they heartily espoused, and designed to go thorough Stitch with the Remedy; and then you will find where this great Fault has lain all the while, and perceive who were blame-worthy, such as complained, or those very Persons that refused to punish the Transgressors when they were first caught offending. And give me Leave to add, That all Mismanagements and Losses that have since happened to this Kingdom, are owing to such as refused to do common Justice, when so often importuned thereto.

The great Mismanagements of the Kingdom's publick Treasure, and the Misapplications thereof, fell out in the Reign of the late K. *William*; which was then observed for several Years together to be a growing Evil upon the Government, and at last, it did produce several annual Commissions by Act of Parliament, for taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the

the Kingdom ; but what Success these Commissions had, will be worth our Time to examine.

Though it has been publickly objected, that by these Commissions little was done towards the adjusting the Accounts of the Nation, and Inferences have been thence drawn, that such Commissions are of little or no Use ; yet certainly, 'tis the Duty of our Representatives (especially since desired from the Throne) to make it their earnest Endeavour to find out proper Remedies for this fatal Distemper, lest it end in the Ruin of the Monarchy, the Church and the State : For the Commons have complained of these Miscarriages ; the Lords in their Turn have complained of them ; and now, at last, her Majesty, in her most gracious Speech, is heavily complaining of these Miscarriages. And, since they have all had their Turns of Complaint, one would think it were high Time to redress this common and publick Grievance, which has, in short, almost ruined the Credit of the Parliament ; and there will be no retrieving of it, till a Stop be put to those growing Evils. It will scarcely be pretended by any Man, that such an Adjustment of Accounts is in its own Nature impracticable. If then the former Commissions had not altogether the desired Success, the Fault must lie either in the Scheme laid down, as probably it might be for the first Year or Two ; or in the Commission, if they wanted either Skill, Application, or Integrity, sufficient for the Business they were employed about.

Now all these Wants have been charged upon some of them ; but whether with Justice, or not, I am not yet well satisfied : But I am sure there were two other Impediments, of which I may speak with more Certainty, either of which was enough to hinder the Execution of that Commission.

The first of these was, That divers great Men, that had mighty Accounts to pass, and perhaps had little Stomach to do it, had such a Power and Influence in the House of Commons, as were able to cramp the Commissioners in their Power, and discountenance them in their Report ; and even to banter them in the Execution of their Trust.

That this was openly practised, is notorious to all that were then Members of the House ; and how much the Commissioners must needs be discouraged in the Execution of so difficult a Task, the Performance of which was to be laid before such Judges so possessed, I'll leave any one to guess.

The Influence of these Men perhaps produced another Difficulty, which was a Flaw in the Commission itself ; for the Commissioners were not empowered sufficiently to require Proof of suspected Vouchers ; they could not commit Persons for Contempt of their Authority, and consequently were exposed to the Hazard of being abused by false Vouchers. These were Difficulties almost, if not absolutely insuperable.

Now, that never-to-be-forgotten Parliament, in the Year 1701, took care to remove most of these Obstructions, by providing a Bill with larger Power, appointing Commissioners of known Worth and Integrity, who were willing, without Recompence, to take the Trouble upon them, and having such an House of Commons (as God be thanked we now have) disposed to
hear

hear, and enquire strictly into those Miscarriages ; and there was great Reason to expect a good Issue.

But perhaps this very Expectation (pray God it don't again) defeated the Bill, because some of those very Persons who had heretofore borne such Sway in the House of Commons, were then grown so powerful in another Place, and Accounts were still as terrible as ever ; it was not therefore their Interest to suffer such a Bill to pass, for those very Reasons before-mentioned.

First, Because such a Commission, with such Powers, was as hard to be resisted, as, on the other side, some Mens Accounts were to be made up ; and consequently, such an Enquiry, as the Commissioners were thereby empowered to make, might have ruined the Credit, and perhaps the Fortunes of some great Men.

Secondly, The same Persons knew, that there were no bantering the Commissioners named in the Bill, because they knew them to be Men of Sense, Honour and Courage, and that knew, and were resolved to execute their Commission ; and as they were Volunteers in that Service, had given Earnest of their Resolution to unriddle that Mystery, which divers good Men had before lost their Labour in, and thereby perhaps might have made Discoveries, at that Time, very unseasonable to some great Men. And,

Lastly, The Disposition of the House of Commons itself, who were resolved, as fast as possible, to extricate this Nation from that Labyrinth of Debts, Interest, Deficiencies, and other Incumbrances she was then in, and is at present in a manner lost, was a Terror to those who knew by what Steps and Artifices she was led into, and left in it.

I say, it was not safe for them, either to let the Bill pass, or to have it rejected in gross ; and therefore such Expedients were to be found out, as might embroil the two Houses about it ; a Practice in which they had not long before shewn a great deal of Mastery.

They knew that the Commons, as they had the sole Power of granting Money, so also of taking an Account of the Disposition of all Money by them granted, and of appointing Commissioners for that Purpose. This was laid hold on as a proper Handle, to introduce those Amendments which they knew the Commons could not agree to, without departing from those Rights which they were sure they would never relinquish.

Divers Amendments therefore were made, not perhaps so much to alter the Bill, as to lay upon the Commons a Necessity of throwing it out ; thereby hoping to shift the *Odium* of such an Action from their own Door.

But the Commons, who were aware of this Drift, and saw the Conclusion of the Session so near at hand, appointed a Committee to draw up their Reasons, why they could not agree to the Amendments made by the Lords, and afterwards ordered them to be printed, for the Satisfaction of the People whom they represented ; which I shall give you in the very Words of the House, as they stand in their Votes, *March 24, 1701.*

“ The Commons do disagree to the first Amendment made by the Lords :
VOL. III. C c Because

Because it is notorious, that many Millions of Money have been given to his Majesty King *William* by the Commons, for the Service of the Publick ; which remains yet unaccounted for, to the great Dissatisfaction of the good People of *England*, who chearfully contributed to those Supplies : And their Lordships first Amendment prevents any Accounts being taken of those Monies by the Commissioners appointed by the Commons for that Purpose.

The Commons do disagree to the second Amendment made by the Lords :

Because *John Parkhurst*, and *John Pascal*, Esqrs; have for several Years been Commissioners of the Prizes taken during the late War, and are accountable for great Sums of Money arising thereby, which ought to be applied to the Use of the publick.

That the said *John Parkhurst* and *John Pascal* were frequently press'd to account for the same, by the late Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament ; but by many Artifices and Evasions delayed and avoided giving any such Account, as was required by the said Commissioners.

That the Clause, to which their Lordships have disagreed by their second Amendment, requires them to account before the first of *September* next ; but by their Lordships Amendment, the said *John Parkhurst* and *John Pascal* are exempted from giving any such Account, which is highly unreasonable.

The Commons do disagree to the fourth Amendment.

The Commons cannot agree to the Clause sent down by the Lords, marked with X, because their Lordships have therein directed the Commissioners to allow and certify a pretended Debt to Colonel *Baldwin Leighton* ; whereas the Disposition, as well as granting of Money by Act of Parliament, hath ever been in the House of Commons ; and this Amendment relating to the Disposal of Money does intrench upon that Right.

The Commons do disagree to the fourth Amendment :

Because it is notorious, that *Edward Whitacre*, mentioned in ———, left out by their Lordships, hath by Colour of his Employment (as Solicitor to the Admiralty) received the Sum of Five and Twenty Thousand Pounds and upwards, of publick Monies, without producing any just or reasonable Vouchers for the Expence thereof ; and therefore ought to be accountable for the same.

And that, by reason of their Lordships disagreeing to the several Parts of this Bill, the Supplies provided by the Commons for paying the Arrears due to the Army, must of Necessity be ineffectual, till another Session of Parliament."

These Reasons were ordered to be inserted in the Votes of the Day : And tho' I have seen many Attempts to answer them, yet never met with one that bore a good Face, or a true Reason for the Occasion of them ; and till somebody shall produce others more justifiable and probable, the Commons will stand clear of all Imputation for the Miscarriage of that Bill, and the

the evil Consequences that have attended the Nation ever since the Want of it.

But tho' King *William* thanked this good Parliament for their quick Dispatch of those necessary Supplies which they had granted for the publick Occasion, and for the Encouragement they had given him to enter into Alliances, for the Preservation of the Liberty of *Europe*, and the Support of the Confederacy; and made no Doubt, that whatsoever he should do during their Recess, for the Advantage of the common Cause, in this Matter, would have their Approbation at their Meeting again in the Winter; (*Vide* the Speech he then made at the Conclusion of that Session of Parliament, 1701.)

Yet so diligent were the then Ministers of State, that for fear of being called to Account by the said Commissioners, they got the Consent of King *William* to dissolve that Parliament, by reason they did assure him they would get him a better, and such a one as should not question the Imbezlements of his Ministers, being now able to carry all Things before them; which was then the Language of that State Ministry: And the good King assured them he would do it, when he next came from *Holland*, and was as good as his Word; and then the Ministry were safe in their Affairs: And upon the Death of King *William*, some of the Ministry being changed, we never heard a Word of them more till their L—ps began to take up the Cudgels.

You must know, at that Time, some of the late Ministry being turned out, had set up that which they now call a *Junto*, in Opposition to the Court Party; and who should be more forward in pushing on the said H— of P—s into an Enquiry of Mismanagements and Imbezlements, than certain noble Persons who had run the same Way the new Courtiers had just entered, to lick themselves into as fair Estates as other antiquated Courtiers had done.

I say, these Persons, having set up a *Junto*, in Opposition to the Court Interest, press'd forward an Enquiry into a Three Years Imbezlement and Misapplication of the publick Treasure, under her Majesty's Administration. And is as follows.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1 st . Their L—ps were pleased to observe, That in three Years Time the Navy had exceeded its Charge, allowed by Parliament, the Sum of	366032	17	2
2 ^{dly} , That the Officers had issued for the Use of the Navy, short of the Sum allowed to that Service, the Sum of	1142361	2	4
3 ^{dly} , The Debt of the Navy in two Years has increased to the Sum of	1250097	14	1
4 ^{thly} , There wanted of the Complement of Men, which was then allowed for the Sea-Service, 1566 Persons.			

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
5thly, There were the last Year 10 Flags in Pay of the Navy; and three were not in their Posts, viz. The H. — Churchill, Esq; Graydon, and Sir James Wisheart.			
6thly, The Pensions of the Navy since the Year 1697 } are increased; that the Estimate for 1705 comes to }	18011	0	0
7thly, That Sir John M——n, (whom her Majesty was pleased to turn out for not doing his Duty) has a Pension of ———— }	319	17	6
8thly, The Pension of Admiral N——'s Widow, which is set down Continued, has not been paid her these two Years last past.			
9thly, The Prince of Denmark's Council to him, as Lord High Admiral, are allowed per Ann. }	7000	0	0
And yet there is paid but 1000 <i>l.</i> { 1702 } per Annum to each Council; and in the { 1703 } There were but { 4 Years { 1704 } { 5 { 6			
10thly, The H. — Churchill, Esquire's Appointments for the Navy, are, first Council to the Prince per Annum }	1000	0	0
2dly, A Pension to him per Annum ————	500	0	0
3dly, As Admiral of the Blue per Annum ————	1277	0	0
4thly, For his Table-Money per Ann. ————	365	0	0
	Tot. 3142	0	0

And lastly, Though by Parliament there are allowed 43 Cruisers and Convoys for our Merchant-men, there have not been employed at any Time 22, and they have not done the Duty of three Ships for the Protection of our Trade: All which Obstructions they have humbly laid before the Queen, and do rest assured, that her Majesty, in her great Wisdom, and tender Concern for the Happiness of her Subjects, will dispose herself to apply the proper Remedies. And they humbly beseech her to give Commands, that all possible Methods may be taken for the Encouragement of Seamen, the guarding of the Coasts, and the Protection of Trade.

Now you may perceive, Sir, that here is a mighty Imbezzlement and Misapplication among the Navy to a considerable Sum, as you may perceive in the aforefaid Articles; and would not one believe, that their L——ps were concerned at this Matter in good Earnest; and that they had nothing more at Heart than the Preservation of the Merchants Trade, they so sensibly complain for Want of due Protection: But, alas! Sir, this is nothing but a mere Pretence, as I shall prove to you anon. But I must beg your Patience till I have let you into a Commoner of England's Observation thereon, by way of Reply to each Particular, as he then wrote from Braintree, Feb.

Feb. 19, 1705, to a certain Member of Parliament, and printed the same Year.

First then, says he, their Lordships observe, That in } *l.* *s.* *d.*
three Years Time the Navy has exceeded its Charge, al- } 366032 17 2
lowed by Parliament, the Sum of ———

This, at first View, he says, was a very heavy Charge on the Government; but with humble Submission, it is presumed their L——ps are not all bred Accomptants, and therefore not so much blameable as some are. I confess it startled me at this Time of Day, to see so Good, so Gracious, so Mild, and so Gentle a Government, charged with such an inconsiderable Sum, not worth mentioning, considering the Length of Time, *viz* three Years. We cannot forget the Miscarriages of a late Reign so soon, when some of the L—ds of a C—— were impeached for the Imbezzlement of the Kingdoms Treasure. Let them but look back, and they will find twice as much exceeded in the Service for the same Time.

When *E—— R——ll*, Esq; (now L—— O——d) was }
Treasurer and Paymaster of the Navy, there was then actu- }
ally received out of the Exchequer for that Service, from } 6170359 10 3½
Michaelmas 1691, to *Michaelmas* 1694, *viz.* three Years }
Time, the Sum of ———

The Estimate allowed by Parliament for the Navy, }
amounts for the same Time but to ——— } 5400000 0 0

So that the Charge of the Navy did exceed what was }
designed by Parliament, the Sum of ——— } 770359 13 0¼

And then no Complaint was made of it; yet our three }
Years inconsiderable Sum, *viz.* 366033 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* is } 404325 13 1½
a monstrous Charge now: Yet theirs exceeds this by

What would not the Saints have said, if such a Sum as this had fell upon the Party the L——s are now accusing?

Secondly, That the Admiralty have issued short of the }
Sum allotted by Parliament for that Service, the Sum of } 1142361 2 4

But their L——ps wisely observe, That the Navy Ac- }
counts make the Sum received by the Treasurer of the *6193094 15 0
Navy, between *Michaelmas* 1701, to *Michaelmas* 1704, }
to amount to the Sum of ——— } 5420700 11 1

Which, if subtracted from the Provisions intended by }
Parliament, * which I have placed above the last Sum, } 772394 3 11
and then it will come to but ———

So that their L——ps have overcharged the Admiralty }
in this Article, by the Sum of ——— } 369966 18 5

Proof ——— ——— ——— } 1142361 2 4

Now, Sir, if the Sum of ——— ——— ——— } 366033 17 2

Be

	l.	s.	d.
Be added with the Sum of Provisions, ———	772394	3	11
Intended by Parliament for the Navy's Use, then the Sum will be ———	1138428	1	1

Which is all their L—ps can pretend to charge the Treasurer of the Navy with; and we hope their Honours think it in safe Hands, so long as Sir T— L— is of Ability to make it good; if not, pray let them speak.

But their L—ps not speaking, shewed they thought him to be of Ability; but now it seems he is dead, and indebted to the Navy, the Nation will find whether he was of Ability or not.

Thirdly, It appears at *Michaelmas* 1704, the Debt of } 2266864 17 10
the Navy to be ———

And the Navy Debt at *Michaelmas* 1702, came but to 1016767 3 9

So that it has increas'd in two Years Time to 1250097 14 1

And well it may; for it appears by the Treasury-Books, that the Sums given by Parliament have fallen short; and by the extraordinary Expences of the War, *viz.* the taking of *Gibraltar*, and beating of the *French* Fleet, must needs increase the Debt considerably, as the Treasury-Books observe, to the Sum of ——— 1194249 16 5

And if any Complaint ought to be made, it was on the Government's Side, and not on their L—ps, as if a Mismanagement; but those L— of the C—, I presume, knew which Way they crept into fair Estates, by fingering the publick Treasure of the Nation; and now would make all Persons as guilty, &c. that they might come off the easier.

To the 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 Articles, if there be any Mismanagement or Imbezzlement in them, they are so inconsiderable, not worth taking notice of, and especially by the H— of P—

Allow the three Flag-Officers Pay and Table, comes to } 14781 10 0
per Ann. 4927 l. 10 s. for three Years, comes to ———

We'll allow a Misapplication of the Navy's Pensions } 3000 0 0
to amount for three Years (though in Truth it is not so) }
to ———

And the P—'s Council for three Years have imbez- } 6000 0 0
zled the Sum of ———

Now what a mighty Sum is this, *viz.* ——— 23681 10 0
for three Years Time to complain of? Says he, Sir, this is but a Flea-bite to what I shall demonstrate to you.

You cannot forget, Sir, that a Lord C— was impeached, not long since, for a considerable Sum of Money he had; yet he was not contented with his Place that brought him 4000 l. *per Ann.* but the late K. *William* allowed him besides, a Pension of 4000 l. *per Ann.* more: And yet he procured to himself the Grants of several Manors, Free-Farm-Rents, Quit-Rents, &c. to the Value of ——— 33600 0 0

So

A Fourth Collection of T R A C T S. 195

So that this Person has exceeded all their Imbezzlements, viz. l. s. d.
23681 10 0

By the Sum of 9918 10 0

But give me Leave to sum up their L—ps whole Charge, as well as the Imbezzlements, &c. against those Persons, and you will find they appear not so great a Charge as made.

First then, as for the Debt of the Navy of 2266864 17 2
 I will leave it as I found it, to be made good by Parliament.

Secondly, As for what the Navy has exceeded its Charge by Act of Parliament, viz. 366032 17 2

I will make it a Charge as Money over-paid for the Use of the Navy above the Sum allowed by Parliament.

Thirdly, As for what the Navy has issued short of the Sum allotted by Parliament, I have sufficient Warrant to charge it. 672394 3 11

Fourthly, The unnecessary Pay of three Flag-Officers I'll charge; which comes to 14781 10 0

Fifthly, A supposed Misapplication of the Pensions for three Years, which come to 3000 0 0

And *lastly*, An Imbezzlement of three Years Money for the Prince's Council comes to 6000 0 0

So that the whole Cash in Hands, the Misapplications and Imbezzlements for three Years Time, comes to but 1062211 11 1

To which may be answered; first, as their L—ps do find by the Navy Accounts, the Money exceeded did amount in three Years Time to a considerable Sum, yet they don't say it was not applied to that Use; therefore I presume, I have good Warrant to discharge the Navy of that Sum as paid; which is 366032 17 2

Secondly, The three Flag-Officers are paid the Sum of 14701 10 0

And *lastly*, The Pensions are paid, viz. 3000 0 0

Tot. 383814 7 2

Therefore all as can be pretended to be in Hands, mis-applied or imbezzled, for three Years Time, is but 678397 3 11

And whether this mighty Sum be not issued to the Yards and Victuallers, is the Question; and those Ministers best know whether it be so or no, for I shan't justify them in it: But what I have to offer may mollify this great Offence.

Sir, I can't but remind you; and give me leave to shew what considerable Charges and Imbezzlements there was brought on the Nation in so small a Time as five Years.

The

The Lord R— hath actually received out of the Exchequer, for the Army from *Michaelmas* 1691, to *Michaelmas* 1696, (not computing the Pay for the Army in *Ireland*) the Sum of

The Estimate allowed by Parliament for the Army, came at the same Time but to

So that the Army has been over-paid by —
E— R— Esq; (now *L— O—*) hath received out of the Exchequer, for the Pay of the Navy for the same Time,

The Treasurer of the Ordinance for Sea and Land Service, hath received for the said Time the Sum of

Tot. of both

Now the Estimate of the Navy, Yards, Ordinance, and Victuallers, for the same Time, come to but

So that the Navy and Ordinance, &c. have been over-paid

There has been actually received out of the Exchequer, for the Civil List, for the same Time, the Sum of

The Estimate of the Civil List comes for the said Time but to

So that the Civil List has been over-paid by

Upon these Heads there has been over-paid, as follows.

To the Army — — —
 Navy and Ordinance, &c. — — —
 To the Civil List — — —

Tot.

And yet the Debt of the Army, Navy, Ordinances, &c. and the Civil List, amounted to that Time to the Sum of

So that in five Years, there was actually embezzled, or misapplied

Now, Sir, how much was paid to the Army, Navy, &c. short of these Proportions allowed by Parliament, will also be worth the Enquiry of your honourable House.

But to their L—ps last Observation: They say that 43 Cruisers and Convoys are allowed by Parliament to protect our Merchants from the Enemy
 (do

do they mean Abroad, or at Home?) and that not 22 have been employed at any Time; nor have they done the Duty of three cruising Ships, which they think is a great Hardship on the Subject; and endangers their Trade; and beseeches her Majesty, that all possible Methods may be taken for the Encouragement of Seamen, the guarding of the Coast, and the Protection of Trade.

Certainly their L—ps think this Nation has a very treacherous Memory, to forget so soon the Complaint your H— H— of C— made to their L—ps upon this very Subject.

Let them remember, that one Article of their Impeachment against A— R— was this: That when several Complaints were made by the old *East-India* Company to the Lords of the Admiralty (his Lordship being chief C—) of divers Pyracies in the *South-Seas*, to the Destruction of their Trade, that he rejected their Request, and procured a C— for Captain K—d, who went a P—; and that the said C— commanded Capt. S— to deliver several able Seamen out of the D— (when the Nation was threatned with an Invasion from *France*) to Capt. K—d, and they went a P—ing.

Secondly, That the L—ds S— and B—nt, &c. got a Grant under the G— S— in 97, to have all the Ships, &c. Goods, Treasures, &c. taken since *April 30, 1696*, by P—cy, without Account.

And that said L— S— put the Great S— unto a Treaty with F—, whereby great Dominions were given that King, to the Prejudice of the Merchants Trade in general.

But I am very glad their L—ps begin to be so vigilant in national Mis-carriages; for, with humble Submission, I think it is high Time they were all redressed. I am sure, your honourable House has been many Years labouring hard to bring it to pass, and have been as often prevented therein by their L—ps not being at leisure, or, at least, not in a Humour to do it; which Refusal your honourable House not long since voted to be a Denial of J— (in their Lordships) to the common Cause, and an Hindrance to the publick Benefit of this Kingdom in general. And since they have publickly begun to address her Majesty, that this publick Grievance may be redressed, though very inconsiderable, yet if not nipped in the Blossom, who knows what an Height it may at last come to? I think now Time offers to redress them all; and once your H— H— desired such an Opportunity; and you can't do less for your Country's Service, than vigorously, and with all Diligence, to prosecute this Affair, and to go Hand in Hand with their L—ps, to accomplish it. For, as I am an High-Church Man, Sir, I am not for having the Government imposed on, nor the Nation's Treasure embezzled, or profusely spent, in needless Pensions, &c. by any Manner of Persons, either High-Church, Low, or No-Church. And whoever is catch'd in the Transgression, and spared by one Side or t'other, can be no good Subject, nor an hearty Lover of her Majesty's Government.

It mightily rejoices me to see their L—ps Eyes begin to be opened, and that they can spy Faults and Mismanagements in Government, as well as other Persons; though I must confess there is no Government so infallible,

but may err in some Matters ; which Errors are very visible in the late Reign as well as in this : And since it so often happens, it may be convenient to remind their L—ps of your late Impeachments, that all Offenders and Embezzlers of the publick Treasure may be brought to a strict Account. This is what you always aimed at for the Nation's Service, and have always continued so to do by your constant addressing her Majesty ; and since I have made it so visible in four Heads, that upwards of ten Millions of Money have been embezzled in five Years Time, it is to be hoped their L—ps will be pleased to condescend, that the late Ministers of State be brought to an Account as well as the present.

I hope, by this Time, their L—ps are thoroughly convinced in their Judgments, that it is high Time they were brought to an Account ; which, if done, I am sure would be of great Service to the Nation, and would deserve the publick Thanks of the Kingdom. This would encourage the Nation and Seamen chearfully to go on in the common Cause ; the one with their Purfes, and the other with their Lives : But if their L—ps will contentedly sit down only with the Accusation of the Navy, of a *Churchill*, a *Greydon*, or a *Munden*, for so inconsiderable a Sum (which all their Lordships can pretend to charge is not an Imbezzlement) of 678,397 *l.* 3 *s.* 11 *d.* will look only like a Party-Quarrel, and shew they take Delight in exposing their small Mismanagement, when they meekly suffer an O—, a R—, a S—, &c. to go away unpunished with upwards of Thirty Millions of the Kingdom's Money unaccounted for. This I hope their L—ps will take care to avoid like *English* Patriots, and not suffer the Government and Nation to be miserably oppressed and beggared.

It cannot enter into my Thoughts but their L—ps will do all Things for the Good of the Nation in general : Yet I am somewhat surprized to see their A—fs to the Q—, printed by their Authority ; I cannot tell what to make of it, it looks so much like the Observator's appealing to the People, designing to expose the smallest Miscarriages in Government on one Side, and let the greatest Embezzlements on the other go free. But their Lordships have mightily missed their Ends in it, if they intend so ; for the Address is so seasonably come out, that it will very much open the Eyes of the Nation ; and if the Grievances be not redressed on all Sides, it will look like Party Address, dissenting from the Kingdom's true Interest, and so they may become the Odium of the Nation ; but let us hope for better Things from their H—rs.

Another Thing to me seems very odd, and looks just like the Stranger and Satyr in the Fable, that blew both hot and cold in a Breath ; or what can be the Meaning of settling a grateful Reward on his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* for his eminent Service done to the Publick in general ; and yet at the same Time, to repine at his Brother *Churchill*'s inconsiderable *per An.* of 3142 *l.* 10 *s.* which their L—ps have caused to be printed at large in their late A—fs to her Majesty ? One would think, that what his Grace had done might have easily swallowed up so small a Trifle as his staying at Home,

Home, without their L——ps publick Notice thereof. If the Nation's Grievances are heartily designed to be redressed, I think 'twould be very convenient their L——ps should join with your honourable House, to call all evil Ministers of State to a speedy Account.

Secondly, In the next Place, to secure the Government, and the Church of *England*, as by Law established; and not suffer them to be insulted and bullied by the Whiggish Enemies of State, both at Home and Abroad. And,

Lastly, To secure to our Merchants their Trade: And this, in some Measure, will enable you to secure the whole State.

But, if we must tumble into Faction, and only accuse one Party, because the least Transgressors, and let the other go free, because the greatest Offenders; 'tis just like *Alexander's* Pyrate, that was condemned to be hanged for robbing in a small Vessel, whilst he himself, with his great Fleets, triumphed in spoiling and ruining of the greatest Kingdoms.

To conclude, I must be bold to say, had the first Transgressors been severely punished, when caught in the Offence, it would have deterred others from doing the like Mischiefs; and all Mismanagements and Losses that have since happened to this Kingdom, are owing to that H—— of P——, that refused, upon your Complaint, to do the Nation common J——, when so often importuned thereto by your honourable House.

Braintree, Feb. 19,
1705.

I am,
Sir,
Your most devoted Servant,
W. L.

And thus I have led you, Step by Step, through all this Commoner of *England's* Observations thereon; and I think he has handled the Ministry to Purpose.

But, perchance, you may desire to know what Effect these Observations wrought on their L——ps at that Time? Even none at all; for the Design, it seems, lay here: *As soon as this Address had brought over the Court Interest to their Party, all Matters of Complaint were laid aside, and the Ministry were as brisk at their Sport of Embezzlements and Misapplications as ever, and so would have gone on to the End of the Chapter.* Had not some true old *English* Heroes opened the Eyes of her Majesty, the whole Kingdom had been sunk into an eternal Ruin, without Redemption; and that occasioned the Queen to change the Low-Church Ministry: And this brought to our Assistance our Deliverers from this Slavery, our present New Parliament, and occasioned that excellent Speech from the Throne at the opening of this Sessions; where her Majesty (though sensibly) complains of the heavy Debts of the Navy, and other Offices.

And now, Sir, what if I should let you into some other new Embezzlements and Misapplications, which I may truly say were occasioned by their L——ps, for want of their seasonable and annual addressing of the Queen.

For, if Fame speaks Truth, it is reported, that Sir *T—L—n*, *T—r* of the *N—y*, has died indebted to the Sailors three Years Wages : If so, according to the Estimate of the Navy, it amounts to about 5400000 0 0 Which is one Article, without Doubt, your honourable House is to make good.

And a certain late *L—T—r*, they say, has embezzled } 2500000 0 0
or misapplied the Sum of — — —
Which Embezzlements are grown a new Debt on the several Offices complained of.

The Total of both come to — — — 7900000 0 0

And for the Year ensuing you are to provide no less than 6000000 0 0

To carry on the War against *France* and *Spain*, in all 13900000 0 0

A pretty little inconsiderable Sum. These you are to raise, and make good as desired. And whether with these Spunges, as *De Foe* says, you will be pleased to wipe out the Scores and Debts of the Nation the Low-Church Ministry have contracted, I think will be very much worth your while to try the Experiment of.

It would not be amiss to squeeze these Low-Church Spunges heartily, till they drop again to purpose ; and who knows but you may get out of them ten Years Embezzlements (rather than part with the whole ill-gotten Sum for twenty Years last past) which comes to about 15875893 17 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

So that you will clear the Nation from the Debt of the late *L—d T—r*, and Sir *T—s L—n*, the *T—r* of the *N—y*, and have in their Pockets clear, to begin the next Year's Wars with, the Sum of 1975893 17 4

But here lies the greatest Difficulty. In whose Hands will your honourable House entrust the remaining Money, and all that you shall raise for the future, since 'tis so apparent how difficult it is to bring such Ministers of State to account for their Embezzlements and Mismanagements of the Kingdom's publick Treasure ? This is a Matter will require your whole Thoughts. For if that can be but effected to your Liking, Content and Satisfaction, it will for ever make the Queen easy, the Funds well looked after, the Seamen and the Army well paid. And this will be the Means to restore the lost Credit, which evil Ministers of State have been long hammering at, to ruin, or at least to bring it to such a low Ebb on the Government's Side, that the said Ministry might have new modelled any Scheme of Government they had most Inclination to, having so often all the publick Cash of the Nation in their Hands, and that they set up the Bank with most feloniously, for that End and Purpose.

In my humble Opinion (not that I am going to direct) it were not amiss, if your honourable House would not suffer one single Minister, or Officer of State, to have of the publick Money so raised to carry on the War against *France* and *Spain*, above 50000 *l.* a Man, and good Security given, that he should no Ways embezzle or mis-employ the said Money, but solely pay it to that publick End it was raised for : But to trust one Man with one,
two,

two, or three Millions at a Time, is a Temptation to cheat the Publick, at least one Quarter Part of it, if not of the whole Sum: And when you come to look into the Man's Estate, he has none; or otherwise made it away, on purpose to become a Cheat to the Nation.

But you may, perchance, object, and say that you cannot find any Minister that can give such Security; or, if he could, he ought not to do it, for it is an Infringement of her Majesty's Prerogative; for it is fit and convenient, that as she is entrusted with all the Monies so raised, it is her sole Right to appoint such Ministers or Officers as she can confide in with the said Money.

To which I answer, it customarily has been so; but it is also too visible, for upwards of twenty Years last past, that all that have been entrusted with the publick Treasure, have made it their Business to fleece the Government of the publick Treasure, to embezzle and misapply the same; and how hard and difficult it has been to bring such Ministers to account, the whole Kingdom is very sensible of; and sure it is but reasonable to secure the publick Treasure at all Times: And if the House of Commons don't put a Stop to this great Evil, the Nation will be utterly beggar'd at last. And there can be no other Expedient found out as can preserve the Credit of the Kingdom, but by appointing Commissioners of their own, *viz.* Gentlemen of known Estates; and to entrust them with 50000 *l.* a Man, and no more, they giving Security not to embezzle or misapply the same; if they do, their Estates and Security to make it good. And certainly, it is impossible that any one of these Persons should miscarry in their Discharge of the Trust reposed in them by the honourable the House of Commons.

But I very much wonder, at this Time a-day, why the Low-Church Party should stand so tightly for the Queen's Prerogative, by saying, that such an Expedient, if found out, will be an Infringement of the same. Time was, that none were more violent against the Prerogative of the Crown than these very People; and now, in a Trice, they are highly defending the Prerogative. This, at first Sight, looks mysterious; but I will unriddle this Matter in a Trice.

It seems, the Prerogative they stand so tightly for, is to screen themselves, and that they might not be put out of that sweet and old arbitrary Way of cheating the Soldiers and the Navy, and fleecing the Kingdom of those few trifling Millions, not worth the Parliament's taking Notice, which they had only gotten by Cunning, Oversights and Negligences in Accounts, by such as, perchance, at first were not able to check them. This makes them stand so violently for the Prerogative of the Crown, which, by no Means, they say, ought to be lessened; and it is what her Majesty will never consent to.

Now give me Leave a little. I think they talk for the Queen, but would act for themselves: Their Business is only to dive dexterously, and to take Care that no other Sharpers should come at the Pocket of the Nation but themselves: They have often found it full, and have as often left it empty; yet still they are struggling to continue in their old Game, and are now curied
mad

mad that any but themselves should be in the Government, and are preparing Gibbets for *Mordecais*. And what do not such Ministers deserve, that deprive the Queen of the Service of the Pick-pockets and Sharpers of the Nation?

These pretended Friends to the Government have indeed stuck fast to it, but it was like Leeches, sucking almost the very Heart's Blood of the Nation; but a little Salt from the Hands of the Parliament will soon shew what it was they adhered so close to the Government for.

Are we not almost driven to the very Brink of Destruction? Our Treasures are riotously wasted; our Constitution in Danger of being subverted; and the Nation almost in general corrupted. And all this under a Colour of a false pretended Zeal for her Majesty's Person and Government; when some Men have arrived to such a Height of Favour in Court, and such a Degree of Popularity in the City, that they have at last took upon them, with an audacious Front, to direct the very Monarchy.

They have been able, for many Years past, to brand all those who took any Care of our Constitution, or offered to require any good Husbandry in the Disposition of the publick Treasures, with odious unpopular Names, and almost to stir up the Mob against them: Thus, had they succeeded, the old *English* Constitution had expired. And since the Majority of the Nation have, by their Choice, sent us up such worthy Patriots, it is to be hoped they will effectually take care of the Monarchy, the Church and State, and set the Kingdom out of Debt, and see that the Army and the Navy are well paid; and keep out, for the future, such ravening and devouring Wolves, that have brought the Credit of the Nation to so low an Ebb by their Misapplications and Embezzlements of the Kingdom's Treasure.

Is it not a strange and wonderful Thing, that while the Nation is almost Bankrupt, wealthy Men should shoot up in several Offices like Mushrooms; and while the Government was endangered to be beggared, that all its Servants should riot in such Wealth and Plenty, that the bare handling of a Brush in any Office was the ready Way to a plentiful Fortune; as if the publick Treasure had been thrown in there only for the Officers to brush it into their Pockets? These Abuses call loudly for Reformation; and our Representatives, no doubt, will do their utmost Endeavour to amend the same.

And since some People may question to what Ends and Purposes Members of Parliament are elected by the People to represent them, I shall presume to give them these following Instructions.

The Business therefore of a House of Commons, is, to represent the whole Commonalty of *England*; that is, they are to do all such Things, and exercise all such Powers, for the Welfare and Safety of the Publick, which the whole common People would be supposed to do and exercise, could they meet together, to counsel and debate orderly and quietly, and deliberate maturely, for their own common Good and Safety.

They

They are to appoint all publick Disbursements, the Quantity, Time, and Manner of their Payments; the Uses to which they are to be disposed; and, if they please, the Officers through whose Hands it shall pass. If so, now is the Time then to appoint such Officers of your own, and not suffer the Nation any more to be cheated by Upstarts, and such as have no visible Estates to come at, when they embezzle the Kingdom's Treasure, as such have done for twenty Years last past, without any publick Remedy. This requires your publick Amendment; for the War has left us very low in Purse, the Credit of the Nation almost eclipsed by the late Ministry, our Funds anticipated and deficient; and, to compleat all, has left us a new Debt of several Millions. These Considerations will oblige you certainly to prevent the like grand Miscarriages for the future, by appointing, as we hope you will, such Gentlemen of Estates as may give sufficient Security to perform that Trust, which will be so very necessary for the Kingdom's Preservation and Benefit in general.

2dly, They are to enquire how such Sums have been applied; and if they find any Misapplication, to bring the Offenders to Punishment: And this is a second Reason why you ought to appoint Officers of your own. For have not your honourable House endeavoured, for twenty Years last past, to bring such evil Ministers to Account, and how often have you been prevented by cunning Stratagems, and Delays of some great Persons, whose Interest appeared too great for you to cope with in another Place.

3dly, They are to advise with, and assist the other two Sovereign Estates in all arduous Affairs, especially in making and contriving good Laws, for the Security of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, of which, at this Time, we stand in great Need; for our occasional Conformists, if not well looked after, will swallow up our Government by this cunning Hypocrisy; which is a villainous Artifice, on purpose to bring in Ruin to the Church and State.

4thly, They are to revive such good Laws as are antiquated, and to repeal them, if the Reason be ceased, and the Laws themselves of no longer Use and Benefit to the Publick. And,

• *Lastly*, They are to protect and preserve entire, the Rights and Privileges of the whole People, whom they represent as a third Estate of the Kingdom. And this loudly calls to you for Amendment; what Insolencies and Affronts have been offered our Church and State, by those very tender-conscienced People, our moderate Dissenters? How often have they been for Roasting, Gutting, Dewitting, Mobbing, Hanging, Drawing and Quartering, one poor Priest of the Church of *England*, because he preached up Passive Obedience, a Doctrine of the Church; which, it seems, did a little too much grate upon the scrupulous Consciences of our tender Brethren, the most religious Dissenters?

I say, this brought on all those Affronts and Insolencies which our Holy Church and Constitution met with in a late famous Trial, of ever glorious Memory, in which her Majesty did not escape their vile Tongues in their
Imperious

Imperious and Rebellious Language. This also highly calls for your Amendment, that it may never more be in the Power of such Persons to be so monstrously rude and uncivil as heretofore.

Now, if such Offenders are not corrected according to their Merits, the Lord have Mercy on the Nation; for the Government, both in Church and State, are in a very dangerous Condition, and won't be long before they are brought to Destruction; which God of his infinite Mercy prevent.

A Parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

The Long-Parliament's Account.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
S ubsidies, fix, comes to	600000	0	0
Assessments to disband the <i>Scots</i> and <i>English</i> Armies	800000	0	0
Tonnage and Poundage, 19 Years	5700000	0	0
Captives, 9 Years	27000	0	0
<i>Ditto</i> , 5 Years	75000	0	0
Sale of <i>Irish</i> Lands	1200000	0	0
Second Sale	92500	0	0
Third Sale	30000	0	0
Contribution for <i>Irish</i> Protestants	100000	0	0
Second Contribution	50000	0	0
Third Contribution	30000	0	0
Assessment through <i>England</i> for the <i>British</i> Army in <i>Ireland</i> for 5 Years	1200000	0	0
Twentieth Parts of Goods, &c. to raise an Army for the Earl of <i>Essex</i> , for the Defence of <i>England</i>	2745055	0	0
<i>Ditto</i> Second Time	2745055	0	0
Weekly Assessments towards Payment of the said Army, three Years	5617583	8	0
Weekly Meal to raise Auxiliaries, six Years	608400	0	0
Monthly Assessments towards Payment of the said Army, two Years	488064	0	0
Sir <i>William Waller</i> 's Army's Weekly Assessment, 1 Year	84258	5	0
The <i>Scots</i> Army's Weekly Assessment, 2 Years	168000	0	0
<i>Brown</i> 's Army's Weekly Assessment, 1 Year	38400	0	0
Car. over	22399315	13	0
	Brought		

A Fourth Collection of T R A C T S. 209

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	213993	15	13 0
Fairfax's Army's Mo. Assessment at 36366 l. three Years	1127526	4	0
Ditto, at 60000 l. per Mo. for two Years	1620000	0	0
Ditto, at 90000 l. per Mo. for 1 Year, &c.	1890000	0	0

Forces raised on particular Counties, &c.

Exon, for five Years, comes to	12000	0	0
Hertford, 1 Year, then associated	4800	0	0
Isle of Wight, 4 Years	1900	0	0
Warwick, &c. associated 5 Years	133650	0	0
Plymouth, 4 Years	28800	0	0
Yarmouth, 4 Years	19200	0	0
Ailsbury, 5 Years	1000	0	0
Buckingham, 4 Years	76800	0	0
Eastern Association, 5 Years	1234962	10	0
Dorset and Pool, 2 Years, and then associated	24780	0	0
Kent, &c. associated 5 Years	270000	0	0
North Wales, &c. 5 Years	38652	0	0
Northampton, 5 Years	119200	0	0
Huntington, 2 Years, and then associated	13200	0	0
Southampton, 4 Years	115200	0	0
Newport-Pagnel, 1 Year, then associated	49000	0	0
London, &c. 5 Years	5600	0	0
Hull, 5 Years	46600	0	0
Chester County and City, 1 Year, then associated	6944	0	0
Gloucester County and City, 3 Years	163400	0	0
Pembroke, &c. associated 3 Years	20090	0	0
Salop, 3 Years	57000	0	0
Leicester, 3 Years	86400	0	0
Wilts and Malmsbury, 1 Year, then associated	2900	0	0
Western, associated 4 Years	509160	0	0
Worcester, &c. 3 Years	51597	0	0
Middlesex, 3 Years	108000	0	0
London, to set up Posts and Chains	96000	0	0
Lincoln, 3 Years,	117600	0	0
Derby, 3 Years	48000	0	0
Northern Association, 3 Years	433831	14	0
Rutland, 3 Years	29000	0	0
Surry, 3 Years	44000	0	0
Newark to be reduced, cost	9916	12	0

30015025 13 0

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	30015025	13	0
<i>Lancaster</i> , 2 Years	72000	0	0
<i>Newport</i> , 2 Years	89904	0	0
Comte <i>London</i> to Affes for Horfes and Arms	10000	0	0
Provision for maim'd Soldiers, &c.	18180	0	0
Excise for 17 Years	10200000	0	0
Duty on Coals, 17 Years	850000	0	0
Duty on Currans, 17 Years	51000	0	0

Sequestration of Delinquents Estates, viz.

Bishops Lands, 4 Years	884089	16	7
Dean and Chapters Lands, 4 Years	564740	18	6
Inferior Clergy's Lands, 4 Years.	2077802	1	3
Temporal Estates, 4 Years	280000	0	0
Crown Lands, 4 Years	280000	0	0
Composition for Court of Wards, 4 Years	400000	0	0
<i>Dean's Forrest</i> , 4 Years	16000	0	0
Fee-Farm-Rents, 4 Years	1054392	0	0
Tenths of the Clergy, 4 Years	400080	0	8
Prince of <i>Wales's</i> Income	80000	0	0
Timber for the Navy out of Delinquents Woods	7760	0	0
Postage of Letters, 14 Years	301000	0	0
Wine Licence, 14 Years	312200	0	0
Compositions for Court of Wards, 10 Years	1000000	0	0
Income of Offices for publick Service, 15 Years	850000	0	0
Vintners Delinquency	4000	0	0
Compounding with Delinquents for their Estates	1277226	0	0
Disbanding the Army	900000	0	0
Militia of <i>England</i> kept up 13 Years	3120000	0	0
<i>Oliver's</i> Expedition to <i>Ireland</i>	150000	0	0

Sale of Lands, viz.

Bishops Lands, at 10 Years	2420224	11	6½
Dean and Chapters Lands, 10 Years	1411852	6	8
Rectory and Glebe Lands, 12 Years	6203586	3	9
Crown Lands, 13 Years	9152000	0	0
Prince of <i>Wales's</i> Lands, 13 Years	260000	0	0
Fee-Farm-Rents, 8 Years	1908784	0	0

Car. over 67568747 11 11½

Brought

A Fourth Collection of T R A C T S. 211

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	67568747	11	11½
New-River Water, 8 Years	8000	0	0
Tenths of the Clergy, 8 Years	1200240	2	0
Lord <i>Craven</i> and others Estates, at 13 Years	700000	0	0
<i>Gifford</i> and others Estates, at 13 Years	900000	0	0
Sir <i>John Stawell</i> and others, 5 Years	560000	0	0
Forest-Lands, 13 Years	56000	0	0
Houses and Castles of the King's	600000	0	0
<i>John</i> and <i>William</i> , <i>Peter</i> , and divers others, viz. 171 Persons, their Estates to pay Prince Palatine of the <i>Rhine</i> 5000 l. in Arrear, and 8000 l. per Ann.	85000	0	0
<i>Oliver</i> made Capt. Gen. of <i>Fairfax's</i> Forces, and the Assessments for the Armies of <i>England</i> , <i>Scotland</i> , and <i>Ireland</i> , 90000 l. per Mo. for 2 Years	2160000	0	0
Assessments of 120000 l. per Mo. for the said Army and Navy, 1 Year	1440000	0	0
Drums and Colours 90000 l. per Ann. for 10 Years	900000	0	0
<i>Irish</i> Delinquents to compound for 2 Years Rents	1000000	0	0
<i>Oliver</i> voted Protector, and he assessed for the Army 120000 l. and 90000 l. for 3 Mo.	630000	0	0
Agreed 60000 l. per Mo. be the Pay of the Arms for 6 Years	4320000	0	0
To defray the Charges of Justice 200000 l. per Ann. 6 Years	1200000	0	0
Free Gifts to the Saints in Money	679800	0	0
In Places (excluding the Army and Navy) per Ann. 7 Years	306110	0	0
In Estates per Ann. for 11 Years	189365	0	0
Besides, the House of Commons voted each of their Members 4 l. per Week, and count but 256 Members, and no more, for 14 Years	745472	0	0
Total	95303095	1	11½

A general Abstract of Money raised in England by the Long Parliament, from November 3, 1640, to November 1659.

Subsidies	600000	0	0
The Armies	32780721	13	0
Tonnage and Poundage	5700000	0	0
Car. over	39080721	13	11

212 *A Fourth Collection of* **TRACTS.**

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	390807221	13	0
Captives	102000	0	0
Sale of <i>Irish</i> Lands	1322500	0	0
Contributions for <i>Irish</i> Protestants	180000	0	0
Forces for Defence of particular Counties	4141088	8	0
Excises	10200000	0	0
Duty on Coals	850000	0	0
<i>Ditto</i> on Currans	51000	0	0
Sequestrations of Estates	6044924	17	0
Postage of Letters	301000	0	0
Wine Licences	312200	0	0
Composition for Court of Wards	1000000	0	0
Offices to Publick Service	850000	0	0
Vintners Delinquency	4000	0	0
Compositions for Estates	1277226	0	0
Sale of <i>English</i> Lands	25380687	3	11½
Settled out of Gentlemen's Estates to pay <i>P. Palatine</i>	85000	0	0
Compound with <i>Irish</i> Delinquents	1000000	0	0
Charge of Justice, 6 Years	1200000	0	0
To the House of Commons, 14 Years, comes to	745472	0	0
Free Gifts to the Saints, viz. in Money	679800	0	0
in Offices	306110	0	0
in Estates, <i>per Ann.</i>	189365	0	0
Total	95303095	1	11½

A general Abstract of the Receipts and Issues of the publick Revenues, Taxes and Loans, that has been granted to the late King William, from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700.

The Receipts.

Received on	Customs	10997955	6	3½
	Excise	12105151	19	7
	Hearth and Letter Money, &c.	1769653	1	4½
	Land-Tax	17520100	14	5
	Poll-Tax	2527983	12	9
	Promiscuous Taxes	7170903	17	9½
	Divers Receipts	466999	1	4
	State of Loans	13348680	5	10½
	Remained Nov. 5, 88. with which the Treas. beg.	80138	18	3
Total		65987566	17	8

The

The Issues.

		l.	s.	d.
Issued {	To the Treasurer of the Navy, viz. <i>Ld. Faulkland</i> , in <i>K. James's</i> Time	198068	0	1
	To <i>Ad. R—</i> in <i>K. W—'s</i> Time, Tr. of the Navy	16940497	1	10½
	To <i>Sir Tho. L—n</i> , Treasurer of the Navy	818659	5	10½
	Total to the Navy	17957224	7	9½
	To the Army, <i>Ld. Ranelagh</i>	21239723	6	11½
	To the Ordinance	2889001	1	6½
	To the Civil List	7882391	10	2½
	Divers Services	15693555	11	0
	Remained at <i>Michaelmas</i> 1700	325671	0	2
	Total	65987566	17	8½

Memorandum. There was issued more than received the Sum of Two Farthings; a very nice Account I'll assure you.

The Total of the Long-Parliament 95303095 *l.* 1 *s.* 11½. Of *K. W.* 65987566 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* Of both, 161290661 19 *s.* 7½. An inconsiderable Sum, considering our great Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, and Arbitrary Government; and yet the Saints want to deliver us of as much more, if we please but to be so good natured as to let them set up a Commonwealth.

The

The Declaration of the Most Christian King of France and Navarre, against the most horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-Men and Soldiers, in England, against their King and Country. Translated out of French by P. B.

Lewis XIV. *by the Grace of God, the Most Christian King of France and Navarre, to all Christian Kings, Princes, States and People, sendeth Greeting.*

WHereas we are informed, by our dear Aunt, the Queen of England, of the distressed Estate of the King her Husband, forced upon him by a rebellious Party of his meanest Subjects, under the Command of the Baron of *Fairfax*, who is likewise countenanced by a small Handful of the basest of the People, crept into the Lower House of Parliament, but not being a tenth Part thereof, the worthiest being either imprisoned, or banished by the Tyranny of the Army, have a Design to proceed against the Person and Life of their King; which is an Action so detestable, and so destructive to the National Rights of Princes and People, who are like to be enslaved thereby, and to know no Law but that of the Sword, that we conceive ourself obliged, by the Laws of God and Man, in the Duty of a Christian, as well as the Rights of a King, either to redeem from Bondage the injured Person of our Neighbour King and Uncle, or to revenge all Outrages already done, or hereafter which may happen to be done there-upon.

Therefore, with the Advice of our dear Mother the Queen Regent, and Council, we do publish and declare our Detestation of all such Proceedings, and vow, in the Presence of God, and his holy Angels, a full Revenge upon all Actors or Abettors of this odious Design, to the utter Extirpation of them, their Wives, and Children, out of all Parts of *Christendom*, wherein our Power, or Interest, can prevail, if they proceed to this damnable Fact; we conceiving it fit to root out from human Society such a spurious and viperous Generation of Men: And we do therefore prohibit all such Persons, their Wives, and Children, to come into any of our Dominions, unless they will be proceeded against as Traitors to God and Nations.

And we do likewise invite all our Neighbour Kings, Princes, and States in Amity with us, or with whom we have any Difference, to an honourable Peace, that we may all join, in God's Cause and our own, to revenge these
hypo-

hypocritical Proceedings of enraged Villains, who, we hear, take the Cause of God for their Pretence to destroy his Ordinance.

And we desire all our Neighbour Kings, Princes, and States, to make the same Proclamation we have done, against any of these, or their Adherents, from coming into their Territories; that, when, by God's Justice, and ours and others Endeavours, they shall be chased out of their native Country, they may wander like Vagabonds in Heathenish Places, with the odious Brands of *Regicides* upon them: And further to consider, whether that, if the like Madness took any of their Armies, they would not implore our Helps, as now this afflicted Queen and Aunt of ours hath Occasion to do theirs, against Persons who are now twice Rebels; *first*, against their lawful Sovereign, upon Pretence of Reformation of Government; and *now* against the very Men and Authority which raised them for that pretended Occasion: Wherein God's Justice is so apparent, that we are confident he will bless this Work intended by us, and which, we hope, will be seconded by all Persons of Honour and Justice, both at Home and Abroad, to help to suppress these Rebels against their Raisers; who yet presume, upon the Success of their Arms, to erect their own base Thoughts and Fortunes above the Limits of Religion or Reason, to suppress that Authority which God hath set over them.

Signed *L E W I S*.

And below, *Bryan*, Secretary of State.

Published at Paris, the second Day of January, Stylo novo, 1649.

The Earl of Strafford's Letter to the King, to pass the Bill occasioned by the Tumult of the Apprentices. Taken from the Original Copy. Printed 1680.

May it please your Majesty,

IT hath been my greatest Grief, in all these Troubles, to be taken as a Person which should endeavour to represent and set Things amiss between your Majesty and your People; and to give Counsels tending to the Disquiet of your three Kingdoms.

Most true it is, that, this mine own private Condition considered, it had been a great Madness, since, through your gracious Favour I was so provided, as not to expect, in any Kind, to mind my Fortune, or please my Mind more, than by resting where your bounteous Hand had placed me.

Nay, it is most mightily mistaken: For, unto your Majesty it is well known, my poor and humble Advices concluded still in this, That your Majesty and your People could never be happy till there were a right Understanding betwixt you and them; no other Means to effect and settle this Happiness, but by the Counsel, and Assent of the Parliament; or, to prevent the growing Evils upon this State, but by entirely putting yourself in
your

your last Resort upon the Loyalty and good Affections of your *English* Subjects.

Yet, such is my Misfortune, this Truth findeth little Credit, the contrary seemeth generally to be believed, and myself reputed as something of Separation between you and your People, under a heavier Censure than which, I am persuaded, no Gentleman can suffer.

Now, I understand the Minds of Men are more incensed against me, notwithstanding your Majesty hath declared, that, in your Princely Opinion, I am not guilty of Treason, nor are you satisfied in your Conscience to pass the Bill.

This bringeth me into a very great Streight; there is before me the Ruin of my Children and Family, hitherto untouched, in all the Branches of it, with any foul Crimes. Here is before me the many Ills which may befall your sacred Person, and the whole Kingdom, should yourself and the Parliament part less satisfied one with the other than is necessary for the Preservation of King and People. Here are before me the Things most valued, most feared by mortal Men, Life or Death.

To say, Sir, that there hath not been a Strife in me, were to make me less than, God knoweth, mine Infirmities give me.

And to call Destruction upon myself and young Children, where the Intentions of my Heart, at least have been innocent of this great Offence, may be believed will find no easy Content to Flesh and Blood.

But, with much Sadness, I am come to a Resolution of that which I take to be the best becoming me, to look upon that which is most principal in itself, which, doubtless, is the Prosperity of your sacred Person and the Common-wealth, infinitely before any Man's private Interest.

And, therefore, in few Words, as I put myself wholly upon the Honour and Justice of my Peers so clearly, as to beseech your Majesty might please to have spared that Declaration of yours on *Saturday* last, and intirely to have left me to their Lordships; so now, to set your Majesty's Conscience, &c. at Liberty, I do most humbly beseech you, for the Prevention of such Mischief as may happen by your Refusal to pass the Bill, by this Means to remove, praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but, I confess, this unfortunate Thing forth of the Way, towards that blessed Agreement, which God, I trust, shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects.

Sir, my Consent herein shall more acquit you to God, than all the World can do besides: To a willing Mind there is no Injury done; and as, by God's Grace, I forgive all the World, so, Sir, I can give up the Life of this World with all Chearfulness imaginable, in the just Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favour; and only beg that, in your Goodness, you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious Regard upon my poor Son and his Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or less guilty of his Death. God long preserve your Majesty.

Tower, May

4, 1641.

Your Majesty's most humble,

most faithful Subject and Servant,

Strafford.

A brief

A brief VIEW of the late *Scots* Ministry; and of the REASONS the *Scots* had to wish for a Deliverance from them by the UNION. 1709.

IN order to give you a better View of our present State, I must beg Leave to put you in Mind, that ever since the Union of the Crowns in 1602, we have had a continued Struggle with our Ministry, who were for most part either Tools to yours, or (if not mean enough to stoop so low) entirely at the Devotion of such of our Princes, as aim'd at an absolute Authority over us both. 'Tis well enough known, that the Invasion of our Constitution by those Ministers which led the Way for the like Attempts upon yours, laid the Foundation of the civil War, and of all the mischievous Consequences that attended it, till we and you were both swallowed up by a standing Army.

'Tis not unknown to you, that we made the first publick Step towards recovering ourselves and you both, from the Anarchy which ensued; and tho' we paid dear for it, were also the first who contributed to the Restoration.

'Tis needless to recount how ungratefully we were rewarded, and that we were so much disappointed of our Expectations, in recovering our Liberty under King *Charles II.* that we were more oppress'd than ever.

Being full freighted however with Loyalty, and bearing an inviolable Affection to the Royal Line, we settled the Duke of *York's* Succession, when you were for excluding him. Notwithstanding which, instead of our being more favour'd on that Account, he subverted our Constitution at once, and by Despotical Proclamations, such as none of his Predecessors durst ever issue, he pretended to annull all the Laws that establish'd our Reformation. This, with the heavy Oppression we lay under in other Respects, made us chearfully concur with you in the late happy Revolution; when, having found by Experience, that we could promise ourselves no Security in any thing, while we were in a separate State, our Convention did then make the first Motion for an Union of the Nations as well as of the Crowns.

But instead of that, you know what Hardships we suffered in King *William's* Reign by the Influence of our Ministry, in the Matter of our *African* Company, *Darien Colony*, &c. which put us upon Endeavours to secure ourselves in a separate State, by obtaining Limitations upon the next Successor after the Determination of the Entail, as 'twas settled by our Declaration of Rights at the Revolution.

I must beg leave to insist a little upon this, because it will set what follows in a clearer Light, and help to discover the Temper of the then *Scots* Ministry; as also with what View they since fell in with the Union, and at the same Time will justify the honest Part of our Nation, for endeavouring to be delivered from such a Set of Men, which was one of the main Reasons that brought many of them into the Union, tho' hitherto they have been disappointed of their Expectations.

Those of our Parliament-men, and others, who were true Friends to the Protestant Succession, being sensible of what we must suffer under a Popish Prince, and knowing very well that such Limitations, as were necessary for securing our Religion and Liberty, would meet with great Opposition from our Courtiers, they thought it necessary in the first Place to secure themselves against a Popish Successor; therefore, in the Session of Parliament, after King *William's* Death in 1703. they proposed a Bill for an Oath to abjure the Pretender, which carried a first Reading; but how it came to be quash'd, and not to pass into a Law, the D. of Q——, then her Majesty's high Commissioner, and his Friends, are supposed to be capable of giving the best Account. Besides other Reasons which our honest Patriots had to press that Bill, 'tis too well known to be deny'd, that by the Change then made in the *Scots* Ministry, and other Proceedings, Things look'd with a very bad Aspect for the Revolution Interest in *Scotland*; insomuch that a Letter was procured from her Majesty in Favour of the Nonjurant Clergy, which embolden'd them to propose a Toleration in Parliament, to be establish'd by a Law, without obliging them to own her Majesty's Title; and one of the principal Arguments they insisted upon for obtaining this Liberty, was, *That they were her Father's Friends*. At the same Time 'tis observable, that there was no Mention made of the Protestant Succession during that Session of Parliament, in the Speeches of our Ministers, or otherwise, which added to our Jealousies, that they were not very fond of it. I doubt not but you will be satisfied that our Suspicion was not ill founded, when you consider, that before the Meeting of the Session in 1703, such a general Indemnity was sent down by our *Scots* Ministry, and countersign'd by the D. of Q——, as many People from *St. Germain's* came over upon it, to the great Terror of all the true Friends of the Revolution Interest; and 'tis to be observed, that this Indemnity pardon'd all Crimes past to those at *St. Germain's*, without so much as a Condition in it, requiring them to leave the Place if they would reap the Benefit of it. This gave them an Opportunity to promote that Interest, as appear'd soon after by the *Scots* Plot. Nor is it to be denied that Captain *Frazer*, and others, who acted the Part of Plotters instead of Discoverers, as was pretended, were furnished with Passes, and protected in going and coming betwixt *Scotland* and *France* by Means of the D. of Q——, E. of L——n, and others then in Trust with the Affairs of our Nation.

And as a Proof that the Conduct of our Ministry was all of a Piece, when the Earl of *Marchmont*, who was our Lord High Chancellor in King *William's* Time, but laid aside at his Death, had form'd a strong Party in that Parliament for settling the Protestant Succession, on Promise of the D. of Q——'s Concurrence, the D—— discovered the Concert which defeated the Design, and the Earl's Draught of an Act, which he offer'd for settling the Succession on Limitations, was scandalously treated and thrown out for Want of the Concurrence of our Courtiers.

Yet in this very Parliament our Ministers suffer'd an Act of Peace and War to pass, by which 'No Person, being King or Queen of *Scotland* and *England*, 'should have Power to engage the *Scots* in War with any Prince or State, 'without Consent of our Parliament; and that no Declaration of War without
such

‘such Consent, should be binding on this Kingdom;’ which, though some honest Patriots were drawn in to concur with, out of very good Intentions, yet it will appear by what follows, that the D. of *Q——* and his Friends had other Views in suffering it to pass, and therefore that ’tis no uncharitable Conjecture to suppose that some of the then *Scots* Ministry were rather for embroiling the Nations, to serve some Arbitrary Design, than for settling them under one and the same Protestant Allegiance.

It is very well known to you, that in the Parliament of *England*, this Act was taken Notice of as a Thing of the greatest Danger imaginable to your Nation; insomuch that if I be not misinform’d, a noted Gentleman of the Long Robe said in your House of Commons, ‘That if any *Englishman* advised or consented to that Act, he was guilty of little less than Treason;’ and some of your great Lords and Ministers were so apprehensive of this, that they declared in the House of Peers they gave no Advice about it, or Consent to it.

The Designs of our Ministry will appear yet more plain, if we consider that in the same Parliament an Act was pass’d by their Influence, *Allowing the Importation of all Sorts of Wines, and other Foreign Liquors*, tho’ the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Squadrone protested ‘Against allowing the Importation of *French* Wines and Brandy, as dishonourable to her Majesty, inconsistent with the Grand Alliance, and prejudicial to the Honour, Safety, Interest, and Trade of the Kingdom;’ and tho’ the Marquis of *Twedale*, in the Name of the Country Party, offered an Equivalent, if our Courtiers would drop the Bill.

A worthy Member charged this home upon our Ministry, in a Speech upon that Occasion, wherein he had those remarkable Expressions: ‘To repeal such a Law in Time of War, will sound admirably well in *England* and *Holland*, since it is no less than a direct Breach of our Alliance with those Nations, and exactly calculated to inform the World of the Inclinations of our Ministers. No Man in this House can be ignorant, that this Act will not only open a Trade and Correspondence with *France*, contrary to the Declaration of War, and our own standing Laws, but that the Design of those who promote the passing this Act, is to have a Trade directly with *France*, and bribe Men to betray our Liberty. If any Justice were to be found in this Nation, the Advisers of these Things had been long since brought to the Scaffold.’

And that our Ministry had as little Inclination at that Time to an Union, as as they had to the Protestant Succession, I think will appear plain from this, that in that same Parliament, they suffered a Resolve to pass ‘To make void the Commission for treating of an Union with *England*, and discharging any other Commission for that End, without the Consent of our Parliament;’ but here again it is necessary to observe, that our honest Members fell in with this Resolve, because they were unwilling to trust a Thing of that Consequence in the Hands of the then Ministry, which our Ministers knew well enough, and therefore must have had some other End in suffering it to pass, as will appear by what follows.

The Protestant Succession met with another very remarkable Defeat in the Parliament of 1704, when the Marquis of *Twedale* was her Majesty’s Commissioner, tho’ her Majesty recommended the same in her Letter thus:

‘ The main thing we recommend to you, and which we recommend with all the Earnestness we are capable of, is the Settling the Succession in the Protestant Line, as that which is absolutely necessary for your own Peace and Quietness, as well as our Quiet and Security in all our Dominions, for the Reputation of our Affairs abroad, and consequently for strengthening the Protestant Interest every-where; this has been our fix’d Judgment ever since we came to the Crown, and tho’ hitherto Opportunities have not answered our Intention, Matters are now come to that pass, by the undoubted Evidences of the Designs of our Enemies, that a longer Delay of Settling the Succession in the Protestant Line may have very dangerous Consequences, and a Disappointment of it would infallibly make that our Kingdom the Seat of War, and expose it to Devastation and Ruin.’

The better to induce the Parliament to comply with this Desire, her Majesty added afterwards, ‘ We have empowered our Commissioner to give the Royal Assent to what in Reason can be demanded, and is in our Power to grant, for securing the Sovereignty and Liberties of that our ancient Kingdom.’

The Lord Commissioner, and the Earl of *Seafield*, then Lord Chancellor, in their Speeches to the Parliament, recommended the Succession with the same Earnestness; and the Earl of *Cromarty*, then Secretary of State, to obviate an Aspersion, as if the Queen had a secret Will contrary to her express Will which she had declared in her Royal Letter, acquainted the Parliament, ‘ That he was certain of the contrary, because her Majesty commanded him, and her other Servants, expressly to assure the House, That nothing in her Service could please her better than to believe and obey her in what she proposed in her Letter, and nothing cou’d displease her more than to do otherwise.’

I doubt not but you will grant, that it was impossible to make use of more forcible and pressing Arguments to shew the absolute Necessity of Settling the Protestant Succession, than those insisted on by her Majesty, and that the danger of doing otherwise could not be better demonstrated than it was by that Letter.

And we must likewise do Justice to your House of Lords, that they declared to the World they were of the same Opinion as to the Danger of delaying it, and concurred with her Majesty’s Sentiments, ‘ That the Settling of the Succession was the readiest Way to an intire Union between the two Kingdoms, for their mutual Security and Advantage,’ as appears by their Lordships Address of the 29th of *March*, 1701, and her Majesty’s Answer to it before the Meeting of our Parliament, which was in *July* after.

Yet notwithstanding all this, when the Succession came to be proposed there, it was shamefully baffled and postponed by a Resolve ‘ For putting it off till the Scots had a previous Treaty with *England*, in relation to Commerce and other Concerns.’ And tho’ her Majesty had press’d her Servants with so much Earnestness to promote the Succession, yet ’tis very well known here, That two Officers of State, a Commissioner of the Treasury, a great many of the Council and Exchequer, with Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Farmers and Collectors of the Revenue, and Pensioners, who had scarce any Bread to eat but what they received from her Majesty, in all about thirty-three, not only fell in with the above-mentioned Resolve, but solicited others to do the like. ’Tis also

also to be observed, that some of those who appeared against the Succession had but a very little before got into considerable Posts; and others of them had received Pensions by means of the D. of Q——, and could not conceal their Hopes of being further prefer'd and gratify'd *for defeating the Succession* in the Hands of the Marquis of *Twedale*; upon which they assured themselves the D. of Q—— would be restored, as he afterwards was; and this made all those, who had any Expectations from him, concur in the Design of baffling the Succession.

Some of their Friends did likewise boast of Assurances from *London*, that there would be mighty Concessions obtained in Favour of *Scotland*, in case the Matter were refer'd to a Treaty; and this gave the finishing Blow at once to the Succession, tho' the Marquis of *Twedale* and his Friends reckoned themselves sure of carrying it, there being ninety-six whom they thought they might have depended upon, till the very Day it was put to the Vote, and the Number was much greater before; but many well-meaning Gentlemen were deluded by this specious Pretext of great Concessions with relation to Trade, if the Matter were refer'd to a Treaty.

In order to satisfy you further, that the D. of Q—— and his Friends, by whose Means the Succession was baffled, did it not out of Respect to *England*, but from other Views, it is to be observed, that in this very Parliament they suffered the Act of Security for arming our People to have the Royal Assent, tho' they had Influence enough to hinder it the Year before, when the D. of Q—— and his Friends suffer'd it to pass the House, with a Clause of their own inserting, 'That a Communication of Trade should be one of the Terms of their coming into the Succession;' but this Clause was now left out. This, by the way, is another Proof of the Insincerity of the D—— and his Friends in the Matter of the Succession, since they knew *England* would never grant that Clause without an Union; but be that how it will, it was in the Power of the said D—— and his Friends to have hinder'd that Act, as well as the Settlement of the Succession, had their Affection for *England* been such as they pretended.

You know very well how much your House of Lords resented this Act of Security, that in their Address to her Majesty upon it in *December* following, they set forth the Dangers which might arise from it to *England*, and advised her Majesty to secure your Frontier Garrisons, to arm and discipline your Northern Subjects, and to quarter regular Troops upon the Borders of *England*, and in the North of *Ireland*: You remember likewise that a Law was made in your succeeding Parliament to hinder the Importation of our Cattle into *England*, and that your Lords resolved your Ships should be appointed to hinder our trading with your Enemies; for which the D. of Q—— and his Friends had procured an Act contrary to the Mind of the Squadrone, as they are now called, in the Parliament of 1703, as I have mentioned already.

This Session being over, the Squadrone, who appear'd zealously for the Succession, were laid aside, and the D. of Q—— was again brought into the Administration; which proves that the Hopes of his Party, who, out of Respect to him, opposed the Succession, were not ill founded. What follow'd was a Change in the Privy-Council; and Matters being thus prepared, the next Session of Parliament was held in 1705 by the D. of *A-gyle*, but before it met, the

the Ministers had several Meetings to concert the Measures they were to follow; to which the Marquis of *Annandale*, then Secretary of State, and Mr. *Cockburn* of *Ormiston*, then Lord Justice Clerk, who were zealous for the Succession, were not at first call'd; which being taken Notice of, they were call'd at last; and together with Sir *James Stuart*, her Majesty's Advocate, declared themselves for the Succession, for the same Reasons upon which her Majesty had so earnestly recommended it the Year before; but the rest of the Ministers were against it, and gave this for their Reason, that they could not promise to get their Friends, meaning the D. of *Q*—'s Party, to come into it, *for they would not make so short a Turn*, having joined in the Resolve last Year to prefer the Treaty to the Succession. But the other Gentlemen insisting on it, it was agreed that the Arguments should be drawn up on both Sides, and given to the Commissioner to be sent to Court; but whether he did so, and what the Return was, his Grace is best able to inform you.

Soon after this, a Cabinet Council was call'd of six of the D. of *Q*—'s Friends, and only the M. of *A*— and the Lord Chief Justice Clerk besides, because they were then Officers of State, and the only Members of that Cabinet, who were for giving the Preference to the Succession. At this Meeting it was agreed to send two Draughts of a Letter, and Instructions conformable to the two several Opinions, that her Majesty might sign which she thought best. And when her Majesty's Letter return'd, it included both; but gave the Preference to the Succession. Notwithstanding which, it was afterwards thrown out by the Courtiers, as follows.

Soon after the Parliament was open'd, the Marquis of *Annandale*, then one of our Secretaries, gave in a Proposal for the Succession; and at the same Time the Earl of *Mar*, the other Secretary, gave in a Resolve for postponing it, the Tendency of which was *to consider the Act passed in England, prohibiting Scots Cattle, &c.* but they delay'd their open Proceedings against the Succession, till all their Force was assembled, till they had certain Advice that the D. of *Q*— was set out from *London*, and that all his Friends were come to *Edinburgh*. Then about the 17th of *July* they came to this Resolve, 'That they would not name a Successor, till they had a previous Treaty with *England*, with relation to Commerce and other Concerns;' which was follow'd by another Resolve, 'That before they proceeded to name the Successor, they would make such Limitations and Conditions of Government for the Rectification of their Constitution, as might secure the Liberty, Religion, and Independency of the Kingdom.' This was defeating the Succession with a Witness, yet none of the Courtiers spoke against this Resolve, except the Marquis of *Annandale*, and Mr. *Cockburn*, the Justice Clerk, wherein they were seconded by the Earl of *Marchmont*, who said he look'd upon the first Resolve as an Exclusion; yet being put to the Vote, it was carried by about 37, of which 30 were the D. of *Q*—'s Friends; but all this was so managed by Concert, that to cover the D. of *Q*— it was done before he arrived at *Edinburgh*.

Thus you may see how the Succession was from Time to Time baffled by the D. of *Q*— and his Party, and that at all Times they concur'd in such other Things as were ill resented by your Nation; but upon what Views, I must leave to your

your own Judgment, after having given you this general Caution, that many honest Men, who were not intrusted with the Secrets of the Ministry, but acted as they thought best for the Good of their Country, did join in the Resolves for securing our Freedom and Trade, before they came into the Succession, because they thought if the Succession was settled before those Terms were granted, we should still continue under the Influence of such a Ministry as would be Tools to any Body that had a Mind to oppress us, in order to arrive at an absolute Power.

I now come to the Union, the Management of which was committed to the D. of Q— and his Friends; but since it did necessarily engage us in the Protestant Succession, which I have sufficiently proved the D. of Q— and his Friends did always oppose, since they had also made themselves unacceptable to the Nation upon many Accounts, and since they had no Reason to expect the Squadron, whom they had so much abused, would join with them; and that it is evident they could never have carried the Union without them, I leave it to your own Judgment, whether it was reasonable to think that a Matter of this Consequence could succeed in such Hands. I need not tell you, that many People were Enemies to it, on the Account of the Managers, and perhaps if it were inquired into, the Tumults which were raised against it would be found to be fomented by others, than those who did openly oppose it, but this is certain that the Squadron's falling in with it, contrary to most People's Expectation, carried it through against all underhand Tricks, and publick Opposition, which left no Place of Retreat to the D. Q— and his Friends, had they been ever so much inclined to it, without exposing themselves openly to the View of the World, as profest Enemies both to the Succession and Union. And I cannot omit informing you of what I have from a very good Hand, that their Enmity to the Succession was so great to the very last, that had the Union been voted out, and the Succession with Limitations carried, as a proper Expedient to lay the Discontents which at that Time rose so high, and to prevent a Rupture betwixt the Nations, till the Union had been more fully consider'd, our Parliament would have been broke up, rather than the Succession agreed to.

I must leave it to your own Conjecture, whether some of those who defeated the Succession were restrain'd from doing the like with the Union, by Motives of Fear or Profit, or whether there was a Mixture of both; but it is certain the Squadron, who have been so much reproached both before and since, could have no probable Hopes of Reward; for they were not employ'd in the Treaty, nor trusted with the Management of it in the House, and that they endanger'd both their Safety and their Reputation with their Country, in whose Opinion they stood so fair, by acting as they did for the Union, is not to be deny'd; for as their Enemies were very industrious to give a wrong Turn to what they did in the Matter of the Succession, they had the same hard Fate in their Conduct about the Union; and since every Body must allow them to be Men of more Penetration than not to foresee this, I think I may be allow'd to have so much Charity for them as to suppose they acted as they did, because they found by Experience there was no carrying the Succession with Limitations, to deliver their Country from an oppressive Ministry, and the Danger of a Popish Successor, and therefore they resolved to unite with *England*, on the Terms proposed, as the only Way left us

to come under the same Protestant Successor, and to have a Share in the same Trade and Liberty, for Want of which, by the Union of the Crowns, we were reduced to a Condition of Beggary and Slavery, and that of the worst and most contemptible Sort, since we were become Slaves to those who were always Tools to your Ministry, and by Consequence no more than the *Servants of Servants*, which was the Curse inflicted upon *Cham* by his Father *Noah*.

Such of our Nation as had an honest Design in the Union intended the joint Security, Wealth and Liberty of both Kingdoms upon an equal Footing; but whether some of those in both Parts of the Island who pretended a Zeal to push and carry it on, and to a great Share of the Merit for atchieving it, had not something else in view, and particularly to keep us still under Slavery, with a Design to serve old arbitrary Principles and Views, may perhaps appear by what *we are now to consider*.

Nothing is a greater Proof of this than the great Effort made in Parliament to have the Privy-Council still continued among us, which, if I be rightly informed, was as great as any that ever was known to be made by a Court Party; and I can assure you that our late Courtiers endeavour'd to render the Squadrone odious among us, because of their strenuous Appearance against the Council, which, with the unanswerable Arguments they urged in Parliament for abolishing it, is none of the least Causes of all that Malice and Falshood which has since been vented against them and their Friends, as you may perceive by that silly Libel, intituled, *A Brief Account of the Elections in the North of Britain, with some Account of the Divisions there*. To say nothing of the Unreasonableness to keep up such a Mark of Distinction with us, after the Sovereignty of the two Nations was consolidated, it is known to every Man that since the Union of the Crowns, our Privy-Council has been as arbitrary as the *Turkish* Divan, that they assumed a Parliamentary Power, and concur'd with all Courts in oppressing us. Thus in King *James* and King *Charles* the First's Time, they set up a high Commission, which, contrary to standing Law, made Innovations both in Church and State, and brought our Lives, Fortunes, and Liberties to a precarious Dependance upon the Court. In *Charles* the Second's Time, they brought down Armies of Savage Highlanders upon the Country in Time of Peace, garrison'd Gentlemen's Houses without their Consent, levy'd Money for their Subsistence contrary to Law, dispensed with Acts of Parliament, countenanced military Officers to try and execute Men without Jury or Record, disarm'd the Subjects at Pleasure; and in King *James* the Seventh's Time, concur'd in those Proclamations which pretended to annull our Laws. In a Word, they were the Instruments of all those Grievances complain'd of in the Claim of Right, and even since the Revolution they were so acustom'd to arbitrary Practices, that they acted many illegal Things, which was not in the Power of honest Men among them to prevent, as they themselves have frequently complain'd. So that it is evident to a Demonstration, that our late Ministry, who you see plain, by the Libel abovementioned, expected to have had their Power continued over us, were angry at the abolishing of the Council, because it deprived them of a proper Handle, by which they might still tyrannize over us and influence our Elections, the Return of which they had cunningly got vested in themselves by the Union, had the Parliament of
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Great-Britain thought fit to continue the Council. I shall only add, that by the Proceedings of that Party both before and since, it is easy to perceive, that if they acted in such an arbitrary Manner when we had a Parliament here to call them to an Account, they would have chastised us with Scorpions instead of Rods, and have made use of their Power to make us all Janisaries and Spahis, to serve the Designs of any Arbitrary Prince against the whole Island, now that we have no Parliament here, especially if their Power of returning our Members had been continued, for to be sure they would have returned none but such as should either have palliated their illegal Practices, or concurred with them. But blessed be God the Parliament of *Great-Britain* has delivered us from this Yoke, though our own late Courtiers, and other People with you, would willingly have had it wreathed harder about our Necks than ever.

The Weakness of their Pretence, that they desired the Continuance of the Council for securing our Peace, is easily seen through; since every one knows that it might be better secured by the same Methods as yours in *England*, if honest Men were made Sheriffs, and put into the Commissions of the Lieutenancy and Peace; but their Sincerity in this Matter may pretty well be guessed at, since, by her Majesty's late Proclamation, with respect to our Country, it is evident how bare-faced Popery and Jacobitism have appeared, and how much they increased under their Administration. Perhaps you would think it an uncharitable Suggestion, if any body should offer to say that some of our late Ministry designed it should be so; but this you may depend on as Fact, that in many Places they have recommended Persons to be Justices of Peace, who are very unacceptable to the Country, and that there are not a few *Jacobites* and lewd Men among them; there is one Instance so notorious, that all the honest Men of the Kingdom are alarmed at it, *viz.* Sir *Robert Greerson* of *Lagg*, who was a barbarous Persecutor in the late Reigns, and ordered two Women to be tied to a Stake within the Sea-mark till they were drowned by the Tide, because they would not hear the Episcopal Ministers: He was also one of those who murdered People in the Fields without any Form of Law, was lately cited to *Edinburgh* for Clipping and Coining upon which his Servants that were suspected fled the Country, and is proved to be guilty of notorious Adultery, which is Death by our Law; yet this Man is lately made a Justice of Peace, which I can assure you was not by the Recommendation of the Squadrone, for it was not thought fit to oblige them so much as to put their Friends into the Commission. By this you may judge what Regard some of our late Courtiers have to the Country; they knew this Man's Character well enough, and that making him a Justice would occasion Complaints, and raise Jealousies, as it has actually done among all the Ministers and sober People of the *Stuartry* of *Kircubright*, for they can think no Good designed to them, when such Men are advanced to Authority, as have always been their professed Enemies.

I come now to the late Invasion, and must desire you to observe the following Circumstances that preceded it, which perhaps may furnish you with some new Thoughts about the Conduct of our late Ministry. The first Thing I would desire you to observe, is their Opposition to the Oath for Abjuring the Pretender, which carried a first Reading in our Parliament, and might easily

then have passed into a Law, had they thought fit it should. In the second Place, be pleased to remember the Indemnity procured by those Gentlemen, upon which so many People came over from *St. Germain's*; and pray don't forget the *Scots* Plot that followed it, and who it was that gave such Countenance and Protection to Captain *Frazier*, and others, who had forfeited their Lives by our Laws, to come and go from *France* at that Juncture of Time. I hope you will also consider the Encouragement given to our Nonjurant Clergy, to petition for a Toleration, without being obliged to own her Majesty's Government. I must desire you, in the third Place, to remember that crafty and unaccountable Opposition made by them in our Parliament to the very last against the Protestant Succession. Fourthly, Be pleased to consider whether the Endeavours, after the Union was made, to continue a Ministry and Council over us, which were so ungrateful to the Nation, was a proper Method to allay our Discontents, and to lessen the Number of the Pretender's Friends. In the Fifth Place, consider how naked we were left as to Forces, and how ill our chief Garrisons were provided, when the Pretender came upon our Coasts; and since it is very well known that our Administration had frequently stunned us with a Noise of *Jacobite* Plots and Fears of such an Invasion, to create a Suspicion of such as opposed their Measures, you may easily judge whether they could be excuseable in not taking more Care to have us provided against a real Invasion when it came. I shall not say any thing to lessen the E. of *Leven's* Conduct and Care to oppose that Descent, but I think it may be justly said without Offence, that all his Lordship was capable to do against it in such Circumstances would have signified little, had not Providence taken more Care of us than our Administrators; for I suppose you are not ignorant, that had there not been a Spirit of Terror and Infatuation among the *French*, or something else, which is not yet known to us, they might easily have landed before your Fleet arrived to give them Chase; and what Confusion, Bloodshed, and Danger, that might have occasioned to the whole Island, if you consider the above mentioned Circumstances, is easier to be imagined than expressed.

The next Thing to be considered, is the Conduct of our late Ministry since the happy Disappointment of the Invasion; you know very well that a considerable Number of our Nobility and Gentry were taken up on Suspicion of favouring it; and we have Reason to suppose, that the List of them was given in to your Council by those Gentlemen, so that whatever Partiality or Party Quarrel there might be in it, or whatever Neglect there was, in not taking up others, whom perhaps there was more Reason to suspect, it must be charged upon them, since it is natural to think that few of your Ministry are sufficiently acquainted with Persons and Characters here; but it was a general Observation with us, that whoever advised to those Proceedings, seem'd rather to design a Slur upon such as opposed our late Courtiers in their Measures, and to influence our Elections, than really to secure the Kingdom: The taking up the late *Ld. Belhaven*, *Mr. Fletcher*, and others, who had concur'd in the Revolution, and were always firm to it, was a plain Proof of this. I must here take Notice of one Thing which raised a general Disgust in our Country, and that was the carrying up of all those Prisoners to *London*. Whatever might have been said for it at another Time, it

seem'd to be impolitick so soon after the Union, for it called to Remembrance what is recorded in our History of your *Edward I.* who, in order to establish his Sovereignty over us, when *John Baliol*, who got our Crown by his Assistance, own'd himself to be his Vassal, he destroyed many of our cheif Families, which quite ruined his Design, and engaged *England* in a long and ruinous War. In short, our People in general thought the carrying up of those Lords and Gentlemen to *London*, looked too much like making them Trophies of a Conquest and Subjection; and I am very apt to believe, if any honest Men with you went into those Measures, it was because they thought there was no Justice to be expected from our Ministry against a *Jacobite* Plot, considering their Management of that formerly called the *Scots* Plot, and their constant Opposition to the Protestant Succession; and upon this Account, the sending for those of our Nobility and Gentry up, whom our late Ministry are supposed to have informed yours were most like to be guilty of Treasonable Practices, deserves to be thought as great an Instance of Prudence and Integrity, as it would have been the contrary, if our late Ministry had been intrusted with taking their Examinations.

But after all, to us it seems unaccountable, that not one *Englishman* was taken up for this Plot and Invasion, except what were taken at Sea. Certainly no Man can think that all the Disloyalty of the Island lies by *North Tweed*, or that the *Pretender* would have attempted to come over without greater Assurance of Support than he could expect from the *Jacobites* with us. One would have thought that our late *Scots* Ministry had not so much Success with their former Plot, as to make them fond of taking up People again for another, without good Evidence against them, or very strong Reasons to suspect them. It is well for you, that your Ministry had so tender a Regard to the Liberties of the Subject, as to put none of your People to Disgrace and Expence, upon that Account, since they had no Evidence against them: Nor is the Clemency less remarkable that is used with you towards those that were taken in the *Salisbury* Man of War, especially since one of the chief of them was under a former Condemnation. I am satisfied that nothing could have induced our late Ministry to treat them so civilly, had they belonged to their Province, except they could have purchased their Favour by giving or procuring them Proxies to vote down the Squadrone: But it is your peculiar Happiness that your Ministry stands in need of no such Measures, and that they abhor falling in with any thing that may so much endanger your Constitution, as the over-turning of the Freedom of Elections must necessarily do.

I doubt not but you take notice of the Libeller's Clamour against the Squadrone, as having from Time to Time joined with *Jacobites*. Now admitting it to be true, it is the most disingenuous Thing in the World for our late Courtiers to have allowed their Tool to mention this, since they have been so frequently guilty of it themselves, and that so lately too, as to solicit such who were taken up as Favourers of the Invasion to give them their Proxies.

Certainly they cannot charge the Squadrone to have made the D. of *Q—*'s Brother, the late E. of *March*, who lived and died a *Jacobite*, Governor of *Edinburgh-Castle*; and to have turn'd out the E. of *L—n*, who was always taken to be

be a staunch Revolutioner, to make way for him. It was not the Squadrone who brought the late Lord *Ballendin* into Council, though so rank a *Jacobite*, that he shot a poor Centinel for saying he belonged to King *William*, and told him that it was King *James's* Pass: It was not they who likewise brought in the E. of *D—re*, and the E. of *B—s*, who was a known and active *Jacobite*. It was not they who counter-signed the Indemnity formerly mentioned, which brought over so many People from *St. Germain's*: It was not under their Administration that Popery and Jacobitism increased so much as to stand in need of Proclamations since, to put a Curb to them; but Malice knows no Bounds, and is incapable of Shame: Otherwise our late Courtiers would never have suffered their Libeller to charge their own Crimes upon the Squadrone, and particularly to tell us that they offered to come in with the *Jacobites* against the Succession, when it is known to the whole Country, and appears by the Records of Parliament, that they did all they could to get it established, and that it was the D. of *Q—s* Party who joined with the *Jacobites* to oppose it.

We may say the like as to the Proxies, since the Libeller owns his Party had obtained some from those that were taken up on Account of the Invasion. And I would feign know whether it be most criminal to take the Assistance of such Men, when it can be had, in order to rescue our Country from an oppressive Ministry, or to endeavour to obtain it by Threats and Promises, in order to continue us under arbitrary Power, and to give any Court an Opportunity to have all our Sixty-one Members return'd as they please.

I come next to our late Elections, concerning which the Libeller charges the Squadrone with so many unfair Practices; but how justly, will appear when our controverted Elections come to be debated in Parliament. In the mean Time you may be satisfied, that none of the Squadrone could pretend to the Honour of being then her Majesty's Servants; and therefore could not threaten any Body for opposing them as such with the Loss of Place, Commission, or Pension: Nor had they the Honour to be trusted with the Secret, or Power to give in Lists of such as were thought proper to be taken up on Account of the Invasion or Plot; and therefore could not put Marks of Disgrace upon any of the D. of *Q—s* Friends, or send them Prisoners to another Country, that they might not be near enough to influence Elections; nor could they take them up at home, and threaten to send them after the rest, if they would not give their Proxies or Interest to them. It was not in the Power of the Squadrone to give a Commission to any General Officer of the Army to send for such People, and put them in Prison as disaffected Persons, that were like to stand Candidates against any of their Friends; nor had the Squadrone any blank Commissions to fill up with such as would sell their Votes to be made Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, or other Officers. I never heard that the Squadrone was charged with splitting Freeholds, and making fraudulent Sales of them, with Clauses of Revocation, and that too after the Test of the Writs, in order to purchase Votes: Nor do I know that they seized and affronted Gentleman Voters, that were known to be firm to the Revolution, by tendering the Oaths to them, in order to make their Loyalty suspected, when they came to
vote

vote against any of their Friends. It was some other People than the Squadrone who brought Bailiffs, contrary to Law, into the Meetings of the Electors, to take up such as voted against their Friends, on Pretence of Debt. It was not the Squadrone who had blank Warrants to fill up with the Names of such as opposed the Election of their Friends, sent them to *Edinburgh* from far distant Places, kept them under Confinement for some Weeks, and at last discharged them, without asking them one Question. It was not the Squadrone who brought People to vote at Elections, that could not tell where their Freeholds lay. It was not they who had arm'd men lodged near Places of Election to over-awe the Electors, nor who took upon them, at their Meetings for electing, to determine such Cases as are determinable only in Parliament. It was not the Squadrone who brought in a Sort of Peers of a double Capacity, who shall both have a Right to sit in Person, and to chuse others to sit in the same House with themselves; a Sort of Peerage unknown to our Constitution, and which in Time may prove dangerous to it, since any Court that is so minded may give so many *Englishmen* *Scotch* Titles of Peerage, as will put it entirely in the Power of the Court, and of the South Part of *Britain*, to chuse all the *Scots* 16. This, by the way, puts me in Mind of another Thing that may prove fatal to our Constitution, if it be not guarded against; and that is, lest any Court should take an Opportunity to bring such a Number of the present *Scots* Peers into the House by *English* Titles, as may break the Proportion settled by the Articles betwixt the Number of Parliament Peers in both Parts of the Island; against which I do not find any Provision made by the Treaty with respect to either of the united Kingdoms. For the Name of *Great-Britain* is not like to have Charm enough to make Men forget the particular Interest of that Part of the Island where their Property lies. I shall add, that it was not the Squadrone who countenanced the voting of any Peer in chusing others, who by his Post must be a Judge of Points of Law relating to Elections, which looks too like making a Man both Judge and Party.

In short, Sir, you may easily perceive by these Hints what Hardships we lie under, as to the Matter of our Elections, with respect to the Lords; and how dangerous it is to let any Court or Faction have an Opportunity of returning our 16, according to their own Humour.

I come now to the Elections of our Commons, as to which there are Abundance of Complaints; and no Doubt you will hear enough of it ere long at the Bar of the House, to convince you that Care must be taken to prevent Bribery, Threats and Promises, and to secure the Elections of our Commoners against the Influence of our Lords and Courtiers. You may perceive by the Union Act, that our Boroughs are divided into fifteen Classes or Districts, nine of which have five Electors each, and the other six but four; and in Case of an Equality of Votes, the President of the Meeting is allow'd two; now it is plain, that when the Number of Electors are so few, it gives an easy Opportunity for Bribery; besides the Handle it affords the President of each Meeting to return himself or his Friend, which I humbly conceive is against the Equity of the Law, that does not allow a Sheriff to be a Member, because of the Opportunity he has of playing Tricks in the Return.

As to the chusing of our Barons or Knights of Shires, it is not indeed so liable to Bribery; yet, considering that the Electors are few in Comparison of what they are with you, Corruptions of that Nature may be much more easily practised here than in *England*: All which together will convince you of the Necessity of making some good and effectual Laws, to secure the Freedom of our Elections against such Practices as have been too frequent among our late Courtiers; otherwise, instead of having either our Liberty or yours secured by the Union, both of them may be endangered, and our sixty-one Lords and Commons may be form'd into a Battalion, at any Time, to attack *Magna Charta*, and join with Courtiers to make any future Prince as absolute as the *French King*. You see what Efforts the D. of *2*— and his Friends have made to get the whole into their Power, and by their endeavouring to possess the Queen with an Opinion that our ancient Constitution was an Encroachment on the Prerogative (as appears by the D. of *2*—'s Letter to the Queen, of *August* the 11th, 1703, printed in the Proceedings of the House of *Lords* about the *Scots Plot*) you may be satisfied they had no Design to support the common Liberty of the Island, by having that Power in their Hands.

By this Time I doubt not but you are very well satisfied that we had Reason to wish for a Deliverance from the Hands of such Men; and that if we still be continued under the Influence of their Ministry, or that of Men of the same Stamp, we lose the chief Thing we aim'd at by coming into the Union; and instead of having more Liberty, are made greater Slaves, in which Case your Privileges can not be long lived. They have peel'd and poll'd us till we have nothing left to be a Bait for their Avarice; so that now they must think of preying upon you, if you do not take care to prevent it. The Truth of this would appear very plain, if the Parliament of *Great-Britain* should think fit to appoint a Committee, to inquire how the Equivalent has been managed and shared; this is so late an Instance, and falls so naturally under the Inquiry of the United Parliament, that one would think there needs no more but to name it; and perhaps this might open such a Scene of Tyranny and Oppression, and of Tricks put both upon Court and Country, as few Ages have heard of the like: Resumptions of Grants is a Thing very agreeable to our Constitution, as will appear to any Man that casts an Eye upon our Statute Book; and if an Inquiry were appointed how the Lands and Rents of the Crown of *Scotland* have been disposed of, since that Party had the Administration in their Hands, and such Grants revoked as have been made to Persons of no Merit, or for no valuable Consideration, it might ease the Country of some of their Taxes, and afford the Crown a considerable Support out of what is properly its own, but now squandered away by lavish Grants unfairly obtained: And as they made bold with her Majesty's Revenues, they made as ill Use of her Honours, Conferred Patents of Peerage, and of being Knight Baronets, on Persons who had neither Merit nor Estate to support their Character. Thus have Suffrages been bought and sold in our Parliament while we had one, and you may be sure they will put the same Practices in use with you, if they be not prevented. I hope the United Parliament will consider there is no arbitrary Design which Men preferred to Honour and Riches by such undue Methods are not capable of, and that

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that the vast Expence which such an indigent Nobility and Gentry, and Officers of the Army, that may be returned to serve in Parliament, must be put to, by coming from hence annually to *London*, lays them open to Temptations to sell their Votes to any Court or Faction, that is able or willing to be at the Charge of the Purchase; and how fatal that may be to the *British* Liberties, you may easily judge. In short, if the Trade of our Country be not encouraged, and such Designs against it as above-mentioned prevented, it may reduce us to the like desperate Attempt of making an entire Surrender of our Liberties to the Crown, as was done formerly by the *Danes* and *Swedes*, in hopes that the Court may treat us better than our late Ministry have done.

I shall conclude with this one Reflection, That if the Administration be not put into such Hands as promoted the Union, not out of any selfish Design, but purely to secure the common Liberty of the Island, and into the Hands of those who have now join'd them in that noble Design, you and we may both have Cause to repent that ever it was made. At the same time I am heartily glad to hear of a Change of that Sort already begun with you, and hope it will be universal through *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and that we shall not have the hard Fate to be continued under any thing which looks like a separate Administration, that may give any Man the same or a greater Influence over us than what our late Ministry had, though under different Names; for that is as much inconsistent with the Union, and will as effectually disappoint the Expectations we had conceived from it, as to put the common Administration of the United Island into the Hands of such as either with you or us have discovered their Aversion to a real Union, and taken all possible Methods to make it ineffectual, since they perceive by abolishing the Council of *Scotland*, and taking the Power of the *Scots* Returns out of their Hands, that they cannot now make use of it to carry on their arbitrary Designs, and to support an Interest in the Court different from, or rather opposite to that of the Country, as they did of the separate Parliament of *Scotland* so long as they had it in their Management.

I did not think it necessary to insist upon the Vindication of any of the particular Persons whom the Author of the Account of the Elections in *Scotland* has aspersed in his Libel: For his Malice and Falshood are so obvious, and the Persons he reflects upon are so well known to the best Men of the Island, that instead of impairing the Credit of any Man he attacks, he has lessen'd his own, if ever he had any; exposed himself to be laugh'd at by every body here; and has discovered so much of his own Weakness, and that of his Party, as would sooner raise a Man's Pity than his Resentment.

I shall trouble you no further, than to assure you that I have been so far from taking his slandering Method, that I have advanced nothing against his Party, but what either appears upon our Records, or is so well known, that it can't be deny'd.

Nor have I said all that I could, which perhaps his Patrons may know, if they will venture to employ him, or any other, to contradict what I have wrote here.

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

November 15,

1708.

The

The MANAGERS *Pro* and *Con*; or an Account of what is said at *Child's* and *Tom's* Coffee-Houses for and against Dr. SACHEVERELL. By Sir *John St. Leger*. 1710.

*Per Graijum Populos, mediæque per Elidis Urbem
Ibat ovans, Divumque sibi poscebat Honores.*

WHEN I saw Doctor Sacheverell, that *triumphant Criminal*, pass by my Door in a flaming and open Chariot, now and then stopping; and then marching slowly in *State* to *Westminster-hall*, impeach'd by the Commons of *Great-Britain*, 'for a wicked, malicious, and seditious Intention 'to undermine and subvert her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law established; to defame her Majesty's Administration; to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution; to contradict and arraign the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament; to excite Jealousies and Divisions amongst her Majesty's Subjects; and to incite them to Sedition and Rebellion:' (Which in my humble Opinion amounts to somewhat more than *high Crimes and Misdemeanors*) I could not but think it an unparallel'd Presumption in the Prisoner to go so rebelliously attended, when, as a publick Enemy to his Church and Country, he ought to have been drawn upon a Sledge.

The Doctor appear'd to me to be gay and insolent, which made me serious: The Occasion and Subject was the same, but by us differently consider'd. I, who can never forget our *Deliverer*; he, who will never forgive him: I, who am so pleased and easy under her Majesty's Administration; he, who is so restless and discontented: I, who am so solicitous to confirm the *Hanover* Succession; he, who is so active to defeat it. Yet I could not but be of Opinion with him, that he was going to the *Hall* to make good upon the Commons the *Accusation of Treason and Rebellion*, upon which he had lately arraign'd them in *St. Paul's Church*. To him, and to me, he and his Council seem'd to be the Managers for the Pretender; and the *Commons Managers* seem'd only to be of Council for the *Queen and the Nation*: He and I thought, that whilst they pretended to prosecute him, they only *pleaded their own Cause*; and if he had been acquitted of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, they must have been convicted of Rebellion and Perjury. This we both thought was the true State of the Case, which so differently affected us.

The Lords our Judges have agreed, that the Commons have made good the several Articles of Impeachment, and notwithstanding the Doctor solemnly *for-swore* it, have found him guilty of the *criminal Intention*; but yet such is their Humanity, such their undeserved Mercy, that if compared with the unexampled Cruelties, and unprecedented Punishments inflicted formerly by *Laud* and the *High-Church Party* in the *Star Chamber*, the World must own, that their Chastisements are next to Impunity; the Crime only censured, the Criminal dismiss'd; and must confess too, that there is something more than *Cant*, in that Divine and Royal Word, *Moderation*.

Since the Doctor has published his colourable Defence, by way of *Seditious Appeal* to the People, and it is impossible so soon to print off the excellent Arguments of the Managers for the Commons, I wish some better Pen, who had heard them, would have undertaken to have wiped out the Impression, that the Doctor's evasive and prevaricating Speech has made upon some People, whose Passions of every Kind are much easier moved, than their Judgments rightly informed; which is my Excuse for this Paper.

ARTICLE I.

The Doctor in his Speech* is pleased to affirm, that the *Managers of the Commons* have supported their Charge by 'Intendments, unnecessary Implications, and strain'd Constructions; by piecing broken Sentences, conjoining distant and independent Passages, in order to make him speak what he never thought of.'

The *Managers* methinks were very patient to hear this Language, and very indulgent to acquiesce in his printing it, before their Arguments were published, that the World might judge whether they were the *artful Knaves*, which, in my Opinion, the Doctor has here represented them, by applying to them the true Character of the *King's Council in a former Reign*: But I hope, that even the *Managers at Tom's Coffee-House* are able to vindicate the *Managers* of the Commons from this Aspersions, till they have an Opportunity to do it much better themselves. The *Managers at Tom's*, to support the first Article, read forty-four continued Lines of the Sermon, out of which entirely they maintain their Charge. 'And is this to piece broken Sentences, and to conjoin distant and independent Passages?' The Managers begin with the 11th Page. || 'The grand Security of our Government, and the very Pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady Belief of the Subjects Obligation to an absolute and unconditional Obedience to the supream Power, in all Things lawful; and the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever.' Here the Managers go on *verbatim*, till they come to these Words, 'Our Adversaries think they have us sure and unanswerable on this Point, when they urge the Revolution of this Day in their Defence. But certainly they are the greatest Enemies of that, and his late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for the Deliverance, who endeavour to cast such black and odious Colours upon both: How often must they be told, that the King himself solemnly disclaim'd the least Imputation of Resistance, and the Parliament declared, that they set the Crown on his Head, upon no other Title but that of the Vacancy of the Throne.'

Upon this the *Managers at Tom's* charge you with *suggesting and maintaining*, that the necessary Means used to bring about the late happy Revolution were odious and unjustifiable. The Managers affirm and prove, that there was Resistance at the Revolution, and that the Resistance then made was the necessary Means to bring about the Revolution. You say in your Sermon, and confirm it in your Answer and Speech, that *all Resistance, upon any Pretence whatsoever, is utterly illegal*. Do the *Managers* then make an unnecessary Implication, when they

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they infer, that if Resistance be *utterly illegal*, that it is odious and unjustifiable? When you say that it is not justifiable *in any Case whatsoever*, is it a *strained Construction* to make you say that it is unjustifiable in the Case of the Revolution? And when you say that it is odious and unjustifiable, is it not a fair Collection to say that you *have cast odious and black Colours upon it*?

The Managers at Child's answer this, and say, that though Resistance should have been made, and though it were justifiable, yet the *Resistance was not the necessary Means*, nor did it bring about the *Revolution*, but that the *Abdication was the Cause of the Revolution*, and the *Resistance* was only the *Causa sine qua non*.

This learned Distinction has struck deep into the Noddles of those who are lately come from the *University*, and many who have lived too long in it. But I must ask them whether the *Resistance* was the Cause of the *Abdication*, or the *Abdication* was the Cause of the *Resistance*? If they think fit to allow that the *Resistance* was the Cause of the *Abdication*, then the *Resistance* must be the *Causa efficiens*, and the necessary Means; and the *Abdication* only the *Causa sine qua non*. Nor was the *Abdication* (which was but one Instance of the late King's Male-Administration among many others enumerated in the *Act of Rights, Primo Gul. & Mar.*) the sole Cause of the Vacancy of the Throne.

Here I must take Notice of a *general Plea* that some of your Managers have put in for you, which goes to the whole, that 'Whereas your Sermons being only a Bundle of inconsistent Nonsense, they know no Law in being, by which a Fool is punishable, and that the Consequences would extend to too many, if a Precedent should be made, to correct any body for preaching and speaking foolishly.' I know that this pinches close a Person of your Pride and Self-Sufficiency, to have such an Aspersions cast upon your Parts, and do really believe that you would rather plead guilty, than own yourself to be an *Insignificant*; and to oblige you I'll take upon me the *Defence* of your *Understanding*, and shew that you had a *Meaning*, and a *malicious* one, which (as it happens commonly to Men of your *Capacity*) is always *uppermost*, for if you were so weak as to *mean nothing* at all, you were certainly a very *insignificant Tool of the Party*.

The first Article against your Understanding is grounded upon this *Position* of yours, 'That an absolute and unconditional Obedience is due to the *supream Power* in all Things lawful; and that Resistance is *utterly illegal* upon any Pretence whatsoever.' Here, they say, you are perfectly *absurd*, and *contradictory* to yourself, by tacking a *Condition* to your *unconditional Obedience*, and thereby you assert nothing, and are very *clear* of any *Suspicion* of a *Meaning* in this Place. But in this Point, Doctor, I own you are extremely wrong'd, for I think that you write as good Sense upon the Subject as most of the *Fathers* either *living* or *dead*, and you seem to think so too; and impatient of this Calumny, you point out your Finger, in the Margin of your Collections, to a certain Bishop, as if you desired him, in his own and your Justification to say, whether the Distinction of *active Obedience* in all Things *lawful*, and *passive Obedience* in all Things *possible*, will not make your Doctrine orthodox, and your Sense unquestionable.

But your Managers at Child's, who have a better Opinion of your *Understanding*, say, that your Art was nice, and your Caution remarkable, to leave the
supream

supream Power indefinite and at large, to fix it where you please upon Occasion; and that if, by any other Passages of your Sermon, it should be demonstrated, that by the *supream Power* you mean the Prince, yet still you are at Liberty to explain that *unconditional Obedience*, as due to his *executive Power*. That you laid down the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* only as a *general Rule*, to which you allow'd *Exceptions*, and that undoubtedly *Non-resistance* was a good and *wholesome* Doctrine, and proper to be preach'd with a *mental Reservation*: That *Necessity* made *Resistance* lawful. And they say, that your Council insisted much upon this as your best Defence. But your *Managers* differ among themselves in this Point, and those who asperse your Understanding say, that you were stark mad to depart from the Defence of your Council; and to avow in your Speech, that you preach'd that *Doctrine* in the full Latitude that the *Fathers Dead and Living* taught it, because those Fathers, who are the principal Teachers of *unconditional Obedience* (as Bishop *Sanderson*) do most undeniably in exprefs Words exclude all *Exceptions* to their *general Rule*, and it is evident that they lodge the *supream Power* in the Prince, that they make no Distinction of the *executive Power*. This *Justification*, they say, untwists all that your Council said in your Defence, and from hence it follows, that the *Case* of the *Revolution* could not be even *mentally* excepted out of your *general Rule*, and I hope that I shall satisfy most People, that your Design was expressly to *condemn* it.

The Doctor says, Page 11. 'That our Adversaries think they effectually stop our Mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable on this Point, when they urge the Revolution of this Day in their Defence; but certainly they are the greatest Enemies of that, and his late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for the Deliverance, who endeavour to cast such black and odious Colours upon both. How often must they be told, that the King himself solemnly disclaim'd the least Imputation of Resistance in his Declaration, and that the Parliament declared, that they set the Crown on his Head upon no other Title but that of the Vacancy of the Throne, &c.' And then a little further he says, 'Thus do they endeavour to draw Comparisons, and to justify the horrid Actions and Principles of Forty-one.'

The Doctor having laid down the general Rule of Non-Resistance, now undertakes to defend the Generality of it, and being aware that the late Revolution would be objected against it, and lest his *Adversaries* (*viz.* the Friends to the Revolution) should offer the Resistance of that Day, as an Exception to his general Rule, he answers them before-hand, that there was no Resistance at that Time, that the King himself has denied the least Resistance, and that they who endeavour to prove there was any Resistance, cast odious and black Colours upon his Majesty and the Deliverance.

To what Purpose was the Case of the Revolution mention'd just after the Doctor's general Rule of the Illegality of Resistance? It must be, either to except it out, or condemn it by that general Rule. If then he excepts it out of the Rule, it is because there was no Resistance made: But if it happens, that there was Resistance at the Revolution, the Doctor has cast *odious* and *black Colours* upon both the *Deliverer* and *Deliverance*. And to *blacken* them yet more, he says, that *thus* (i. e. by maintaining that Resistance) *they* (i. e. his *Adversaries*, who defend

send the Revolution) *justify the Actions and Principles of Forty-one*, by a Comparison drawn between them. By which it's plain that the Doctor makes the Revolution as scandalous as the Transactions about *Forty-one*, if founded on Resistance.

The Doctor persists to the last in his Speech, p. 7. That there was no Resistance made at the Revolution: What will not this Man dare to affirm or deny? Did not the Bishop of *London* himself re-assume the Sword? And had he not the Honour to have the Princess *ANNE* under his Guard? Did he not display his Co'ours with that remarkable *Motto*, that succinctly comprehended the Reason of the general Resistance, *viz. Quia nolumus mutare leges Angliæ*? Did not Archbishop *Sancroft* take up Offensive and Defensive Arms, when he forced the *Tower* from the King's Governor? But tell me, Doctor, how could you affirm to the Queen's Face, that there was no Resistance? when you knew that her Majesty herself was in Arms, and acted so great a Part in the *glorious Revolution*; and that many Hundreds of your Audience had been in Arms. How many Lords have since boasted of the Resistance they then made, notwithstanding you were capable of asserting the contrary to their Faces?

I am not surprised to see the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration wrested by the Doctor, who is as free with the Scriptures; the Prince never disclaim'd Resistance, but the Title of Conquest: But *Sacheverell* either understands nothing, or is resolved to pervert every Thing.

It appears by the Letter left by King *James*, That he himself apprehended he was resisted, when he complains of an Order sent him at Midnight, to remove next Morning from his Palace, and that the Prince of *Orange's* Guards had taken Possession of the Posts about *Whitehall*, without his being advertised of it; afterwards he says, he was born free, and desires to continue so; therefore he thinks it not convenient to expose himself to be secured, and not to be at Liberty.* 'Tis plain by this Letter, that the King apprehended, that when he was ordered to go to *Ham*, that he was made a Prisoner, or at least that he was likely to be made one soon; and to imprison the King, is as high Resistance as can be made. Therefore as many Gentlemen as believe, there was actual Force and Resistance made at the Revolution, must say that *Sacheverell* has cast odious and black Colours (which I hope won't stick) upon the Revolution; and that he is the greatest Enemy of that, and his late Majesty, and the most ungrateful for the Deliverance.

The Doctor defends the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, as taught by the Sermons or *Homilies* put out in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, and says, 'That those *Homilies* were establish'd by the Thirty-nine Articles, and that those Thirty-nine Articles were confirm'd by the Thirteenth of *Elizabeth*, and that they are now made perpetual and fundamental by the Act of Union.'

The *Managers* against the Doctor attack the very Foundation of the Doctor's Defence, and if the Reader judges the Argument to be good, it's a full Answer to all the Speeches that have been made for him; they say, that the Article, which contains the *Homilies*, and a great many more of the *Nine* and *Thirty Articles*, were not confirm'd by the Thirteenth of *Elizabeth*, nor any other Act of Parliament;

Parliament; and consequently the Doctrine of Non-Resistance is not deposited in such a Place of Security as in the irrevocable Act of Union.

The Statute of the Thirteenth of *Elizabeth* confirms 'all the Articles of Religion, which *ONLY* concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and 'the Doctrine of the Sacraments;' but neither that Article about the *Homilies*, nor several other Articles which *ONLY* concern Matters of Discipline, were ever confirm'd by Parliament to this Day. I refer the Reader to the Argument at large annexed to this Paper, which I don't doubt but will convince him of the Truth of this Assertion.

We must then consider the *Homilies* as so many Sermons wrote by the Clergy in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, when few of them were of tolerable Learning or Abilities: Does it appear that they had our Constitution under Consideration? Does it not appear that they understood nothing of it? The Resistance that was made against *Richard* the Third was then fresh in their Memory; who, bad as he was, even such an *Anointed* was not to be *touched* by their Rules, if stretch'd to an unlimited Sense. They might have heard of many Precedents of deposing our former *Tyrants*, and easily collected that it was the Practice of the Church, and Law of *England*, in such unfortunate Cases. Let us consider their Argument thus.

A Convocation of the Clergy confirm a Doctrine utterly inconsistent with the Constitution of the State, and therefore 'tis an high Presumption in the Laity, against the Authority of the Church, to refuse to be bound down by it. Some modern Doctors misapply and misconstrue those Doctrines, and then it is Irreligion and Atheism to examine or inquire into their Mistakes. May we not be permitted to oppose the Sentiments and Practices of those *Convocations*, against the Opinions and Comments of the Expositors of their Doctrine? It's very probable that the Members of those Convocations best understood their own Meanings, and surely they would never have assisted so freely and largely in resisting the *French* and *Spanish* Tyrants, and defended their oppress'd Subjects, if they had ever thought that Resistance was, *de toto genere*, unlawful, and that a Tyrant was upon no Pretence to be resisted. And I think it a fatal Stroke to the Kingdom, if the *Sevenois* were denied Assistance thro' this modern Principle, whose Support was both lawful, and of infinite Advantage to the Allies.

To support that unsupportable Sense of the *Homilies*, the Doctor produces the concurrent Opinions of many learned Fathers, down from the Reformation to this Day, who have preach'd the same Doctrine, and thinks his Case *extream hard* that he should be accused for what others have received Thanks; he might very truly have added, *and been made Bishops for it*, and then he would have explain'd the Reason why they preach'd it, and what he himself expected for having done it.

It is allowed by all Sides that the *Manwarings* and *Sibthorps* were the first Authors of King *Charles's* Misfortunes, by misguiding his Conscience in the very same Point, in Effect, that you endeavour to deceive the Queen: It was some as wicked as you who persuaded her Father, that the Church of *England* would not, nay, could not resist; and you think it your *singular Misfortune* that for this fatal Doctrine you have not received Thanks, or Preferment, from her Majesty.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding that some Fathers have strain'd such *Homilies* as regard this Point, which was always the high Way to Preferment, yet they have rejected others; which is a strong Argument to me, that the Article which contains the *Homilies* was never confirm'd by Parliament, and that the Clergy thought themselves at Liberty to amend, alter, or reject, wholly, or in Part, any Article that did not 'concern the Confession of the true *Christian* Faith, or Doctrine of the Sacraments;' and therefore the *Homily* about the Idolatry of Pictures and Organs is now exploded as erroneous, and the Use of them now *allowed*; which could not have been done by the Clergy alone, if that Article about the *Homilies* had been confirm'd by the 13th of *Elizabeth*, as it is pretended.

The Doctor's *Managers* insist, that their Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* is warranted by Law, and to prove this they read a Clause in the Militia Act of the 13th of *Charles II.* viz. 'That both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, may not lawfully raise or levy War, Offensive or Defensive, against his Majesty;' and the same Parliament in the next Sessions had framed a Position in the *Corporation Act* in the same Sense, and almost in the same Words, viz. 'That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King,' and obliged People to swear to this Declaration. The Oath in the *Corporation Act*, and the Clause in the *Militia Act*, being convertible Positions, both only declaring the Illegality of resisting the King, if the Clause were made the Oath, or the Oath turn'd into the Clause, it would make no Difference: Since therefore the *Corporation Oath* stands repealed by the 1st of *W. and M.* the *Militia Clause* being one and the same Thing with the Oath, is not only virtually, but expressly repealed too; and those Acts being made upon the Restoration, only to condemn the *Antimonarchical* Principles, and to settle the Power of the Militia in the King, it would astonish the Makers, who design'd only to preserve one Part of the Constitution, viz. *The Monarchy*, to see that very Act stretch'd to the Subversion of the *Whole*.

They who are not satisfy'd with this may observe, that by the several Acts mention'd in the Preamble of the Impeachment, the very Substance and Intention (if it had any such Intention) of the *Militia Act* is *damn'd*, and the Arms of Resistance avowed to have been *justifiable* and *necessary*; and to confirm the *Legality* of Resistance in some Cases, the Act of *Rights* and *Liberties*, 1st of *G. & M.* Sect. 9. says, That upon such and such Misdemeanors of the King and Queen, the Subjects shall thereby be *absolved* from their *Allegiance*, which Act will and ought to protect them against the Statute of Treasons of *E. III.* if they in such Cases do resist: And this Act will justify, that there is an *indispensible Duty* of Resistance in some Cases, and that they are *Traitors to Posterity*, who refuse to perform the Trust reposed in them by this Act; that to encourage them to resist, has *absolved* them from their *Allegiance*; that to protect them in Resistance, has granted them an *Indemnity*.

But since some learned Gentlemen would prove the Law *felo de se*, and make a Clause of one Act, to destroy both Law and Parliament; since some ridicule the *Original Contract*, by importunately desiring to see it, I hope I shall be able here to give a good Account of it, and to shew the original Right of the People to defend themselves against a King becoming a Tyrant.

I suppose no body expects to see an original Contract in Writing, Time must needs have worn out that, and 'tis likely it was only verbal; and we must be satisfy'd with the best Evidence a Matter of that Nature is capable of: If the first Records of Authority mention the *Conditional Tenure* of the Crown, and the Duties imposed on the King by the People; if our former Kings have confirm'd this in Parliament; if the Opinions of all the Ancient Lawyers agree, that the People had an *Original Right* to what was so confirm'd; if the People have ever since enjoy'd and maintain'd that Right; sure there's something more than *Fable* in this *Original Compact*.

In the *Saxon* Parliaments, few new Laws were enacted; but the Custom then was for some of the most learned Members to declare upon Oath the Fundamental Laws of the Realm to the King and the People. I find in *Edward* the Confessor's Time, twelve sworn Sages pronounced the Law, thus: *Rex ad hoc est Constitutus, ut Regnum & Ecclesiam ab injurijs defendat, quod nisi fecerit, nec nomen Regis in eo constabit, verum nomen Regis perdit; debet Justitia magis regnare quam voluntas Prava*: And further, *Rex eris dum bene regis, quod nisi feceris, nomen Regis perdis*. Lambard, 142. I observe here, that first the excellent Duties of the King are enumerated, and the Purposes specify'd for which he was made: That in the Beginning there was a Limitation set upon his Power, that he should rule by the Law, and not by wicked Will or Arbitrary Power: That the original Conditions were expressed, for the Breach of which he was to be Unking'd. Which strongly makes out an original Contract.

If it be observed here, that it is not expressly said, that the King was constituted by the *People*, nor that the *People* are to depose him upon Failure of his Duty: Yet it must be allow'd, that there were Conditions annexed to the Crown, and that it was forfeitable for the Breach of them; and when we find who had a Right to punish delinquent Kings, we shall discover between whom the original Contract was made.

The Conquest has made no Alteration in our Fundamental Laws; for even the Conqueror submitted to wear the Crown upon the Conditions that his *Saxon* Predecessors had enjoy'd it. After this, the first memorable Assertion of the People's Right by the original Contract was in King *John's* Time, which at last ended in a full Recognition of the People's Right to dethrone tyrannizing Kings. I'll only repeat Part of the Substance of a Clause in the Act of Parliament, drawn in the Form of a Charter, and refer the Examination of it to the whole Clause in the Appendix: 'If the King, or his Justices in his Absence, do not reform
• Miscarriages within forty Days after they are complain'd of, the Five and
• Twenty Barons, and all the Commonalty of *England*, may distress us by all
• the Ways they can, till it be amended, and the Subjects may swear to obey
• the said Barons, and to distress us.' *

I know of no Objection to be made against this Charter, but what may be made against the Great Charter; and Historians say, they are the very same, which may be the Reason why this is omitted out of the Statute-Book. The Lawyers of those Times concur, that the People insisted only upon their Ancient Liberties; the Confessor's Laws say, the Tyrant shall be Unking'd. This Charter declares who shall have Power to Unking him. The Method only was then settled

* Charter of King *John*, dated at *Running-Mead*.

settled of making use of the Coercive Power of the People, which was before their *Original Right*.

Brañton, *Lib. 2. C. 16.* *Fleta*, *Lib. 1. C. 17.* express themselves, 'That the Law is above the King; that the High Court (*of Parliament*) is superior to the King; that the King is made by the Law: And therefore if the King be without a Bridle, that is, without Law, they must Bridle him.' These Opinions justify, that the People had a Right to Bridle King *John*, a most unruly Prince, and that King *John* granted them nothing but what was their Due. If these Authors are not often quoted in the *Hall*, it is because they are not *Case-reporters*; but consider'd as Historical Collectors of the old Law, they are certainly in this Case the best Evidence. Some Gentlemen may perhaps object, that these Laws are too old to be of Force, as they say that some Precedents are too *modern* to be good. But the Opinion of Chancellor *Fortescu* is Ancient enough to be venerable, and Modern enough to be credited.

The Chancellor in the 9th Chapter tells the Prince of *Wales*, 'That *England* is a Political Kingdom, and that the King governs by a Political Power; therefore he can't alter the Laws of the Kingdom.' C. 13. He tells the Prince, how a Political Kingdom is to be made; 'A People that raise themselves into a Kingdom must ever appoint one to be the chief Ruler of the whole Body, which in Kingdoms is called King.' Then he informs the Prince of the Original of this Political Kingdom of *England*, viz. 'That it was form'd from *Brutus* and his Companions.' Then he informs by *whom*, and to what End this Political Kingdom was form'd, viz. 'The King was made and ordain'd for the Defence of the Law of his Subjects, and of their Bodies and Goods, whereunto he receiveth Power from his P E O P L E; so that he can't govern his P E O P L E by any other Power.' It is plain, that *Fortescu* thought the King derived his Power from the *People*; and I much rely upon his Opinion, as being the most learned and best of our Chancellors, *except the Present*. He lived at a Time when the Title of the Crown was most canvassed, and best understood: He wrote for the Instruction of the *Heir Apparent*, was too great a Lawyer to mistake the Fundamentals of our Constitution, and too faithful a Counsellor to misguide the Judgment of the Young Prince.

Wherefore, since it appears by the most ancient Monuments of the Constitution, that Limitations and Conditions were originally imposed upon the King, and that the King upon his Demerits was removeable, which necessarily implies an *Original Contract*; since Chancellor *Fortescu* affirms, that the King of *England* was made King by, and received his Power from, the People; since by the *Magna Charta* of King *John*, the Right and Power of Dethroning Kings, for Breach of the Contract, has been acknowledged and settled in the People; *The Original Contract* must needs have been between the King and the People, who gave the King Power to govern, and reserved a Right to themselves to remove him for Tyranny; which Power and Right have been enjoy'd by the People from the Original of Government in *England* down to this Day, as often as the *Necessity* of the Case compeli'd them to make use of it.

But since some are endeavouring the Ruin of the State, by an upstart Doctrine of the Church, it is with great Pleasure I have read the History of the Church

Church Resistant, Protestant Catholick, as well as Roman Catholick; and it is exceeding comfortable to me, who, with regard to my Duty towards God, think it a heinous Sin to rebell against the lawful Powers of a good Prince, and yet, with respect to my Country, think myself indispensibly obliged to resist the unlawful Acts of a Tyrant: To find, that this Doctrine of Non-Resistance (as now preached) is not the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, nor the true Sense of the Homilies, that the Practice and Opinions of all the subsequent Convocations have been contrary; to find, that the true Meaning of 'Kings having their Power from God, is not, that they have any distinct Authority besides the Law of the Land derived to them from God, but that by the Laws of God, the Authority of the Law of the Land was secured to them: That the Laws of Religion in the Scripture did only establish the several Constitutions and Governments that were in the different Parts of the World.' To find all this so well proved, in the incomparable Speech of the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and by the Opinions of the greatest Part of the *Sacred Bench*; to find the Truth force itself out of the Mouths of the *Prisoner's Council*, who did all fully and plainly own, that in Cases of extream Necessity an Exception of the Doctrine was to be admitted, and that such was the Case of the *Revolution*; to find the *Revolution* justify'd, by those who were brought there to arraign it, gives entire Satisfaction to my Conscience, that I perform'd my Duty to my Country in resisting King *James*, without breaking the Law or Ordinance of God.

But you, *Doctor*, wave all Defences, but that of your Homilies: And of all their Expositors, the Opinion of Bishop *Sanderson* is properest for your Purpose, and the Spirit of it very agreeable to your Genius: I dare not be so unmannerly free with either dead or living *Prelates*, as you, you *dutiful Son of the Church*; nor do I believe, nor will I call Bishop *Sanderson* a false Son of the Church, or a *perfidious Prelate*, because I think him out in one Opinion; which maintains that 'Defensive Arms are *de toto genere* unlawful, and may not be taken up by any Man, at any Time, in any Case, upon any Colour or Pretension whatsoever; nor for the Defence of Religion; nor for the Preservation of a Church, or State; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the Salvation of a Soul; no, not for the Redemption of the whole World.'

If this Doctrine be *Orthodox*, then Christ came into the World upon a *poor Errand*, to be *Crucified* for the *Redemption of Mankind*; which, in this Bishop's Opinion, is not of equal Consideration with the Interests of a single Man. I take this Doctrine to be so far from being Apostolical, that I make bold to affirm it to be a wild and blasphemous *Rant*, and very proper to be burnt with *Doctor Sacheverell's Blasphemous Collections*.

As they are many Precedents to justify Resistance in the History of the *Jews*, in whose Political Government God had such an immediate Hand, as to condescend to be for some time even their King; I shall only give one Instance of the *Resistance* that the *Maccabees* made against *Antiochus*, when he endeavoured to make them break their Laws, by eating Swine's Flesh, and attempted to introduce Idolatry into their Temples. This, in Bishop *Sanderson's* Opinion, though to save their *Church*, and *Laws*, had not been sufficient Cause to resist;

yet we see that God himself supported their just Cause, and by God's Assistance, * they quenched the Violence of Fire, escaped the Edge of the Sword, out of Weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in Fight, turn'd to flight the Armies of the *Aliens*.^{*} Though St. Paul himself gives them these Encomiums, yet this Bishop would make St. Paul say in another Place, that they, and all those who *resist in any Case whatsoever*, were to receive to themselves Damnation.

I doubt not, if St. Paul were now living, but he would applaud the Arms of the *English* taken up against their *Antiochus*, because, as in the Case of the *Maccabees*, Idols were brought into our Church, and our Laws broken; and because *that God, even our own, and his God, has given them his Blessing*.

The Managers for the Doctor bring another Argument against the Revolution, and say, that they are proud of the Part they acted in it; and yet it was Rebellion, because if they had not succeeded, they would have been all hang'd by the Laws. Undoubtedly, if a Tyrant gets the Upper-hand of the Subjects, he will put them to Death without Mercy, and we know that King James had then a set of Judges, and some Bishops, who would have declared it both *Law* and *Gospel*. But those who consider the Authority of the Laws before-mentioned will say, that King James upon his *Male-Administration* was *ipso facto* no King, and that there could be no Rebellion against him, to whom no Allegiance was due.

It seems strange to me, that Gentlemen should value themselves for being *Rebels*; yet I wish that some of them may not really now think, that *they deserve to be hang'd* for having done so much at the Revolution. And it is to be apprehended, lest through a constant Reflection upon their *Rebellion*, and Injustice done to the late King, they may at last, through a Compunction of Conscience, think of some *Restitution*; and to make some amends for the Expulsion of the Father, at last propose a *Restoration* of the supposed Son.

This leads me to reflect, who have revived this Doctrine, to what End should it be now trumped up, and universally preached? How is this *Doctrine wholesome and necessary for these Times*? when our beloved Queen reigns in the very Souls of all her People, except *Sacheverell and Company*. I must observe, that the Author of the *Latin Sermon*, not contented to instill artfully this *Poisonous Doctrine* into the Ears of most of the Congregations about Town, but projecting to spread it universally, took an Opportunity to harangue the whole Clergy of *London* together. The Duty of the Day was forgot, the Design of the Preacher was only to defend and recommend this Doctrine to their particular Care; and in his *Dedication* he gives them their *Cue*, and insinuates, that this Doctrine, by a *Common Consent*, and a *Common Concern*, is to be propagated.

Sacheverell's Part was to *set right* (as they cant) the young Clergy and Youth of the University. And these two Gentlemen have laboured so abundantly in their Provinces, that go to most Churches, and you will be apt to think there's but *one Text* in the Bible, or that every Text speaks but *one Thing*.

Since this rank Weed has so *overspread*, and is so *deep rooted* in the *University*; since a new set of *Professors* is established to teach Jacobitism; since such Industry

* Thorndike, p. 306. St. Chrysostom, Hom. 27. in Epist. ad Heb. & alli.

is used to breed up the young Nobility and Gentry in an Aversion to the true Principles of our *Constitution*, in an *Abhorrence* of the late *Revolution*, in a general *Dislike* of the *Hanover* Succession; since they are become downright *Nurseries* of Parties and Factions; since even *Popery* itself begins to *peep* abroad; something more must be done by the Parliament than burning their Decrees, or else a foreign Education will infallibly be the Consequence.

When was this Doctrine revived? Since the *Declension* of the Power of *France*, and a little before the *Scotch Expedition*. What are the necessary Consequences to be drawn from these Doctrines, if they were once settled? That the *Revolution* was founded in Iniquity, and that Injustice was done to King *James*, who ought not to have been resisted; then it will follow that King *William* and Queen *Mary* were Usurpers, that our rightful and lawful *Queen* is an *Usurper*, that there is another Brood of *Usurpers* coming over from *Hanover*, and that so much Blood and Money has been spent in an unjust War. These are the *odious* and *black Colours* that these Gentlemen cast upon the *Revolution* and the *present Government*. And to what Purpose they do it at this Juncture appears plainly, since now they have lost all Hopes of carrying on the *Work* by a *French* Power.

Who were most concerned for the good Success of *Sacheverell's Doctrine* and *Trial*? The *Non-jurors*, *Jacobites*, and *Papists*; who own this to be the fairest *Push* that ever was made for their Master. Who were the most remarkable Managers for the Doctor? Those who were for an *Administration* and *Regency*, and against the *Coronation* of the *P. of O.* Those, who put such a sudden Stop to the last War, and were so unwilling to enter into this: Those, who distress'd King *William* into the *Partition* Treaty, and afterwards thought it reasonable to hang his Ministers for it: And those to a Man, who were against the Union, and now with their usual Sincerity pretend to be the Zealous Maintainers of it. How close are all these united, and almost under Arms to defend this unknown and *worthless* Man! Hated by all who know him, for his Ingratitude and Presumption; nay, they themselves will tell you, it is not the *Man*, but the *Cause*, they defend. Since therefore we defend the Cause of the *Revolution*, I wish they would explain what *Cause* it is they defend.

It is remarkable, that *now* all private Quarrels are forgot, and open Enemies put Confidence in one another: No body hated *Sacheverell* more than the Chief of his own Managers; *Sacheverell* was never so bitter as upon a certain *false Brother*, whom he distinguish'd in his Sermon by the Name of *Turn-coat*: But for that Purpose, and at that Time, *Pilate* and *Herod* were made Friends, for before they were at Enmity between themselves.

Sacheverell, in his Speech, would make us believe, it is impossible that he should be a Favourer of the Pretender, because he has *abjured* him. This indeed would be a good Argument in the Mouth of a Man of Probity; but since *Sacheverell* and his Managers allow of Mental Exceptions and Reservations, we must examine this Matter. It is *now* well known, that some Gentlemen formerly, who would never qualify themselves for the *Lieutenancy*, or the *Commission* of the Peace, took all the Oaths, to get into the *House of Commons*, and had Dispensations for the Services which they were capable of doing there. There are *now* Circumstances to make us believe, that the *Jacobite* Clergy have the

like

like Instructions to take any Oaths, to get Possession of a Pulpit for the Service of the Cause, to bellow out the *hereditary Right*, the *pretended* Title of the Pretender. Have not the Non-jurors at this Juncture, and for this very Purpose, taken the Oaths? Has not Parson H——s, the most inveterate, and most impudent of the Non-jurors, just now done it; and did he not lately *out-brazen* Sacheverell himself? And no doubt but for the same Cause that H——s has sworn Allegiance to Queen A N N E, Sacheverell has *abjured* the Right of the Pretender. We know that the one allows the *Defaetship* of the Queen, and the other reserves to himself the *Divine Right* of the Pretender. Sacheverell says, that he has given *Publick Demonstrations* of his *True Zeal* for her Majesty, by defending her Title to the Crown. Which he does thus in his Oxford Sermon; he allows, *That by a long Succession of her Royal Ancestors*, an Hereditary Right has been devolved upon her, and says very truly, *That even her very worst Enemies will acknowledge it*, as he himself, and Mr. Leslie, who was the first Defender of this Title. Ask the Gentlemen at St. Germain's what Title their Master has to the Crown of Great-Britain, they'll say his 'Hereditary Right devolved upon him from his Royal Ancestors.' Ask Sacheverell what Right the Queen has to the Crown, he answers, 'her Hereditary Right devolved upon her from her Royal Ancestors.' But if these Advocates should ever meet, they would soon reconcile these Difficulties, and compound the Two Hereditary Rights into One. Sacheverell, Leslie, and the Queen's new Council Extraordinary, maintain her *Hereditary Right* to the Crown, because they pretend to know that there is a nearer Heir: It is for this they labour to make the Crown hang upon her Head, only by that *Slipknot* of *Hereditary Right*, when it is so hard bound on by Parliament. And if that Point could be once gain'd, they are ready, no doubt, to produce their *Immediate Heir*; and thus these Counsellors, a set of false Brethren, that the Doctor takes no notice of, whilst they pretend to be of Council for the Queen, only open and set forth the Title of her Adversary. It is thus that these Defenders will allow the *Hereditary Right* of the Hanover Family, because they know that even the House of Bourbon is before them.

The King and Parliament have always had, and used a Power of settling, directing and binding the Descent of the Crown in the royal Blood, different from the common Course of other Inheritances (it was Treason to deny this by the 13th of Elizabeth, which Act in Substance is revived by the late Act of the Queen) who often have prefer'd the *mediate* Heir to the *immediate*, as lately the Queen was advanced before the Pretender, without taking Notice of his Illegitimacy; the House of Hanover, before the House of Savoy. When Sacheverell and his Managers talk upon this Point, they are just upon the Brink of Treason, puzzled to bring it out, and labouring to with-hold it.

Mr. Hoadly, who, to his Honour, has incur'd the Malice of the whole Party, and been recommended by their Satire to the Parliament, and by the Parliament in a very honourable Manner to the Queen, has admirably exposed the Self-Contradictions of one of them, in the Appendix to his last Book: * There he brings in the Dean, desiring, 'That the Clergy may be put in Heart, and be at Hand
always,

* Rights and Powers of English Convocation, Ed. 1. p. 105.

* always, to stand up with them (*viz.* the Laity) and to resist a growing Tyranny, * either in Church or State.' Mr. *Hoadly* is not able to reconcile this Doctrine, with that contained in the *Latin* Sermon: But though such inconsistent Principles are irreconcilable, yet if we consider the Circumstances of Time, we may account for them; because it seems to be much the same Design that made him print that Doctrine *then*, that has made him preach this Doctrine *now*. That Book was printed in 1700. Then K. *William* was upon the Throne, and the *Hanover Succession* upon the *Anvil*; then Mr. *Dean* was ready to resist a growing Tyranny in Church and State. The *Latin* Sermon I hear was first preached in *English* about 1708, then it was a damnable Sin to resist their hereditary Right, who was about that Time on board the *Mars*.

Since the Doctor complains so much of his *hard Fortune to be misunderstood*, and other *hard Circumstances* of his Impeachment, I must here enumerate some of his Felicities: First, he sent to *Oxford* for a *Testimonium* of his Loyalty and good Behaviour; they, it seems, were so much inclined in his Favour, as only to deny it; and so backward, as not to draw up an Information against him. Next, he had the Confidence to appeal to a noble Lord in his Speech, the Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, for his Character; after which Day the Bishop charitably absented from the House, apprehending (as it is supposed) that he might be called upon to give a Character of him, which would have been such (it is believed) as would have made out the criminal Intention laid in the Impeachment. If this be not true, it would be much to the Doctor's Reputation, yet to procure a Testimonial from the Bishop. Is it not a peculiar Happiness that has attended the Doctor through the whole Course of his Trial, that though he challenges the World to shew any *Indication of his Dislike* to the *Protestant Succession*, to prove any *favourable Expressions towards the Pretender*, or *Aspersions upon the Memory of the late King*, no body appeared to prove, that this innocent Doctor had said that King *William* deserved to be *Dewitted*, and that he had cursed him for his Legacy, the *Hanover Succession*?

To conclude this Article, let us consider this *Loyal and Faithful Subject*; this *sincere Protestant*, associated in Principles with *Jacobites*, *Papists*, *juring*, *non-juring*, and (what is worse) *such abjuring Clergy*; let us consider this *Defender* of the Queen's Title, who waves her Parliamentary Limitation, to rest it only upon an *Hereditary Right*. Let us consider this Friend to the Protestant Succession, who ridicules the Parliamentary Right under the Name of the *Right of the People*, and the Title of the *Mob*, taught by new Preachers and new Politicians; when it is certain, that the House of *Hanover* has its Title by Parliament: Let us consider the Scope of the Sermon, and we cannot but say it was to condemn the *Revolution*; and if the Doctor is guilty of any of these ill Intentions, he is in a most deplorable Condition, and has now more Occasion for the Prayers of the Church, as under a State of *Reprobation*, than when under an *imaginary* Persecution.

ARTICLE II.

The Managers against the Doctor say, that in Pages 8, 9, among the several Sorts of *false Brethren*, with relation to God, Religion and the Church, enumerated by the Doctor, those who defend *Toleration* and a *Liberty of Conscience* are comprehended.

prehended. The Doctor himself has not sworn off the Intention to condemn *a Toleration*, but owns in his Speech, 'That what he may have said offensive of that, cannot be adjudged to reflect on the Act of Exemption.' Here the Doctor only *distinguishes* himself off, by saying, that he reflected only upon *A Toleration*, and not *The Toleration*, or legal Indulgence, which looks to me more like a Quibble than a Distinction. He says, that he cannot be thought to reflect upon the Act of Parliament, because there is no Act of *Toleration*. Does not the Doctor and his *Managers* continually tell us of the *Test Act*? And though there is no Act so entitled, yet we understand what Act they mean; as they understand us, when we talk of the *Toleration Act*, to mean that Act of the First of *William and Mary*. Is there a Necessity, either in Speaking or Writing, to use such a Circumlocution, as to say, 'The Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the Penalties of certain Laws,' as often as there is Occasion to speak of the *Toleration*? Do not our publick Instruments run thus? Has not the Queen promised that she will *inviolably maintain the Toleration*? But the Doctor takes this to be one of his *hard Fortunes*, that the Lords, his Judges, should understand this Word, or any other Words, or Passages of his Sermon, in the common Sense that the rest of Mankind do. The Doctor says, there is no such a Thing as a *Toleration Act*, because the Word *Toleration* implies more than the Law-givers design'd to grant: The Act says, in *Section 8*. that such 'Persons shall be exempted from Penalties for the Exercise of Religion, permitted and allowed by this Act.' Which seem to be more favourable Words than *Tolerated*; *Allowance*, in my humble Opinion, implying *Approbation*; *Toleration*, only a bare Sufferance.

Let us here examine how the Doctor treats the Dissenters, if not his *Brethren*, at least his nearest *Relations* in Christ. It would be tedious to repeat all the nasty Names he bestows upon them, but let us observe the History that he gives of them in Page 20. First he pretends to give you the Original of these *Miscreants begot in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nursed up in Faction*; then he tells you they are grown up to be *almost Christians, seditious, and schismatical Impostors*; and then they became *wretched, empty, hypocritical Sophisters*: Then he tells you what is to be done with them; they are to be *treated like growing Mischiefs, and infectious Plagues*. Then he disposes of them, conducts them to *Hell, and there settles them*. This is the Liberty of Speech that the Doctor takes, yet how barbarous was it to call him only a *Tool of a Party*! In how Christian-like Manner have these *Dissenters* borne these Revilings? With what Resignation and primitive Patience have they endured the late Insults and Injuries done them? Sure *Self-Defence* is lawful against Midnight *Incendiaries*, Plunderers, Rioters, Felons, and Rebels; yet how did these People, *bred up in the Principles of Rebellion*, defend themselves, but by Flight? Have these *clamorous Church-deshouring Malignants* even so much as complained of the *Church-men*, who raised this *Mob*? Have these *profess'd Enemies of the Queen* undutifully remonstrated to her, that the publick Faith of the Nation has been violated, by the Indignities lately done to their religious Worship? Have they murmur'd at their Losses? Or petition'd the Parliament for a Recompence? So dutiful has been their Behaviour!

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The modern *Laudeans* can scarce bear the Word *Reformation*; which their Predecessors formerly call'd a *Deformation*. But *this Toleration* will be for ever odious, because it was introduced by the late King; and Moderation will be always call'd *Cant*, because it came lately from the *Throne*. The first will *undermine the Church*,* the last will blow it up. The Project of *Comprehension*, undertook by some of the best Clergy in *England*, must be call'd a *monstrous and villainous Scheme of these ecclesiastical Achitophels, to fill the Church with unhallow'd Pagan Beasts* (i. e. *Dissenters*) *instead of Christians*; but how favourably have these Gentlemen received, and how willing are they to give into, the famous Project of *Reconciliation with the Gallican Church*? From which they think the *Church of England* parted but with a thin *Veil*: But if it be true, that some *French Clergymen* have a Mind to meet us, I wish we had them in Exchange for some of our *High-flying Clergy*; who are more than inclined to *run* over to them. And for this Reason you may believe them, when they say they would rather be *Papists* than *Presbyterians*.

It is well known how they lament the lost Power of the Church, which they apprehend will never be retrieved by a Toleration, or the *Hanover Succession*; we see how they endeavour to advance their Authority, and to bully us with their *Anathema's*; we know that some of them *blasphemously* repine at the Want of the *miraculous Power* of the Church in the first Century. How *flourishing*, say they, would be the State of the Church, how *triumphant here upon Earth*, if we had once more the Power to send our Enemies *quick down to Hell*!

But God is so gracious to us, as not *now* to entrust these high-flying *Ambassadors* with such *full Powers*, considering that he has given them at present too little Grace, Mercy and Charity, to manage them. If *Sacheverell's* Loins were girt with this *Flaming Sword*; he, who says, 'That Princes should answer with the Sword, and the Church with *Anathema's*;' it would be doubted whether he would look like an *Overseer sent by the Holy Ghost*, or rather like a *destroying Angel*. I will pass by the scurrilous Language given to Bishop *Grindal*, and tell the Doctor one Secret, that if he had lived and so scandalized the Hierarchy in *baughty Laud's* Days, he would infallibly have gotten that *indelible Mark* on both Sides of his Head, which Mr. *Burton* had for the very same Crime, notwithstanding his *sacred Character*. Which ought to make the Doctor to forbear upbraiding the *Lords* with *Fear* to punish, because their Mercy was so unparallel'd as *almost* to forgive.

ARTICLE III.

As to the Third Article, the Doctor justifies the Danger of the Church, and humbly opposes his single Opinion against the general Sense of the Queen, and the two Houses of Parliament, and maintains it to their Faces: But denies, that he design'd to blacken that *Vote of Parliament* which declared the Church to be out of Danger, by comparing it with the *Vote* that declared *King Charles's Person out of Danger*; and would avoid, that he intended to 'insinuate that the Members of both Houses, who passed the said Vote, about the Safety of the Church, were then conspiring the Ruin of the Church.'

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A Vote having passed in Parliament, declaring *the Church out of Danger*, the Doctor durst not arraign that Vote directly: And yet some Way must be found to *blacken* it; and no Way was thought so proper, as to compare it to that *Vote which declared King Charles out of Danger*; with this Addition of the Doctor's, only to make the Application, *that at the same Time his Murderers were conspiring his Death*. This he knew would bring consequential Scandal upon it, and insinuate what was not safe to affirm expressly; that the Members of Parliament were contriving the Ruin of the Church, when they *voted it out of Danger*, because every body knows, that the Parliament which made that Vote about King Charles did conspire his Murder. But the Doctor says, that they who voted the King's Person out of Danger were not the very same Persons who contrived his Murder, and therefore he could not make the *Insinuation*. Tho' the Comparison should not exactly run upon *all four* when examined, yet the Doctor design'd to make that Insinuation, by giving just as much of the History as served for that Purpose; and if it should be true, that but a *Remnant*, or a few of that Parliament, which voted the King out of Danger, were the Contrivers of his Murder, yet still it will serve the Doctor's End by way of Comparison; for in Parliamentary Language it was still the same *House*, and differ'd no more than a *thin House* from a *full one*, and therefore it was the *same House*, some Members only absent, that voted the King out of Danger, and conspired his Murder.

The great Design of the Sermon was to undermine the Queen's Title to the Crown, to asperse her Administration both in Spirituals and Temporals, and to traduce the late Parliament, and for each Article he has provided a *Parallel* by way of Illustration. To stigmatize the Church under the Government of the present Bishops, he says, 'It is very obvious to draw a Parallel here, betwixt the sad Circumstances of the Church of *Corinth* formerly, and of the Church of *England* at present; and this is done without Discouragement, he is sure with Impunity, by our pretended Friends and false Brethren;' who the *pretended Friends* are, which ought to discourage, and are able to punish Schisms, except those *false Brethren* the Bishops, I don't well know.

To dishonour the last Parliament, he compares their *Vote* about the Church, to the Vote of the *Rump-Parliament* about King Charles's Person.

At last, alluding to the present Times, he thinks to come home to the Queen by a notable Parallel, when he says, That *though the Ways of Zion may mourn for a Time, and her Gates be desolate, her Priests sigh, and she in Bitterness, because her Adversaries are Chief, and her Enemies AT PRESENT prosper, (AT PRESENT foisted into the Text only to make the Application evident:)* This is the *Lamentation* of the Prophet, when *Judah* was gone into *Captivity*, the King in a foreign Country, and an *Usurper* upon the *Throne*. Can any body think that this Gentleman had no *ill* Intention, though he *swears* it, or no Design at *all*, as his *Managers* say, in so many Reflections upon the Queen and Ministry, so *artfully* cover'd, and so *methodically* digested into *Parallels*?

To shew the *Danger of the Church*, the Doctor gives us this Character of the present Age, 'For besides that Deluge of Prophaneness and Immorality, which overspreads the whole Kingdom; besides the Variety of those Schisms, Heterodox

'rodox Opinions, and damnable Heresies, which are daily published and propagated among us; I verily believe, that never were the Ministers of Christ so abused, and vilified, never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraign'd and ridiculed, never were Infidelity and Atheism so impudent and barefaced, never were such horrid Blasphemies printed in any Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.* So much of the Doctor's Speech I'll justify to be his own genuine Product; so elegantly he always declaims, so honestly he represents, so charitably he judges of his Neighbours: If a Stranger were to read this, he would be apt to think that there was never a good Man in *Great-Britain*, besides the pious Doctor *Sacheverell*; so general is the Deluge of *Propbaneness*, that he must be the *Abraham* to intercede for us.

If our Neighbours believe this Man, they must gaze at us in Expectation of our immediate Destruction, as a People more abandon'd than ever *Sodom* was. If Posterity believes the execrable Report of this *Defamer*, they'll be ashamed of their Ancestors.

Are not we, even now, consider'd as a *Church*, the very Pride and Boast of the Reformation? Are not we, consider'd as a *People*, the honourable Head of the United Body of *Christendom*? Yet, Doctor *Sacheverell* says, there was never any such wicked Christian State, from the Foundation of Christianity to this Day.

Is not the Church (thus traduced by this *her Dutiful Son*) the main Strength and Bulwark against Popery? When was there greater Care or Piety shewn for propagating the reform'd Religion, than at this Day? When were our Churches at home better fill'd, or with a greater Appearance of real Devotion? When, or in what Church of the World, were seen such large, liberal Charities, as are at this Day for educating poor Children in Religion and Virtue? And tho' Vice and Immorality have been always too prevailing, yet there never was a Time so proper for the Doctor's Purpose, to charge the Nation with it, as under the Queen's Administration.

Now the *Managers* have Recourse to the Doctor's *Godly Collections*, which they call Proofs of the general Corruption of the Nation, in Matters of Religion; and on that Head are brought the abortive Labours of that great *Billingsgate Logician* *Edmund Hick*——, of that *crackbrain'd* Projector *Asgill*, of that poor Poet *Gildon*, of that *atheistical* Vagabond *Toland*, and of that eminent Statesman *John Tuchin*, lately defunct.

Here the Doctor has learned of Squire *Bickerstaff*, to engage with the dangerous Shadows of the Church's Enemies, chalk'd out upon the Wall: Are the Writings of these two or three insignificant Fellows, sufficient Grounds for an honest Man to charge a whole Nation with *Atheism* and *Infidelity*? But by the Doctor's Logic, all Men are irreligious, because a few are so: But the Managers against the Doctor say, that all the Passages that are quoted in the *Collections*, to make out the present Danger of the Church, prove no new Danger of the Church, since the passing of that Vote, which was in 1705, because all those Books were wrote and printed long before 1705, and shew that the Administration has been

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so vigilant, that the Books and their Authors have been all censured and punish'd.

The good Bishop of London very justly prosecuted that abominable Brute *Hickeringbill*, to his Damage of 20,000*l.* if such a Fellow were to be believed. I am apt to think, if the Doctor had known *Hickeringbill's* Principles before that Prosecution, he would have spared him, as well as the rest of the blaspheming *Highb-flyers*; for *Hickeringbill* was once (in the Doctor's Sense) a true Son of the Church, as appear'd in that saucy Dialogue he made, between Capt. *Edmund Hickeringbill*, Rector of *All-Saints in Colchester*, and his Friend *Cornet Compton*, Bishop of London. *Asgill* has been punish'd both in *England* and *Ireland* for his Maggot; *Gildon* is more than half starved by several long Imprisonments; and Mr. *Blunt* has already accounted to God for his Errors. The *Observer* was prosecuted in *Westminster-Hall*, and escaped the Pillory but by a Mistake of a Figure; and if any Minister was then lazy, I doubt it will fall upon the then Attorney-General.

The *Rights of the Christian Church* having exposed the Principles of some of the Clergy, who are for setting up an Independency in the Church, has justly incurr'd their Displeasure; and if the House had not burnt the Book, for one unwary Passage, the Universities, who have had it long under their Consideration, were resolved to do it for the whole, as soon as they had answer'd it. I confess I never heard of the anonymous Books in the Collections, and as I had forgot the others, I should certainly never have known these, if the Doctor had not taken this Method to republish, and perpetuate them in the Record of the Trial.

If the Doctor had been sincere enough to have pointed to the real Danger of the Church, he should not have forgot Mr. *Dodwell's* Book about the *Natural Mortality of the Soul*, &c. which has shock'd the very Foundation of Christianity: He is a Gentleman of such extraordinary Learning, such a Philosopher, such an Historian, and so accurate in Polemical Divinity, that his Writings are of great Authority with the Learned themselves, and unquestioned by the Ignorant. How fatal then must an Atheistical Position prove? when advanced, and defended with so much Plausibility, and so many seeming Arguments as that prodigious Man is furnished with. This is attended too by another melancholly Circumstance, that neither the Great *South*, the Learned *Smalldridge*, nor the Divine Pen of *Atterbury*, who see so clearly the Church and her Sons in Danger, have in the least enlighten'd, or assisted us poor *Lay-folks*, against so dangerous a Prepossession. What can be the Reason of this, but that the zealous Jacobite atones for the dangerous Atheist?

The same doubtless is the true Reason, why so many scandalous and obnoxious Passages in the Books of *Leslie*, *Hicks*, and others, have escaped the Censure of the Doctor's Collections: The Compilers of that extraordinary Piece might, almost in every Page of those Factious, Turbulent Writers, have found the most virulent Reflections on the whole Body of the Clergy: Taxing them with downright Atheism and Infidelity, prostituting their Faith and Consciences for the Hopes of some temporal Profit or Preferment, and giving up their Flocks and their own Souls to the Men in Power. In these Authors they might see the Supremacy of the Crown turn'd into Ridicule, and abused in the most opprobrious, villainous

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Terms: They might see the Reformation exposed and traduced in Terms that even the Papists would blush to use, and all our first Reformers represented as a Pack of Mercenaries, who would sell the Church for Gold; and such Advances made towards Popery, that even their own Missionaries durst not barefacedly make such forward Steps: But all this, and much more is allow'd, nay approved, in Men so eminently serviceable to the Pretender.

Next, to prove the *Danger of the State*, the Doctor produces some Passages out of the *Observer* and *Review*, which reflect upon the Queen, State, and Ministry. One of these Authors has been already pillory'd, and the other very narrowly miss'd it. And if the Queen and the Ministry were so happy as to have no *other* or no more dangerous Enemies, than these two Authors, I would venture to declare the Queen and Government out of Danger. But why was the famous *Application** forgot here, when the Doctor was collecting the dangerous Writings against the Queen and State? I fear the Doctor was too intimate with the Promoter of that Treasonable Remonstrance, against the *Queen's Power of proroguing the Convocation*, which *illegal Practices* produced the severest Reprimand to the *Lower-House*, that ever came out of her Majesty's most gracious Mouth.

Do not the Deductions drawn from the Book entitled, *The Rights, &c. of the English Convocation*, tend to deprive the Queen of her Supremacy? Do not the other Writings of that Author encourage the inferior Clergy to rebel against the Bishops, their Superiors and Governors; and persuade the whole Body of the Clergy to separate itself from its *supream Head*, by insinuating, that the Clergy is independent of the Temporal Power, to the manifest Invasion of the Queen's Ecclesiastical Prerogatives? The Queen, who is truly the *Nursing Mother* of the Church, seems to be fonder of her *Supremacy* than of any other Jewel in her Crown; it was with great Difficulties, that our Ancestors wrenched it out of the Hands of *ancient Popish* Clergy, to place it upon the Heads of our Kings (as too bright for any other) and nothing was able to fix it there, but making it Capital to deny it: And now some of our *Modern* Clergy are endeavouring slyly to steal it back again, while others lay violent Hands upon it.

ARTICLE IV.

The Managers at *Tom's* make out the first Part of the fourth Article out of their own Words, *Page 15.* where you affirm, that there are *false Brethren* in Church and State, who do weaken, and undermine, and betray in themselves, and encourage, and put it in the Power of our professed Enemies to over-turn and destroy the Constitution of both.* Then, that we may know whom you mean by these *False Brethren*, you explain yourself in *Page 22.* That as to false Brotherhood in regard to the World or State, we may see Men of Character, and Stations, shift and prevaricate with their Principles, start from their Religion upon any Occasion of Difficulty or Trial, and like the Disciples, flying from and forsaking our Saviour when his Life lay at stake. What can unwary Persons conclude from such Tergiversation and Hypocrisy, but that all Religion is State-craft and Imposture? To give still a higher Notion of these *False Brethren*, the *Men of Characters and Stations*, he

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* *Application of the Lower-House of Convocation in 1707.*

advertises, *Page 18.* 'our Governors, of the Fashood and Treachery, as the 'Qualifications of those, who are entrusted with the Guardianship of our Church 'and State.' For fear her Majesty's Lay-Ministers only should seem to be implied in what he has already said, an After-thought in a Dedication was printed, to bespatter her Majesty's Administration in Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Affairs. For this Purpose the Doctor says, That *our Constitution, i. e. Church and State, is so vigourously attacked from without, and so lazily defended from within.* Here the Managers against the Doctor want to be informed who they are, who in the Doctor's Opinion so vigourously attack the Church. I'll appeal to those who have conversed with the Party, whether they don't think the Miscarriage of the *Application* to be the greatest Wound the Church ever received; whether they don't call them *Enemies* to the Church, who have acquiesced under the Queen's Prerogative of Proroguing of the Convocation, and rail at those who obstruct the Sitting of the *so long called for Convocation.* Who have own'd the Queen's Prerogative, or who are Judges of the Necessity of the Meeting of the Convocation, but the Queen's faithful Counsellors, the Bishops? who justly apprehend the ill Consequence of letting so many distemper'd Minds meet together, as may be found in that Assembly, whom the Queen has already charged with a *plain Invasion of her Supremacy*, and branded *with Want of Duty to her, as well as to their Superiors.**

If the Party will allow the Queen her Supremacy, she must be the only Defender of the Faith and Church; and as the Queen does nothing but by an Administration, and for that Purpose the Bishops are the proper Ministers, I doubt it is too plain, that the Doctor takes their Lordships to be the *lazy Defenders.* Then the Doctor goes on, and in *Page 2.* he says, that the Church is 'not only 'to encounter the open Fury and Violence of her profess'd Enemies, but is to 'be betray'd and perfidiously given up by her own false-hearted and insidious 'Apostles.' These Apostles of the Church, who were in the foregoing Page *vigourous Attackers* and *lazy Defenders*, are now become false-hearted and insidious Apostles; and a little forwarder he says, that 'such is the hard Fortune 'of the Church, her worst Adversaries must be let into her Bowels, under the 'holy Umbrage of Sons, who neither believe her Faith, own her Mission, submit to her Discipline, or comply with her Liturgy.' The Doctor bestows the Title of *Son* of the Church on none but himself, as *the dutiful Son of the Church*, and the Prelates, as *that false Son of the Church Bishop Grindal.*

I must recapitulate his Charge upon the Bishops, *the false Sons*, who vigourously *attack* and lazily *defend* the Church, her worst Adversaries, false-hearted and insidious Apostles, who neither believe her Faith, own her Mission, submit to her Discipline, or comply with her Liturgy. If our Hierarchy were so detestable as the Doctor has represented it, I should think the Church in the extreme Peril; and if our Nation were so *universally corrupted*, there would be too much Reason to apprehend God's Vengeance.

The Managers for the Doctor answer all this by telling you, that by those *Men of Character and Stations*, the Doctor only meant *Church-wardens, Sidesmen,*

* *Queen's Letter to the Convocation, 1707.*

men, Constables, and some Justices of the Peace, whose Civil Administration had given great Offence to the Doctor. I confess I knew not the Dignity, Authority and Power of those Magistrates, till I was informed by them, that Churchwardens and Sidesmen being *entrusted with the Guardianship of the Church*, have a Power in themselves to weaken and undermine it, and an Opportunity to put in such false Sons as Bishop Grindal to betray it. A Constable's Office was never before now thought to be such a *Station and Character*, as that he, in himself could, or was able 'to put it in the Power of our profess'd Enemies to over-turn and 'destroy the Constitution and Establishment' of either Church or State.

The Doctor himself apprehended this Turn to be ridiculous, and makes a more colourable Defence in his Speech; he argues very speciously, that a Man who has printed so many respectful Expressions, and paid so many Compliments to the Ministry, cannot be guilty of defaming them, and that nothing ought to be received in Evidence against *such publick Demonstrations as he had given*. It is true, the Doctor did commend the *happy Administration of the Government, and the refined Policies of the Parliament and Ministry*, in Page 23. of a Sermon printed in 1702. Then we know the Doctor was pretty well pleased with the Queen, and entirely satisfy'd with the *refined Policies of the Ministry*. The Doctor is charged with defaming the Ministry in 1710, and he answers, That can't be, for I commended the Ministry in 1702. Upon this and other Passages some People don't stick to say, that notwithstanding the Doctor's Asseverations, the whole Speech is evasive and false, without one sincere Tittle in it: And if the Doctor *has been made to speak* (as he complains, p. 5. of his Speech) *what he never thought of*, it was done by the Makers of his Speech, when they made him pray for the House of Hanover, and deny his Reflections upon the present Administration.

But the Doctor, to purge himself fully, takes a short Method to prepare your Belief; tells you of his Holy Mission from G O D, and his Commission from the *Holy Ghost*: Then lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, he appeals to the 'dreadful Tribunal, at which he and all the World are to be judged; called 'the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious Manner,' that he was innocent of any Design to *defame the Queen's Administration or Ministry*. This solemn Appeal to God, before such a venerable Assembly, with so many religious Circumstances, pronounced with so much Vehemence, and such sincere Behaviour of a Christian, works so strongly upon me, that my Charity has blinded my Senses, and makes me pray, for his Soul's Sake, that he spoke nothing but the Truth. Yet some Gentlemen, who pretend to know the *Man*, to know his *Meaning*, who affirm that he has expressly *named* one Minister in Page 22. who have a Key to his *Men of Character and Stations, his Guardians of the Church and Crown*, desire to be excused, if they can't believe a Protestation, though never so solemn, against a Matter of Fact. They say further, that some of your Managers were astonish'd, and trembled at the Oath, and have own'd that you were chiefly employed to bespatter the present *Ministry*, and some few finding their Party so strong, are now angry with you for recanting it; but you have infinitely recommended yourself to others by it, who think you now a most *useful* Person.

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The latter Part of the 4th Article is made out by the Derby Dedication.

‘ Now, when the *Principles* and *Interests* of our *Church* and *Constitution* are so shamefully *betray’d* and *run-down*, it can be no little *Comfort* to those who *with* their *Welfare* and *Security*, to see, that notwithstanding the *Secret Malice* and *Open Violence* they are persecuted with, there are still to be found such *worthy Patrons* of both, who dare *own* and *defend* them, as well against the *rude* and *presumptuous Insults* of the *one Side*, as the *base undermining Treachery* of the *other*; and who scorn to sit silently by, and partake in the Sins of these *associated Malignants*.

‘ Though the *Truth* seems to be so much forsaken at present, yet, God be thank’d, They shall yet find, to our Honour, that we have still amongst us those who have *Courage* to speak it, as well as those who have *Lives* and *Fortunes* to maintain it: And tho’ the Age is sunk into the *lowest Dregs of Corruption*, that it cannot endure sound Doctrine, there are not wanting some to *preach* it, and others to *support* it, at the Expence of *both*: May the *Influence* of good *Examples*, which as much animates our *Friends*, as it terrifies our *Enemies*, be as diffusively prevailing as ’tis nobly conspicuous, and the Blessing of that *Church* attend you, which you so eminently *adorn* and *sustain*.’

Here we are told from the Pulpit, That ‘ the Principles of our Church and Constitution are shamefully *betray’d* and *run-down* with *secret Malice* and *open Violence*.’ Is not this to *instill Fears and Jealousies* into weak Minds, and to make each Man suspect the other of *secret Designs*? And are not these *Fears and Jealousies groundless*? when our Church is in a most *flourishing Condition*, and the Constitution of our State strengthen’d by so many good Laws, and our good Queen ready to give what more we desire.

When he says there are some *who scorn to sit silently by, and partake in the Sins of these associated Malignants*, does he not *knavishly divide* the People by the Distinction of *Malignants*? Does not he tell us in his Sermon, who those Church-devouring *Malignants* are? And does he not immediately threaten those *associated Malignants*? and tell them, that ‘ they shall find, to our Honour, that we have still among us, those who have *Courage* to speak it, as well as those who have *Lives* and *Fortunes* to maintain it.’ Does he not here blow the Trumpet? Does he not here muster his Forces? Does he not here inform us how resolute some are *to maintain it with their Lives*, and how able others are *to support it with their Fortunes*? Here he *excites and stirs them up to Arms*: Here he directs them to the Enemy, by pointing out to the *associated Malignants*; and at last very piously gives them *the Blessing of the Church to attend them* in the good Enterprize.

These godly Exhortations have had the design’d Success, and open Rebellion has been the immediate Consequence; but the Doctor again professes in the Presence of God, ‘ That it was without any Fault of his, or the least Encouragement given by him.’ This seems to some People to be another *rash Oath*, who say, that the Sermon influenced, and the Doctor’s indiscreet Behaviour afterwards encouraged the Mob. But his Managers say in his Behalf, that when the Gentry of *White-Friars* attended him at his Chambers, and were so respectful to pull off their

their Caps to him, he could not be so rude as not to bow to them: That he could not refuse the Compliment of his Solicitor, Bail, Council and Friends, to attend him with their Equipages, before and behind, like Guards, to the *Hall*; and who could prevent his ungovernable Footmen from hollowing themselves, and making the *Mob* do so too? He never thought this would *give the least Encouragement*; it was but Christian-like, to desire the Prayers of the Church when under Persecution; and but Politick, to lay the Persecution upon the Dissenters.

The Doctor himself (as well as the rest of the World) thinks, that the 'Charge of wickedly wresting divers Texts of Scripture lies very hard upon him, as a Christian and a Minister of Christ: ' Yet he seems to me to stand very *easy* under it; when to clear his *Holy Character* of so *foul a Blot*, which he apprehends, if he were *even acquitted*, * *must leave a Scar upon his good Name*; when to support an Opinion of his Integrity, 'whose whole Capacity of doing 'good in the World (*he says*) principally depends upon it; 'not one Word has been suggested in his Defence or Excuse, but he again appeals to *another Tribunal* to be judged by, when the Sun is not plainer at Noon Day, than several Perversions of Scripture in his Sermon. But, 'he hopes, *indeed*, that those, whose particular Profession and Studies qualify them to be the most competent Judges of such Matters, will absolve him in this Particular.' If by being *absolved*, the Doctor should mean, to be *acquitted* of wresting the Scriptures, I believe the *most competent Judges* will not absolve him; but if by *Absolving*, he means only *Forgiving*, he need not fear but that, whether he perverts or blasphemes the Scriptures, whether his Appeals to God be true or false, for any Wickedness he has done, or shall do, nay, if he were capable of Assassination, he may be fully absolved, whilst such good Confessors as *Cook*, *Snat*, and *Collier*, are living.

I have not yet heard any of his Managers deny his corrupting the Scriptures; none yet, but himself, have arrived to that invincible Impudence. It will soon appear by the excellent Speech of one of the Managers, how he abuses them, sometimes by adding, sometimes by leaving out Words and Sentences; sometimes he mis-cites Passages of Holy Writ, and always wickedly misapplies them. What an infinite Scandal is this Man to the Church, who (unlike a Christian Priest, pronouncing the immutable and plain Truths of the Gospel) resembles the Heathen Juglers, making their Idols speak their own Sense, adapting their Oracles to all Occasions, and explaining of them to all Purposes! How steadfast was the Wickedness! How atheistical the Presumption, to appeal to God for the Truth thereof, when he ought to have humbled himself before God, for the *Flagrancy* of the Sin!

Let us consider this Man, who says he is 'satisfied of the Queen's being an affectionate Nursing Mother to the Church,' yet represents her as an unnatural *Step-Mother*, who has committed 'the Guardianship to such lazy Defenders and put 'her professed Enemy into her Bowels.'

This is the loyal and faithful Subject, who would die for his Queen, and in Defence of her Title; who affirms to her Face, that the Means used to secure her Succession to the Crown were *odious and unjustifiable*.† This is the Asserter

of
* Speech, p. 21. † Character of a Low-Church Man.

of her Prerogatives, who said, 'That the Church groan'd under the Prerogative Act, and Letter Missive, i. e. *her Supremacy.*' †

This Man doubtless must be in earnest, when he commends her Majesty's happy and wise Administration, and the Vigilance of the Ministry; ‖ yet, after that he has made the Nation the very Sink of Perdition, he says, 'That all these Mischiefs walk up and down this distracted Kingdom with Impunity.' *

If some Persons, through a real Sense of religion, should apprehend any Danger of the Church, by Reason of Vice and Immorality, inseparable at all Times from all Nations under Heaven, always complain'd of, and never more than *now* discouraged: Yet the Queen has just Reason to 'think it very injurious to her, to take a Pretence from thence to insinuate that the Church is in any Danger from her Administration,' and has as much Reason to resent the Indignity, and suspect the Design, as her Grandfather the blessed Martyr had, upon the very same Occasion. 'For, says he, when they did observe, that many *Honest and Religious Minds in that House* did complain of those Dangers that did threaten the Church, they likewise took the same Word in their Mouth, and their Cry was, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini, when the true Care of the Church never came into their Hearts;* ** and what the one did out of Zeal to Religion, the other took as a *plausible Theme to deprave our Government;* as *if we, our Clergy, and Council, were either senseless or careless of Religion;* and this wicked Practice hath been, *to make us seem to walk before our People, as if we halted before God.*'

This Man must not be thought to intend to asperse the Memory of the late King, 'whose Government, *he says,* was blown up by the Providence of God, and who had ruin'd the Church, had not an opportune Providence interposed, i. e. *his Death.*' ††

This Man prays as heartily (as he swears) for the *Hanover* Succession, but even there he won't acknowledge *their Right* to the Succession. *So high he is for the uninterrupted Succession;* so firmly he adheres to the Hereditary, as the only Right; and still supposes a Parliamentary Right to be the *Title of the Mob.*

He professes not to 'have the least Dislike of the Indulgence granted by Law to the Dissenters, and says, *he has* declared his Approbation in the most express Words imaginable, ‖ viz. *Queen Elizabeth,* like a Queen of true Resolution, and pious Zeal, pronounced, that such were the restless Spirits of that Factionous People, that no Quiet was to be expected from them, till they were utterly suppress'd; which, like a prudent Princess, she did by wholesome Severities, that the Crown for many Years sat easy, and flourishing upon her Head; and had her Successor King *James* but followed her wise Politicks, &c.' § In his Sermon he commends the wholesome Severities used towards them by *Queen Elizabeth,* wishes that her Successors had followed her wise Politicks; and yet he'll take it amiss if we doubt his Sincerity, when in his Speech he desires to be believed, that he approves of the Indulgence now granted to them, who extols *Queen Elizabeth* for having *totally suppressed* them. This

† Character of a Low-Church-Man, p. 29. ‖ Speech, p. 15. * Ded. to the Lord-Mayor. ** Rushworth, Vol. 1. Appendix, f. 6. †† Low-Church-Man, p. 4, and 16. ‖ Speech, p. 8. § St. Paul's Sermon.

This Man, who in his other Writings continually demands the *Execution of the Penal Laws, as in Queen Elizabeth's Time*, and in the mean time admonishes *our Superior Pastors to do their Duty in Thundering out their Anathema's*, to damn their Souls (which he still affirms they can, and ought to do) since their Goods and Persons are protected by the Law, will think it hard to be thought *to betray any Want of Christian Moderation*.

I hope yet, that we all mean the same Thing, though we express ourselves differently about it; that we still wish the same Thing, though we shew the contrary Passions of Joy and Sorrow upon the same Occasion. I hope we are all going the same Way, though some of us look backward; that, though we seem to have different Designs in working up the Plot, yet in the End they will all tend to bring about one Glorious Action; and that there is no other but a 'laudable Contention among us, who shall exceed the other in contributing to 'advance the Queen's present Happiness, and secure the Protestant Succession.' Yet I would desire one Side to satisfy the other of their Sincerity, by desisting to give out that they are encouraged by the Queen (to do I don't know what;) forbearing to libel the other Side, under the Umbrage of (so unacceptably) addressing her Majesty, and by those Addresses to insinuate that the Queen wants Encouragement from them; by ceasing *again* to traduce her Majesty, as if she had a secret Will, different from her Declarations; and at last by granting her Majesty her most ardent Wish, in uniting the Minds of her People.

There are some, no doubt, who would repeal the *Toleration*, and dissolve the Union; who endeavour to defeat the *Hanover Succession*, and to unsettle the *Revolution*. They know well enough what Obedience is paid, even by this *abandoned People*, to the Word of God, and what Influence the Clergy have, even when they pervert it. This very Method was taken formerly by the *Great Earl of Warwick*; he employ'd a very *Significant Tool*, that *Ecclesiastical Incendiary, and predicant Herald*, Doctor Goddard, who proclaim'd (at *St. Paul's too*) the *Divine Right* of Henry the Sixth, set forth the Injuries done him, condemn'd the Resistance made against him, arraign'd the Parliamentary Title, and Recognition of the undoubted Right of the *House of York*; from hence the People concluded *Edward the Fourth* to be an Usurper; immediately the *London Mob* took Arms, and deposed the lawful Prince: and at that Time it was the Priest, and not the *Earl*, who was the *King-maker*.

To prevent any such execrable Attempt, let some great Genius project a *Monumental Act*; let the Preamble rehearse, how *London* and the whole Kingdom have *escaped* a second *Fire*, by professed and *disguised Papists*; let the Church, if possible, be settled in a more *Flourishing* and *Safe* Condition; let the Profession be still more encouraged, and the Professors be made more worthy; let the Obedience of the Inferior Clergy be bound to the Superior; let the *Supremacy* be secured to the Crown, and the *Dependency* to the *State*; and let some effectual Remedy be provided against *Applicationers* and *Occasional Abjurors*; let the Crown be adorn'd with *all* its sparkling Prerogatives; let it cast such a Lustre as may make it look amiable, but not terrible: For the obtaining the Queen's *Wish, for the uniting the Minds of her Subjects*, and for the fulfilling her *Promise*, let the *Toleration* be establish'd.

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Let the Act of Union and the *Hanover* Succession be made irreverfible; let the *Revolution* be declared *honourable*; let the *necessary Means*, the Resistance then made, and in fuch deplorable Cafes hereafter to be made, be allowed lawful and juftifiable.

Let the Memory of our *Deliverers*, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, be inshrined in Glory: Then, let the Felicities of Queen *ANN E* be recorded, to amaze Pofterity; and let her Virtues be repeated, for their Example: Let her Zeal for the Church, her Benefactions to its Minifters, her wife Choice of its Guardians, her Love for her People, and their Duty to her, be perpetuated. At laft, let a moft ardent Prayer be framed (equal if poffible to our Wifhes) for the longeft Continuance of her precious Life, and for the invaluable Bleffing of an Heir of her Body; and to ratify this Decree, it fhall *Thunder and Lighten from on high*, and the Voice of God, as it were, fhall be heard in the univerfal Joy and Acclamations of the People. *Amen*, and *Amen*.

A P P E N D I X.

STATE TRACTS, Vol. I, p. 539, 540.

‘ AND whereas we have granted all thefe Things for God’s Sake, and for the
‘ Amendment of our Government, and for the better comprifing the Dif-
‘ cord arifen betwixt Us and our Barons: We, willing that the fame be firmly
‘ held and eftablifh’d for ever, do make and grant to our Barons the Security
‘ underwritten; to wit, That the Barons fhall chufe Five and Twenty Barons
‘ of the Realm, whom they lift, who fhall to their utmoft Power keep and hold,
‘ and caufe to be kept, the Peace and Liberties which we have granted and com-
‘ firmed by this our prefent Charter; * infomuch, that if We, or our Juftice, or
‘ our Bailiff, or any of our Minifters, act contrary to the fame in any thing,
‘ againft any Perfons, or offend againft any Article of this Peace and Security,
‘ and fuch our Mifcarriage be fhewn to four Barons of the faid Five
‘ and Twenty, thofe four Barons fhall come to Us, or to our Juftice, if we be
‘ out of the Realm, and fhew Us our Mifcarriages, and require Us to amend the
‘ fame without Delay; and if we do not amend it, or if, we being out of the
‘ Realm, our Juftice do not amend it within forty Days after the fame is fhewn
‘ to Us, or to our Juftice if we be out of the Realm, *Then the faid four Barons fhall*
‘ *report the fame to the Refidue of the faid Five and Twenty Barons, and then thofe*
‘ *Five and Twenty Barons, with the Commonalty of all England, may diftrefs Us by*
‘ *all the Ways they can; to wit, by fiezing on our Castles, Lands and Poffeffions, and*
‘ *by what other Means they can, till it be amended, as they fhall adjudge; faving our*
‘ *own Perfon, the Perfon of our Queen, and the Perfons of our Children;* and when
‘ it is amended, they fhall be fubject to Us as before; and whoever of the Realms
‘ will, may fwear, that for the Performance of thefe Things he will obey the Com-
‘ mands of the faid Five and Twenty Barons, and that together with them he
‘ will diftrefs Us to his Power: And we give publick and free Leave to fwear
‘ to all that will fwear, and will never hinder any one: And for all Perfons of
‘ the Realm, that of their own Accord will fwear to the faid Five and Twenty
‘ Barons to diftrefs Us, We will iffue our Precept, commanding them to fwear
‘ as aforefaid.’

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* The Great Charter of King *John*.

REFLECTIONS *on a late Pamphlet, entitled, Priestcraft in Perfection.*

— *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.*

THE Author of a late Pamphlet, entitled, *Priestcraft in Perfection*, has taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that the Clause of the *Church's Power* was not contained in the *imprinted Book of Articles* that was established by Law; which in my Opinion was not absolutely necessary to his Purpose: For upon a strict Survey of the Words of the Act of Parliament, and calling to Mind some Passages I had met with in Books, I find that none of the Articles contained in that *imprinted Book* were confirm'd by Law, except those Articles which 'only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments; and that the Articles contained in the said *imprinted Book* which relate to *Discipline*, and to such Doctrines as concern not the Essence of the *Christian Faith*, and the *Doctrine of the Sacraments*, were not passed by the Parliament. And therefore that Author might have infer'd, that the Clause of the *Church's Power* could not be confirm'd by Law, though it was contain'd in the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament, because that *Clause* relates only to *Discipline*. I wonder that a Gentleman so willing to destroy the Credit of *Church-Authority* should over-look this Consideration, when it tended not only to serve his Purpose of proving, That the Clause of the *Church's Power* was not established by Law, but to take off from the legal Authority of so many other Articles of the Church, which are now universally thought to be established by Law. But few Mens Acuteness is equal to their Zeal; and therefore our Author has, throughout his Book, supposed, 'That all the Articles contained in the *imprinted Book*, referred to by the Act of Parliament, are establish'd by Law.' But to carry on the Matter further than he has done, I shall produce the very Words of the Law, and then confirm the Sense I shall give of it by some undeniable Authorities. The Articles confirmed by Law* are, 'All the Articles of Religion, which ONLY concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a Book imprinted, intitled, *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops, and Bishops, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year of our Lord God, 1562, &c.*' Which Words plainly confirm only those *Articles comprised in the imprinted Book*, which can be reduced to these two Heads, viz. 'Articles that concern only the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments;' and exclude all other Articles which fall not under these two Heads.

This seems to me to be the obvious Sense of the Words of the Law; and if the Reader will but consider, when he reflects on the Words, that in Queen Elizabeth's Time Matters of Discipline and Ceremony were esteemed of high Consequence, and disputed of with great Vehemence among the Protestants of England; and I may add, with a Zeal equal to that which we see at this Day in relation

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* 13 Eliz. c. 12.

relation to *Passive-Obedience*; it is impossible to imagine, that the Parliament would not have mention'd *Articles* of Discipline (which ran so much in their Heads) as well as Articles that 'concerned only the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments;' unless they had excluded all the Articles that related to *Discipline*. And the same may be said in regard to other Doctrines contained in the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which fell not under the two Heads mentioned in the Act of Parliament.

I do not expect that the Sense I have given of the Law (how just soever it is) should of itself convince Men who are already strongly engaged in the common Opinion. But when they come to consider what I have further to say, and join what I have already said with it, I am not without Hopes of convincing all unprejudiced Men, that I have given the true Sense of the Law.

1. In the first Place, I shall produce the Authority of that great Lawyer, Mr. *Selden*.

He tells us, 'There is a Secret concerning the Articles: *Of late Ministers have subscribed to all of them, but by Act of Parliament that confirmed them, they ought only to subscribe to those Articles which contain Matter of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, as appears by the first Subscriptions. But Bishop *Bancroft* (in the Convocation held in King *James's* Days) began it, that Ministers should subscribe to three Things, to the King's Supremacy, to the Common-Prayer, and to the Thirty-nine Articles; many of which do not contain Matter of Faith. Is it Matter of Faith how the Church should be governed? Whether Infants should be baptized? Whether we have any Property in our Goods, &c.

These Words not only declare Mr. *Selden's* Opinion of the Meaning of the Law, but make him testify a Matter of Fact that confirms his Opinion, and puts the Truth of his Opinion beyond all Doubt: For if the *first Subscriptions* were only to such Parts of the Thirty-nine Articles as contain only *Matter of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, it must be because the Law was at first understood to relate only to such of the Thirty-nine Articles as come under one of those Heads.

Whether the Fact be true or no that Mr. *Selden* relates, may I suppose at this Day be put out of all Question; for I doubt not but there are Places where the first Subscriptions of the Clergy to the Articles are kept. I am not skilful enough in ecclesiastical Matters to say *where*; but wherever they are, I do, upon the Opinion I have of Mr. *Selden's* great Integrity, appeal to those Subscriptions for the Truth of what Mr. *Selden* affirms.

2. But besides the Authority of Mr. *Selden*, as a Lawyer, and a Witness of a Matter of Fact, whereby it appears that the Parliament did confirm only some of the Thirty-nine Articles, I will present the Reader with a Passage that I find among the *Journals of Parliament*, published by Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, in a Speech of *Peter Wentworth*, Esq; one of the Burgesses for the Borough of *Tregony*, in *Conwal*, made in the Parliament of 1575, wherein, among Abundance of other Things worthy of Remark, it is affirm'd by him, p. 239, 'That he had heard of old Parliament-Men, that the Banishment of the Pope and Popery, and the
' restoring

* The Table under the Head *Articles*.

restoring of true Religion, had their Beginning from this House, and not from the Bishops; and he had heard that few Laws for Religion had their Foundation from them.—I was, *says he*, amongst others, the last Parliament, sent to the Bishop of *Canterbury* for the Articles of Religion that then pass'd this House. He ask'd us, why we did put out of the Book the Articles for the Homilies, consecrating of Bishops, and such like? Surely, Sir, said I, because we were so occupied in other Matters, that we had no Time to examine them, how they agreed with the Word of God. What, said he, surely you mistook the Matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein? No, by the Faith I bear to God, said I, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you Popes: Make you Popes, who list, said I, for we will make you none. And sure, Mr. Speaker, the Speech seem'd to me to be a Pope-like Speech; and I fear lest our Bishops do attribute this of the Pope's Canons to themselves (*Papa non potest errare*;) for surely if they did not, they would reform Things amiss, and not spurn against God's People for writing as they do.

1. These Words of Mr. *Wentworth* are a plain Evidence of the Matter of Fact, That the Parliament put out, or did not confirm several of the Thirty-nine Articles. For this Speech was deliver'd in Parliament in 1575, about five Years after the Parliament established the Articles; and therefore it is not to be imagined that Mr. *Wentworth* should have affirmed, that any Articles were put out by the House, unless they really were put out; when there must of course have been so many Members of Parliament present, who were Members in 1571, (when the Articles were established) able to contradict him, had not what he said been true.

Besides, Mr. *Wentworth* was stop'd in the Progress of this Speech for his great Boldness, and afterwards examined before a Committee of the House (to whom he gave it in Writing) on the Account of some Exceptions taken to some Passages which he had delivered; but no Notice was taken of this Particular, as appears from his *Examination*, printed immediately after his Speech, in the *Journal* of Sir *Simon D'Ewes*; and consequently it is reasonable to imagine, that the Committee was conscious that what he delivered in that Particular was true.

2. The Words of Mr. *Wentworth* are not only an Evidence of the Matter of Fact, that the House of Commons put out, or did not confirm several Articles contained in the *Imprinted Book of Articles*, but do so fall in with the Expressions of the *Act of Parliament*, as to leave no reasonable Doubt but that the Parliament passed not several Articles contain'd in the *Imprinted Book*.

For the Articles put out, according to Mr. *Wentworth*, were, 'the Article for the Homilies, the Article for consecrating Bishops, and such like;' which is as much as to say, Articles relating to such Doctrines as were not Fundamentals, or of the Essence of Christian Faith, and Articles relating to Discipline. To which Heads, if you add these two mentioned in the Act of Parliament, viz. 'Articles that only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments,' you have all the Heads under which Matters of Divinity are usually rank'd. So that the Words of the Act of Parliament, and of Mr. *Wentworth*, are like Tallies to one another. Wherefore

fore I think I may conclude, 'That several of the Thirty-nine Articles were not confirm'd by the Parliament.' For since the Words of the Law have so plain a Relation to the Distinction of Articles into different Kinds, and since a Distinction of Articles into different Kinds is confirm'd by Matter of Fact, and since that Distinction is a common Distinction in Divinity, I think the Words of the *Act of Parliament* ought to be understood conformably to it. For why should any one suppose the Parliament expressed themselves unaccurately, and that they meant all the Articles comprized in the Imprinted Book, when they speak of those 'only which concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments,' comprized in that *Imprinted Book*; while taking the Words in the obvious Sense, and in the Sense agreeable to Matter of Fact, and the Nature of Things, makes them use the most accurate Expression in the World?

How many of our Thirty-nine Articles are struck out from being established by Law by the foregoing Comment on the Law, cannot be known with that Certainty as if we had the *Imprinted Book of Articles* recorded, as our other Laws are. Then perhaps we should have seen what Articles were confirm'd, and what were not confirm'd. But since we are deprived of that Light about Religious Matters established by Law, that we have in Civil Matters established by Law, we have no other Way to find the *Articles* established by Law, but by running over the whole Thirty-nine Articles, and considering the Nature of them. This I do not propose at present to take upon me; but only beg Leave to observe, That we may be sure we have no Homilies by Law established. For the *Homilies* are no otherwise supposed to be established by Law, than as they are a Part of the Thirty-nine Articles; the Thirty-fifth whereof affirms them *to contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these Times*. And Mr. *Wentworth* directly says, *the Article for the Homilies was put out by the House*. Though had he not mentioned that *Article*, the Matter would have otherwise been very plain. For how can an Article, which affirms, *That thirty-three Sermons or Homilies do contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these Times*, be one of the Articles of Religion which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments? The Articles which only concern the Confession of the Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, are no more concerned whether there should be any Homilies, or whether these Sermons or Homilies *contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these Times*, than they are concerned in the numerous Sermons and Books, cited by *Sackeverell's* Council in Behalf of Passive Obedience.

What I have said is, I hope, sufficient to carry the Point further than the Author of *Priestcraft in Perfection* has done, who has argued on the Supposition, that *all the Thirty-nine Articles are established by Law*; and to convince any Man that is more concerned for Truth than his own Opinion, not only that the Clause of the *Church's Power*, in the Beginning of the Twentieth Article, is not confirm'd by Law, 'but that there are several of the Thirty-nine Articles not confirm'd by Law.'

The Age of R I D D L E S: or, A true List of certain extraordinary Positions, formerly called Contradictions, but now distinguished by no Name at all. Faithfully extracted from several Modern Doctrines and Practices.

Qui color est Albus, nunc est contrarius Albo.

I. **A**LL Government is over-turn'd by Obedience, and established by being resisted. Therefore

II. The most eminent Instance of Loyalty is to condemn Subjection; and he is the greatest Rebel that preaches against Rebellion.

III. Those are a Prince's best Subjects, and most faithful Ministers, who deny his Title to the Crown before his Face, and argue against that Right which they are bound by their Offices and their Oaths to defend.

IV. The worst Cause in the World ought to have the worst Managers; and those are fittest to censure other People's Speeches, that can't read their own.

V. A C——ch must necessarily be in a safe and flourishing Condition, when *Bishops* explode its Doctrines, and *Lawyers* are forced to defend them.

VI. They that know nothing of the Laws of the Land, or act and plead in direct Opposition to them, either are already At——nies and Sol——r G——ls, or ought to be made L——d Ch——f J——ces.

VII. Those are the most proper Persons to accuse others of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, who for their Speeches in that very Accusation ought themselves to be hang'd for high Treason.

VIII. Ignorance, Rudeness, Impudence, Dulness, Blunders and Nonsense, are undoubted Proofs of Wit, Learning, and good Manners; and the grossest Slander, Lying and Injustice, the bitterest Railing, Rage and Malice, are the truest Signs of Christian Charity, Temper and Moderation.

IX. When a Man is condemn'd and punished as a Criminal, his Friends ought to testify their Concern by Bon-fires and Illuminations.

X. It is the Business of the Sons of Arch-bishops to impeach the Church; of Bishops, to vote a Clergyman guilty of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, for preaching those Doctrines which Christ and his Apostles, and they themselves have preached; of *Scotch* Peers, to save a Church of *England* divine from Ruin; of Presbyterians, to pull down Meeting-Houses; of Governors, to discourage the Principles of Obedience; and of the Mob, to rebell in Defence of Loyalty.

The

The True, Genuine, T O R Y - A D D R E S S. To which is added, An E X P L A N A T I O N of some Hard Terms now in Use; for the Information of all such as Read or Subscribe A D D R E S S E S. 1710.

Dread Sovereign,

IN this critical Juncture of Affairs, permit us, the most dutiful, and most peaceable, as well as most numerous, of your Majesty's Subjects, in the most humble Manner to lay before you our good Dispositions, and our best Advices, as well with regard to your *Sacred Person and Government*, as to our happy *Constitution*, and the true Interest of this *Church and Nation*.

It is with Grief that we have observed of late a mighty Zeal to appear for the *Revolution*, which we were in good hopes had been by this Time forgotten. Nay, to such a pitch of open, barefaced Impudence are some Men arrived, that they have presumed, even under your Majesty's mild Reign, publicly to defend those Principles and Practices, which saved your Sacred Life from Destruction, and the Nation from Ruin, and which are the whole Foundation of our present *Establishment*; and openly to confront those many excellent *Treatises* that have been published (to the great Benefit of our whole *Constitution*, and present *Establishment*) in Defence of *Absolute Monarchy*, and *Unlimited Non-Resistance*, and *Unalienable Right*. We therefore cannot but esteem this the most proper Time, to declare our Zeal to be awakened into the utmost Abhorrence of those *Republican, Antimonarchical Principles*, which alone preserved your Royal Person, and secured to us the unspeakable Happiness of your *Government*; and which alone can remove our Fears of returning again to *Popery* and *Slavery*, in Time to come.

Your Majesty has several times expressed a more than ordinary pungent Sense of that wonderful Out-cry which had been industriously raised, concerning the *Danger of the Church of England*, under your gracious *Reign*. We beg Leave, as we have hitherto done, to consult *the Serenity of your Royal Mind*, by continuing and increasing this moving Cry, till such *Faithful Sons*, and *Bright Ornaments of the Church*, as we can confide in, are put into the highest Offices. And in the mean time, whilst this Cry is working our Will through the Nation, if we be called to Account, as offending against the Voice of Queen, Lords, and Commons; we can profess that we found it all upon that Increase of *Blasphemy* and *Profaneness*, which threatens Ruin to the *Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland*, and all the Dissenting Congregations here, equally with the *Church of England*. We humbly hope therefore, that so deep and universal a Concern as this, for our *Brethren's Presbyterian Churches*, as well as our own, can give no just Offence to your Majesty, or any good Christian.

Our *Establishment*, since the late *Revolution*, being founded upon the Justice of the Nation's having departed from the Right Line; and extinguished the Title of many who might hereafter claim by virtue of a *Right* merely *Hereditary*;
and

and fixed the Succession in the *Protestant House of Hanover*: in a deep sense of the Oaths we have taken, and in order to make our Zeal for that *Illustrious House* manifest *beyond all Contradiction*; we lay hold of the present Season, to declare our whole Regard to be for your Majesty's Title, as far as it is *Hereditary*; not knowing, nor being able to judge, how far it is so: But not doubting that this will be an unanswerable Demonstration of our being the truest Friends to your Majesty, as it will ever remain a certain Proof to the whole World that we are entirely in the Interest of that *Illustrious Family*, which is, unhappily, void of all Pretence to an *Hereditary Right*.

Thus do we, according to your *Royal Direction*, contend with our *Brethren*, who shall most effectually secure the *Protestant Succession*.

Your Majesty recommends with the utmost Earnestness an *Union of Affection* amongst your Subjects. And indeed the Circumstances of this *Nation*, the Importance of the *War* abroad, and the Danger we are in from a powerful *Common Enemy*, might seem an irresistible Motive to it. And so deeply are we touched with what seems most of all to affect the *Serenity of your Royal Mind*, that in order to this, we are continually doing what we can to persuade all our *Fellow-Subjects* into *one well-compacted Body*; that is, our own Party. But if they will not yield to the most persuasive Arguments of *Raillery* and *Abuses*, we most humbly desire to be excused from all Tendency to *Moderation*; a Word indeed, unhappily, used by your Majesty from the Throne, but of pernicious Consequence to the Interest of our *Church*. And as we have begun with Tumults and *Rebellions*; so we shall go on by *discontented Addresses* to contend, according to your *Royal Desire*, who shall most promote the Practice of *Peace* and *Love*.

Your Majesty has declared from the Throne, that *you will inviolably maintain the Toleration*. We humbly wish that your Majesty had made use of a Word known to *our Law*. We cannot, in our Consciences, be for a *Toleration*. No: We your Faithful Subjects are for an *Indulgence to Consciences truly scrupulous*: At least, *we do not presume, publickly, to disapprove the Legal Impunity allowed to Consciences truly tender*. By which we, who are Judges of other Mens Consciences, know what we mean, *viz.* To leave room for Indulgence to whom we please; and to judge all *Protestant Dissenters*, according as we think fit, to be Persons who have no Consciences at all, and therefore to be without all Title to this *Indulgence* or *Impunity*.

We know that your Majesty hath with great Earnestness assured us of your affectionate Concern for the *established Church*: And it is true that we have received some small Pledges of it, a little *Revenue* bestowed upon it, and an *Act* passed in order to enrich it more. But we hope to live to see other Proofs of it; and the Interest of all *Europe* sacrificed to it, if Need be. What will all these Professions avail us, if the highest *Posts* and *Trusts* are filled with such *Enemies* to the *Church*, as, if we do not timely prevent it, will secure it too much against *France* and *Rome*? We therefore beg Leave plainly to declare to your Majesty, that we cannot think it safe, in our Sense of the Word, till the following Points are gain'd, *viz.* till a *General* is dismiss'd, who is the *Idol* of the *Confederacy* abroad, and whose uncommon and unseasonable *Victories* unluckily portend the Ruin of that *Church* which they preserve; till a *Treasurer* is removed, whose Conduct

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hath extinguish'd the *Credit* of all *France*; till a *Ministry* is displaced, under which every Thing most honourable and most agreeable to your *Majesty*, every Thing most grievous and most disgustful to the *Common Enemy*, hath been unhappily effected; and especially, till a *House of Commons* is dissolved, which hath betray'd too much *Regard* to the *Liberties* of their *Country*, and too much *Zeal* against *Tyranny* and *Oppression*; a Behaviour which we ever esteem pernicious to our *Ecclesiastical Interest*. These are *Sacrifices* worthy of a *sacred Love* to the *Church*; and these are the Marks of it, which we are now impatiently waiting for.

And we humbly hope that your *Majesty* will pay the more ready *Regard* to these our *Insinuations* and *Importunities*, even at the Hazard of the *publick Peace* at Home, and of the *Confederacy* abroad; because we have made such Preparations for a new Election, as can hardly fail us, and at the same Time have given the most ample Proofs of our great Interest, and of the Weakness of the opposite Party. For what may not your *Majesty* expect from us, who have been able to arm the *People* against those who stood up in Defence of their *Rights* and *Privileges*; to induce *English Protestants* to act in Conjunction with *Papists*; and to reconcile Men to that unparallel'd Contradiction of *rebelling* out of *Loyalty*, and *resisting* out of *Zeal* for *Non-Resistance*? And what can your *Majesty* expect from another Sort of Men, so heartless and weak, that all our repeated Provocations have not been able to stir them up to any one Act of *Tumult* and *Opposition*? And how can the Success of the *Experiment* be doubted? By our *Riots* and *Mobs* we have raised the Spirits of our *Friends*, and struck Terror into our *Enemies*. By our *Addresses* we have kept up that Ferment which our *Riots* raised. And now by our *circular Letters* we are disposing the several *Counties* of the *Land* to the happy *Event*.

And as we have thus, in every Respect, shewed our ready *Compliance* with all your *Majesty's* pathetic Exhortations from the *Throne*: As we have cultivated *Peace* and *Quiet* by encouraging, or conniving at, the most outrageous *Tumults*; and mutual *Love* and *Affection* by the most endearing *Provocations* and *Abuses*: As we have manifested our unfeign'd Resolution to maintain the *Protestant Succession*, by our *Zeal* for that *hereditary Right* which cannot belong to it; and our Concern for the *common Good*, by doing every thing agreeable to the Wishes of the *common Enemy*: So your *Majesty* may certainly depend upon it, that we will ever give the like convincing Proofs of our sincere Affection to your *Person* and *Government*. We will ever continue faithfully to support the *Constitution* and the *Church*, by reviling the *Revolution*, and railing at the *Toleration*. We will, to the last, defend your *Majesty's* Title to the *Crown*, as far only as it is *hereditary*; and we will effectually keep out the *Pretender*, and all the *popish Line*, by constantly adhering to those Principles of *unalienable Right*, and *unlimited Non-Resistance*, by which they were at first excluded: Principles which, as we have shew'd in the Face of the whole World, sweeten the *Tempers*, and quiet the *Passions* of those who profess them; and are peculiarly adapted to reconcile the Affections of Men to our *present Establishment*.

By all therefore that is worthy of Consideration, we most earnestly entreat your *Majesty's* Favour; by all the numberless Obligations we have formerly laid upon

upon you; by the great and unparallel'd Abilities and Conduct of our *Friends*, when they were once in the *highest Posts*; by our quiet and peaceable Deportment since they were removed; by the *Meekness* of our *Tumults*, and the good *Temper* of our *Addressees*; by our tender Regard to *Consciences truly scrupulous*; by our uncommon Zeal for the *hereditary Right* of the *illustrious House of Hanover*; by the moving Cry of the *Church's Danger*, so agreeable a Sound in your sacred Ears; by our sincere Promise to suppress all disorderly *Tumults*, now they are over; and our unfeign'd Resolution to be very peaceable and submissive when we are uppermost; by the entire Conformity of our *Practices* to our *Professions*; by the *Passiveness* of our *Principles*, and the *Activeness* of our *Natures*; by the little Regard paid to your *General*, and the little Confidence placed in your *Ministry* by the *Allies* abroad; by the particular *Seasonableness* of the *Time*, when your *Armies* are in full Heart, penetrating into the *Enemy's Country*; by the Wishes of the *common Adversary* abroad, who boasts of what we are now doing; and by the Entreaties of all the *Papists* and *Nonjurors* at home, who are acting the same Part with us; by the *Terrors* we have struck into all our *Opponents*, and the *Preparations* we have made for a happy *Election*: By every Thing dear and sacred to us, we beseech your *Majesty* to be directed by our infallible Wisdom; to discard such a *General*, such a *Ministry*, and such a *House of Commons*, as have given you so small Proofs of their Ability, or Zeal, to serve the Nation; and to enter entirely into a *new Scheme*, which will prove so great a Satisfaction to all your *Allies*, and so deadly a Blow to *France*, abroad; and will so effectually extinguish all the Hopes of the *Pretender's* Friends at home. This is the true Meaning of all our Zeal in addressing your *Majesty*; and these are the *united Prayers* of

Your Majesty's most quiet, most peaceable, and most passively obedient Subjects.

AN EXPLANATION of some Hard Terms now in Use; for the Information of all such as Read or Subscribe ADDRESSES.

Antimonarchical Principles] Such Principles, in other Words, as are absolutely necessary for defending our present Constitution, and hindering it from being turn'd into an *absolute Monarchy*; and preventing the People's Fondness for a neighbouring Prince. *Monarchy* is a *Greek Word*, and signifies the Government of one single Person by his own Will and Pleasure. *Anti* signifies *against*, or *contrary to*; so that by *antimonarchical Principles* are meant such *Principles* as are *against* the *absolute Government* of one Person by mere Will and Pleasure, and without *Laws*.

Antimonarchical Men] These are a rebellious Sort of Men, who prefer the Preservation of our Government by *Queen, Lords and Commons*, before *absolute Monarchy*; and are for defending it against all, from the *highest* to the *lowest*, who would invade it, and turn it into an *absolute Monarchy*.

Hereditary Right] Is a *Right* resulting from Nearness of Blood, and not from so low a Principle as *Acts of Parliament*. It is thought much more *divine* and *unquestionable* than a *Parliamentary Right*. In other Words, it is that *Right* by which the *popish Line* may claim to be restored, and by which the *House of Hanover* must necessarily be excluded.

Popish Doctrine] Now used for a *Doctrine* which keeps out *Popery*, and is detested by *Papists*. Note, the Word *Popish* is never of any true Service to the *Church* in the Way of Reproach, but when it is joined to the Word *Republican*, or *Presbyterian*.

Republican Principles] Much the same with *Antimonarchical*: but particularly *Revolution Principles* are meant by them; such Principles as defend the Proceedings of the *Queen*, the *Nation*, and *Prince of Orange*, at the late *Revolution*.

Men of Republican Principles] A Sort of dangerous Men, that have lately taken Heart, and defended the *Revolution* that saved us, and the *Protestant Succession* as establish'd upon that *Revolution*. Note, that, it not being adviseable to speak directly and openly against the *Revolution*, and *Protestant Succession*, it is thought fit to attack them under the Covert of the Words *Republican* and *Hereditary Right*.

All Friends are desired to take Notice of the true Intent of these few *significant Words*.

The True, Genuine Modern WHIGG-ADDRESS. To which is added, An EXPLANATION of some Hard Terms now in Use; for the Information of all such as Read or Subscribe ADDRESSES. 1710.

Dread Sovereign,

IN this critical Juncture of Affairs, permit us, the least dutiful, the least peaceable, as well as the most inconsiderable of your Majesty's Subjects, in this extraordinary Manner, to lay before you the present Necessity of preferring the private Passions and Prejudices, the exorbitant Ambition and immoderate Counsels of an Handful of your Subjects, to the true Interest of your own Person and Government, the Advice of your Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, together with the Voice of your People, seditiously combined to make your Reign easy, and your Nations happy.

It is with Grief that we have observed of late a mighty Zeal to appear for the Monarchy which we have labour'd so long to extinguish. Nay, to such a Pitch of open barefaced Impudence are some Men arrived, that they have presumed, even under your Majesty's mild Reign, and in your gracious Presence, *publicly* to asperse and condemn those *Principles* and *Practices* which brought your Grandfather to the Block, involved the Nation in Confusion, and overturn'd the very Foundation of the establish'd Government in Church and State, and have *arrogantly*

gantly dared openly to confront those many excellent Treatises, that have been publish'd so much to the Edification of our Youth, and to the Benefit of our Cause, in Defence of *Arming against the Sovereign, of limited Allegiance, of alienable Right, according to the Will and Discretion of the People*, with the Laws of God and the Nation, the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles, the Opinions of our most holy and learned Prelates and Divines, as well as the most able Lawyers in all Ages and Countries.

We therefore cannot but esteem this the most proper Time to declare our ZEAL to be awaken'd into the utmost Apprehensions of seeing such *Principles* again prevail; which *alone* can secure your Royal Person from being call'd to Account when we please, and disappoint the unspeakable Profit which would accrue to us, by continuing you under the Tyranny of a *Party*, and which alone must inevitably throw us back to our first State of *Indigence* and *Shame*: For *naked we came into the World, and naked we should return*.

Your Majesty has several Times express'd a more than ordinary Sense of the Outcries concerning the *Danger of the Church*. We humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to believe, notwithstanding the frequent Declarations of our Adversaries, that all those Apprehensions have arisen from the Efforts of our *Faction*; that you are much more likely to be suspected of Indifference in Matters of Religion, than ourselves. To which we must crave Leave to add this further reasonable Request, That your Majesty would look on the Members of the Church of *England* as *Atheists* or *Papists*; they being the only Persons who have adventured to stem the present Torrent of Blasphemy, as they once stood single in their Opposition to *Popery*; whilst we seem so little concerned now, and at that Time acted the Part of Confederates against them.

Our Establishment, since the late Revolution, is founded upon the Justice of the Nation's having departed from the right L——. This we affirm to be the Foundation on which we stand. The Justice of *departing from Right* may indeed seem a *Paradox*; but so hearty are we in observing your Majesty's frequent Recommendations of Union, that we endeavour even to reconcile Contradictions. And therefore it is, that in a deep Sense of the Oaths we have taken to be true to your Majesty and your Successors, and in order to make our Zeal manifest, we lay hold of the present Season to declare, That we have not the least Regard to your Majesty's Title, as far as it is Hereditary; nor to any Right of Descent of the Crown, in Failure of Issue from your Majesty, on the House of *Hanover*, as they are next in Succession in the Protestant Line.

Thus do we, by shaking one great Prop of the Crown and of the Protestant Succession, earnestly contend with our Brethren, who shall most effectually support them.

Your Majesty was once pleased from the Throne very earnestly to recommend *Moderation*; which we have seconded with all the Art and Industry of Men sincerely affected to Peace and Union, by persuading all who would be persuaded, to be as *moderate* as possible, in their Zeal to your Majesty as Subjects, and to their God and their Saviour as Christians, for Fear of giving Offence to *weaker Brethren*. The surest Way to prevent all Animosities about *Religion*, is so to settle the Minds of Men, as to have none at all.

Your

Your Majesty was likewise pleased to declare from the Throne, 'That you would inviolably maintain the Toleration.' The *Church-men*, 'tis true, very readily agreed, and have ever supported such an *Indulgence to tender Consciences*, as the Law has allow'd: Nay, they have gone further; they have connived at our Breach of this very Law in a Thousand Instances, rather than be thought too nice, or inclinable to give Disturbance. But this, we presume, is far from being sufficient; not a Man of them will *tolerate Vice and Immorality*; not a Man of them will *tolerate Prophaneness and Blasphemy, Sedition or Rebellion*: And till this is effected, how is it possible we should be *All of one Mind*? And how can it be said to be a *general Toleration*, where such material Exceptions are taken?

We humbly hope that your Majesty will pay the more ready Regard to these our Insinuations and Importunities, at the Hazard of your Crown, and of the publick Peace; because we have made such Preparations to continue the *present Parliament*, till we shall think fit to *dissolve* it ourselves, as nothing can disappoint but *Calling a new one at this Juncture*. For what can your Majesty expect from these *Church-men*, who daily and openly declare, that your Majesty should be left a *Free Agent* on your Throne; that you should yourself be deliver'd from Oppression, who have so gloriously deliver'd *Mankind* from it? What can they mean by this, but giving your Majesty an *unnecessary Trouble of governing*, which we, your faithful *Modern Whigs*, have so chearfully and readily preserved you from, without being weary of the Burthen to this Day? What can they mean by insinuating that Gentlemen ought to be distinguish'd by no other Denomination but that of *Good Subjects and Good Patriots*? Is not this a positive Exclusion of your faithful *J——o*? Or, that *Men of Birth, Fortune, and Merit*, should pay Obedience where Obedience is only due, and receive the Reward of their Services, without scandalous Dependency? And what is this but an open A--k upon your M——y?

By all therefore that is worthy of Consideration, we most earnestly intreat your Majesty's Favour. By the Contempt which we shew'd, and the many Indignities which we offer'd to your Person in the late Reign: By our Endeavours to disappoint your Succession to the Throne, or to render precarious and uneasy your Seat in it: By our steady Opposition to your Majesty before we were taken into Power; and by our Arbitrary Impositions upon you since: By the ill Usage we gave your *Ministers* when then were not our Vassals; and by the Adoration which we have paid them from the Time they became so: By the Confidence which we place in them, and by the Distrust which we shew of you: By our uncommon Zeal for the illustrious House of *Hanover*, whilst we differ'd from your *Ministers*; and by our infamous Neglect of that Family since we agreed with them: By the entire Conformity of our Practices to our Professions: By our Votes against any Peace without the Restitution of *Spain*, and by our absolute Neglect of that Part of the War: By our disgracing the *Englishman* who was victorious in that Country, and supporting the *Frenchman* who has sold or lost it; as if *Success* was criminal in all but one, and *Conquest* was least valuable where it is most wanted: By that exemplary Instance of Love to our own *Poor*, in sending for *Palatines* to intercept that Charity for Want of which they starved: By making no Use of Victories, but to prolong the War, and to become terrible

rible to your Majesty, and to our Fellow-Subjects : By our Pretences to *Moderation*, and our Exercise of *Tyranny* : By that Love which we affect of *Liberty*, and that *Slavish* Submission which we require of all who serve us : By the Clamours which we have raised in former Times against Violations of Charters, against Prosecutions on *Innuendo's*, and against *Convictions* on forced Constructions of Law, and by the *Corporations* which we have in these Times garbled : By the Right of Election which we have taken from so many Thousands of our Fellow Subjects : By our straining passionate Expressions into *high Crimes*, and common Riots into *high Treason* : By the particular Seasonableness of the Time, when we gave Occasion to the *present Ferment* ; and by the Dexterity which we shew'd in reducing the Friends of our old Constitution to this *Dilemma*, either of sitting tamely down under Oppression, or of affording this Colour to asperse them, that by their Struggles for Self-Preservation at home they give Encouragement to the *common Enemy* abroad : By every Thing dear and sacred to us, we beseech your Majesty to be directed by our infallible Wisdom, to resign the *Prerogative* of *Peace* and *War* to your *General*, the whole *executive Power* at home to your *Treasurer*, and to continue both *yourself* and *them* under the Dominion of that *J—o*, whose ra--c--s Av---ce, and whose inf---le Amb---n have been the great Occasion of all the Dis---s which have happen'd either in the last Reign or in this ; and have justly render'd them t---r---ble to all those who pray for the Peace of our Jerusalem.

This is the true Meaning of all our Applications to your Majesty ; and these are the united Desires of your Majesty's most greedy, most turbulent, and most rebelliously devoted humble Servants.

AN EXPLANATION of some Hard Terms now in Use; for the Information of all such as Read or Subscribe ADDRESSES.

Revolution Principles.

REVOLUTION comes from the *Latin* Word *revolvere* ; which signifies *to turn about* : So that by *Revolution Principles* are meant such Principles as, under the specious Pretence of justifying the last *happy Revolution*, prepare Mankind for any ; and allow of the same Proceedings without the same Necessity.

Republican Principles.

BY these are meant such *Principles* as did once subvert our *Constitution* in Church and State : Such *Principles* as murder'd the Grandfather, and are in the Grand-daughter's Reign at this Time openly profess'd and encouraged.

Here-

Hereditary Right.

THIS *Right* is own'd by the *Church-men* to be in the *Queen* by lineal Descent from her royal Ancestors; together with that legal one which is derived from the *Acts of Settlement*. These *Jacobites* likewise allow that the same hereditary Right, in case of her Majesty's Decease, and in default of Heirs of her Body, would have been in the House of *Hanover*, as next in Succession in the Protestant Line, even without the last Act for the further Limitation of the Crown to that illustrious Family; they conceiving that all *Papists* are by Law for ever excluded from inheriting the Imperial Crown of these Realms. The *Church-men* tie themselves down to Submission by two Bands of Allegiance: The *Modern Whigs* suffer themselves to be fastened but by one Slip-Knot, to be made or un-made, as they see good.

Popish Doctrine of Resistance.

THIS *Doctrine* is certainly *Popish* as well as *Whiggish*. It was first broach'd by the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, to keep those Princes in Awe, who grew uneasy at the Usurpations of the *Papacy*. 'Whenever (say the Jesuits) the Rights of the Church are invaded (which Invasion depends on the Pope and his *Junto* to determine) Subjects are bound in Conscience to rebell.' 'Whenever (say the modern Whigs) the original Contract is broken (which Breach the *Junto* of Whigs pretend to be only capable to give Notice of) it becomes the indispensable Duty of Subjects to resist. N.B. If the Truth of this State is denied, the Authorities shall be produced.

Antimonarchical Men.

MONARCHY is a *Greek* Word, and signifies no more than the Government of one single Person. *ANTI* signifies against. So that by *Antimonarchical Men* are meant such Persons as are against the Government of a single Person. Now the *modern Whigs* point in two different Manners at the same End: Some of them are for having five, six, or seven Sovereigns; others of them are against any Sovereign at all.

Passive Obedience.

THE *CHURCH-MEN* hold an *absolute Passive-Obedience* to be the Duty of the Subjects, agreeably to the positive Law of God, the constant Doctrine of the Church, and the Language of all our Statutes made as well since the Revolution as before it. At the same Time they allow, that in Cases where the Ruin of the Nation must otherwise ensue, the Necessity dispenses with the Duty,
and

and Self-preservation takes Place before any other Law. The *modern Whigs*, on the contrary, make the Bounds of Allegiance so uncertain, press the People so hard to *Resistance*, and pass so lightly over the *Doctrine of Obedience*, that they seem to make the *Rule* the *Exception*, and the *Exception* the *Rule*.

Moderation.

THIS Word admits amongst the *modern Whigs* of two very different Constructions. When they are uppermost, it signifies *Governing*, or if you will, *Domineering*. When they are in Distress, it implies a *temperate Exercise of Power*, and is used to raise the Compassion of Mankind, and to obtain that Quarter which they never grant.

KENSINGTON, May 12, 1710.

The following Address from the Borough of Newton, in the County of Lancaster, was presented to her Majesty by John Ward, Esq; one of the Representatives in Parliament for the said Borough; introduced by the right honourable John Earl of Anglesey: Which Address was graciously received, and Mr. Ward had the Honour to kiss her Majesty's Hand.

To the QUEEN's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Steward, Bailiff and Burgeses, of your Majesty's ancient Borough of Newton, in the County-Palatine of Lancaster, together with the Gentlemen, and most Substantial Free-holders, of the Fee of Mackerfield (containing twenty-two Townships) belonging to the Manour of Newton aforesaid.

WE your Majesty's most Loyal and dutiful Subjects cannot at this Juncture acquit ourselves to your Majesty, and our own Consciences, without openly declaring (which we here do in the most solemn Manner) our utter *Detestation* and *Abhorrence* of that *Spirit* of Blasphemy and Prophaneness, Schism and Sedition, which hath of late so *insolently* shewed itself in this Land, and will so certainly bring down upon it God's severest Vengeance, if not timely prevented by your Majesty's great Piety and Wisdom.

When we with Grief reflect, how your Royal Grandfather (whose Goodness you inherit) yielded to the Importunities of Republicans and Schismatics, till he became a *Martyr*, and the *Loyalists*, who adhered to him, a Prey to the *implacable* Malice of those Enemies to Monarchy; who, under the Pretext of Conscience and Duty, learned first to separate his *Power* from his Person, and then soon destroyed both; continuing their *Hypocrisy* to the End, in the Mock-form of a

Trial, and Pretence of Law and Judicature : And when we consider, how that horrid Crime of Regicide, while by some seriously commemorated and lamented, is by others extenuated, if not excused ; and that the Law yet in Force for an Anniversary Humiliation is *transgressed* and *ridiculed* : How the very same Antimonarchical Tenets and Positions, which brought on that sad *Catastrophe*, are now revived, and openly and audaciously advanced and avowed : We cannot but with Reason fear the like fatal Effects to your Sacred Majesty, and this Nation, if not timely prevented.

And as from the Bottom of our Hearts we most chearfully recognize your Majesty, our *Hereditary* and *Lawful* Sovereign, and sincerely profess ourselves Members of the Church of *England*, by Law established, of which your Majesty is not only an Ornament, but also the Defender ; so we beg Leave, at the same Time, to assure your Majesty, that we will, to the utmost of our Power, support and assist your Majesty against all Attempts, which may endanger your Royal Person or Government, our most *Excellent* Church, or the Protestant Succession.

And, to that End, when your Majesty shall, in your great Wisdom, call a new Parliament, we will be more careful than ever to chuse such Representatives, as are most zealously affected to your Majesty, and the present Establishment both in Church and State.

And, in the mean Time, we shall not fail to implore Almighty God, so to preserve and bless your Majesty, that with Courage and Resolution, equal to the *Impending* Danger, you may put an Early and Effectual Stop to these *Growing Evils* ; and also pray, that, as your Majesty hath been the Renowned Protector of Distressed Nations and People abroad, He, whose Authority you have, and whose Minister alone you are, may make you the happy Instrument of freeing your own People from all just Fear and Apprehensions of having any illegal Attempts made upon their most happy Constitution in Church or State here at home.

KENSINGTON,

KENSINGTON, June 1, 1710.

This Day the following Address was presented to her Majesty by the right honourable Sir John Holland, Baronet, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, and Ash Windham, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of Norfolk, accompanied by several Gentlemen of the said County, and the City of Norwich; introduced by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward of her Majesty's Household: Which Address her Majesty received very graciously; and all the Gentlemen had the Honour of kissing her Majesty's Hand.

To the QUEEN's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Deputy-Lieutenants, Militia Officers, Gentlemen and others of the City of *Norwich*.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

IT is with inexpressible Concern we observe your Reign made uneasy by *Mistaken and Ill-designing Persons*, so industriously keeping up *Distinctions and Divisions*, amongst your Subjects, contrary to your Majesty's repeated Recommendations of **UNION**. It might, with great Reason, have been expected, that the unparallel'd Wisdom and Goodness, with which you exercise your Government, would have composed your Subjects into an universal Acquiescence in your Conduct; and that the Ministry you have so wisely made Choice of, and who have acquitted themselves with great Prudence and Fidelity to your Majesty and their Country, should not have been so invidiously struck at. The ill Treatment your Majesty, they, and your Great Council, meet with, we heartily lament, and desire that our Detestation of this Kind of Behaviour may be recorded to Posterity.

We are at a Loss to account for the Carriage of some Persons, who, in Notion, maintain an *unlimited Submission* to be due to the *Worst* of Princes, and yet, in Practice, discharge their Obedience so imperfectly to the **BEST**: Whilst by unfair Insinuations they represent your Majesty as wanting in your Care of the *Church of England*, notwithstanding the great Bounty you have shewn to the Clergy of it, the bright Example you are in it, and your reiterated Professions of your true Concern for the same. But as the Reverse of what we complain of, we declare our great Satisfaction in your Administration, and are perswaded the Impartial World will join with us in doing Justice to your Majesty in that respect. We humbly assure your Majesty (whom God long preserve) of our Readiness, at all Times, to defend your Person and Government against the *Pre-tender*, and all his open and secret Abettors, and all other your Enemies; and to maintain the *Church of England*, and the Protestant Succession in the *Illustrious House of Hanover*; and that we shall, in every respect, demean ourselves as becomes good Subjects to the best of **PRINCES**.

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We hope, that these Approaches of your People to you, which should be an Instance of their Respect to your Majesty, shall not be made use of to put Difficulties upon you: But that all your Subjects will continually study to make your Reign easy, who have done all that a wise and good Prince could do to make them so.

We beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the successful Opening of this Campaign, and hope it presages an Approaching PEACE, that will be glorious to your Majesty in procuring it, and safe to your Dominions, and the Nations in Alliance with you; and that Peace may be established at home, as well as abroad, and thereby your Majesty's full Intentions for the Happiness of your People, the better to be obtained, we shall, with utmost Care, upon all Occasions, cultivate a good Accord with our Fellow Subjects; in Testimony whereof, we most Heartily and Chearfully hereunto subscribe,

Your Majesty's most Obedient, and most Faithful

Subjects and Servants.

July 30, 1710.

The following Address from the County of Kent was this Day presented to her Majesty by Sir Thomas Palmer, Bart. and David Polhill, Esq; their Representatives in Parliament, attended by several of the most considerable Gentlemen of the said County; introduced by the right honourable the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex: Which Address her Majesty received most graciously, and all the Gentlemen had the Honour of kissing her Majesty's Hand.

The Humble Address of the Deputy-Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Clergy, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of Kent, assembled at the Assizes held at Maidstone the 25th Day of July, 1710.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects do humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the early and continued Successes of this glorious Campaign: And at the same Time most gratefully to acknowledge the many Blessings we daily enjoy, under your Majesty's Happy Administration. And it is with the utmost Detestation we reflect upon those Turbulent Spirits, those Fomenters of Sedition, who even in your Majesty's pious and exemplary Reign would falsely insinuate, that the Church, the most sacred Part of our Constitution, is in Danger, notwithstanding the unparallel'd Victories with which God has blessed your Majesty's Arms abroad,
under

under your most faithful and most successful General, and the wise Administration of Affairs at home, under a most prudent and well-chosen Ministry.

But such is the Ingratitude of these Wicked and Designing Men; such their Inveteracy to the Happy Revolution, and such their Inconsistency, that though at present they think it for their Purpose seemingly to approve of your Majesty's being upon the Throne, yet they stick not openly to revile and traduce, as odious and unjustifiable, the necessary Means that were used in bringing about the happy Event.

But may that Providence which has so peculiarly attended your Majesty, throughout the whole Course of your Reign, still continue to protect and defend the best of Queens.

And may our Holy and Apostolical Church ever be secured against all her Enemies, of what Nature soever, whether Popish or Fanatical; but more particularly against those Vipers in her very Bosom, who instill groundless Fears, and prophane her Sacred Name, in using it only as a Cloak to Designs, they do not as yet think proper openly to avow.

And as we do solemnly assure your Majesty, that we are ready with our Lives and Fortunes to maintain your Majesty's undoubted Title to the Crown, and to defend the Church of *England*, as established by Law; so we do not think it altogether unnecessary in this *prevaricating* Age to declare, that we mean that Title which is founded on the Happy Revolution, and confirmed by the indisputable Authority of Parliament; and by the Church, *We* mean no other, but our Holy Episcopal *Protestant* Church of *England*, established by the Laws at the Reformation.

And we likewise beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that when this Parliament (the Memory of which must be ever dear to all who wish well to their Country) has a Determination, we shall do our utmost *still* to be represented by such as are zealously affected to your Majesty's Person and Government, *sincere* Promoters of the Common Interest, and such who shall endeavour to enable your Majesty effectually to secure the Protestant Succession (for the Good of our Posterity) against the Attempts of your Majesty's Avowed Enemies abroad, and from the more Dangerous *Perils of False and Seditious Brethren at home*.

Signed by Twenty-six Deputy-Lieutenants and Fifty-two Justices of the Peace.

To the Worshipful the Addressers, and more especially the Justices of the Peace, Mayors, &c. of Counties, and Corporations.

The humble Address of the Industrious Poor within your Worships several Districts, that study to be quiet, and to do their own Business. 1710.

WE her Majesty's free-born and most obedient Subjects, but your Worships neglected Vassals, being truly sensible of the Blessings which *even we* daily enjoy in common with you, under her Majesty's most auspicious

auspicious Government, the Integrity of her Councils, and the Glory of her Arms, cannot but be amazed (how little soever your Regard may be to her late most seasonable Admonitions from the Throne) that your Worships should express so much less for yourselves, as to betray your Deficiencies of common Sense in the royal Presence.

The *Fastious, Heretical, Schismatical, Antimonarchical, Malicious, Seditious, and scandalous Books and Pamphlets*, your Worships so sagaciously complain of, have, *as well as Addresses*, too long abounded (your Worships and your equally wise Predecessors be thank'd for it.) And as her Majesty and our late glorious Deliverer have, both by Word and Deed, constantly encouraged and recommended their Suppression to your and their Care, with Astonishment we behold your Worships aggravating your Guilt to her Majesty's Face, by assuring her of a studied Neglect of your Duty.

We are sensible of our Safety at home by the repeated Successes of our Arms abroad; and of *Britain's* Freedom by the Distresses of *France*: We are as sensible of the due Application of what our prudent Legislators annually raise as the Price of Liberty, and that none of the Necessities of Life are taxed for the Preservation of more than Life itself, and could heartily wish your Worships would (with greater *Reasons*) have *better Notions* of our common Blessings, and be either at Peace with yourselves, or at least exempt your Fellow-Subjects from bearing the Burthen of your Follies.

We accuse not your contrary Conduct of foreign Views or Designs beyond the Water; though we cannot but think, that it is from your Worships in Temporals, and your noisy Partners in Spirituals, that mistake (to say no worse) their own Models of unlimited Obedience and Party Zeal, for the Christian Doctrines of legal Submission and universal Charity, and (like Members of the true Church Militant) practise neither, that Encouragement is given abroad, and our excellent Constitution, both in Church and State, is in Danger.——Good your Worships! let it not be always a Reproach in our *Israel*, that *Simeon* and *Levi* are Brethren.

For our own Parts, having declared ourselves to be of the Number of the Peaceable, it is for Peace sake alone that we address you to compose yourselves: That your Worships would, like her Majesty's good and dutiful Subjects the Justices of the Peace, Mayors, &c. keep the Peace yourselves (may it please ye) promote it in others, and punish the Breaches of it in all; the Excesses of Ale and Zeal to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

That by exerting the Down Weight and Top Measure of your Sagacities, we may no longer labour to be abused, but have just Weights and full Measures in our Markets, and that you would be pleased to keep in due Repair the Posts of your Authority, for your own and the publick Use: But in Matters of Superior Government, let us beseech your Worships to avoid prescribing; and let the seasonable Neglect of your Follies convince you of the Lenity of that Government, that studies the softest Way to your Amendment; beseeching you also, that the Parliament may sit once more, to correct the Disorders of your Sessions.

QUE-

Q U E R I E S. 1710.

WHETHER any Parliament ever did better than this has done, or better deserved to sit again? And if the *French* gave Three Hundred Thousand Pounds to have a Parliament dissolved by King *Charles*; how much, by a modest and fair Computation, may the breaking of this be worth? And if we may not justly hope for a Supply of our Want of Specie, by what has been return'd to our new Counsellors upon that Account?

Whether the same new Counsellors did not intend to have a Peace at any Rate, when they order'd our Ministers abroad to stop the *French* Plenipotentiaries? And whether the *French* King was not too rash, and secure, when he recall'd his Ministers so soon; before his Friends here came out from behind the Curtain, and had it in their Power to give him what Terms he pleased?

Whether the same new Counsellors were not hard put to it, when, after all their Endeavours for an ill Peace, they were forced to let a Memorial go over to the States, approving their Resolution to carry on the War? And whether we are not in a happy Condition to be under the Influence and Direction of such Persons, as dare not own any one Design they have?

Whether any Thing could be more proper and seasonable than the late Memorial from the States, in which they represented in a most decent and affectionate Manner the absolute Necessity of continuing the present Parliament? And whether this could be justly said by the new Counsellors to be meddling in her Majesty's Domestick Affairs, when it was known to be a Matter, on which the whole Alliance depended, as well as the Security of the Protestant Succession, for which the States themselves are Guarantees?

Whether the Letter from the Emperor upon the same Subject was not still less liable to Exception, if that be possible? Whether he had not as much Right to intercede for the Meeting of this Parliament, as her Majesty had to interpose, which she frequently has done without Complaint, in the Affairs of his People and Empire? And whether the Regard that was paid to him and his Minister upon this Occasion was such as is due to the Chief of our great Confederacy?

Whether the same new Counsellors are not extremely in the Right, to keep all such Memorials and Letters as long as they can from the Council? And whether in any Thing they have more fully shewn their great Parts and Forecast, than in preventing the Debates that might have arisen there, upon such frivolous Subjects as the Preservation of this Parliament, of this Nation, and of all Europe?

Whether Assurances were not given to the States, and the other Allies, That no more Changes should be made in the Ministry, after the Removal of the E. of S. at which they were justly alarm'd? Whether the late Lord Treasurer may not be said to have been a Minister? And whether the new Counsellors, that turn'd him out, had a due Regard to her M—'s Honour, and to her Character in Foreign Courts?

Whether

Whether any Instance was ever known till now, of a Treasurer being removed without the least Fault pretended; who in all the Time of this expensive War has by wonderful Ability and Reputation kept down the Interest of Money to Six *per Cent.* and who in the Management of above forty Millions is not suspected by his Enemies to have diverted one Penny to his own private Use; nor to have got one Farthing by the Disposal of Offices, or any other Exercise of Power or Favour, in all the Course of his Ministry?

Whether Experience in Business, or Ability in Parliament, recommended the Majority of the new Commission? Whether a certain Person might not as well have sat there alone, if he had dared to succeed so great a Predecessor? And whether Whigs or Tories will best like the Commission?

Whether it is not certain now that our General will also be laid aside? Whether we are not likely to fall after that an immediate Sacrifice of *France*? And whether it is not already high Time for these new Counsellors to recall him, whose Actions each Year have exceeded the Hopes of his Friends; and who has constantly provoked the Displeasure of his Enemies, by performing the Business of two Campaigns in one? Which is the only Proof they can give of his Desire to prolong the War.

Whether the rest of those great and able Men, who yet remain in the Offices of Business, will not likewise be very soon removed? Whether any People before were ever so unhappy, to lose in a few Months the Service of all their best Friends? And whether another Set of Men can be found in the Nation, that are, in any Degree, equal to the late Ministers for Honour, Fortune, Reputation, all Manner of Qualifications for their several Employments, and unalterable Love of their Country?

Whether the Comparison that is now writing of these new Counsellors with the late Ministers will not be a most instructive Piece of History? Whether they will not force People at last to write impartially their whole Lives and Characters, which of all Satyrs would be the sharpest? And whether any thing could have been more seasonable than the reprinting a certain Book, which was written soon after the Assassination-Plot, by a Person whose Name is *Smith*, and which is now coming out again with a very large Appendix?

Whether any thing is so justly fear'd in this Nation as Popery? And whether it is not as likely to be brought in by an *Italian* Courtesan, as ever it was by a *French* Mistress?

Whether it is possible that any one Creature of these new Counsellors should be chosen by true *Britains* to serve in the next Parliament, when in every *Paris Gazette* we find a Recommendation of them? And whether the new Commission is not a sufficient Reward to our wise High-church-men, for their great Care and Pains in sending their *Fool* about the Country to influence the next Elections?

Whether the new Ambassador to *Hanover* is not chosen with great Discretion, and will not be extremely acceptable to that Court; who, to pass over all other Parts of his Character, has, at the Age of Threescore, renounced his old Principles and Friends, and is setting up in his own Country Hereditary-Right-Men, in order to secure the Protestant Succession?

Whether

Whether the late Action in *Spain*, performed by Mr. *S——pe*, will not bring him ere long into great Trouble and Mortification? Whether it was not a most imprudent thing in him to gain a Victory, after the Example that has been set before his Eyes? Whether, in all Probability, his Successor will not speedily be named? And whether Fame says true, that my Lord *N——th* and *G——ey* will be the Man? Or who?

Whether the new Commissioners could have sat two Days in the Treasury, if they had not been supported by the late Ministers; who pressed all their Friends to supply the Necessities of the War, and all the Foreign Ministers to prevent the breaking of our Alliance? Whether any People before were ever in so deplorable Circumstances, to be obliged, for the immediate Preservation of the whole, to support such Persons as they know are brought in for their Destruction? And whether the new Counsellors, with all their settled Assurance, can have the Boldness to pretend, that the Government at this Time is carried on by them?

Whether there ever was a Character of more Heroick Virtue and Publick Spirit, than the late Ministers maintain; who being disgraced, and reviled, and loaded with all manner of Reproaches, and with ungrateful Returns for true and faithful Services, have yet the Courage, Constancy and Merit to persevere in their honest Endeavours for preventing the Nation's Ruin, and preserving the common Cause?

Whether after all these Endeavours of the late Ministers we shall not lose the good Effects of this great and glorious War? Whether human Nature is able to bear this Reflection? Whether a new or old Parliament can come Time enough to retrieve the Despondency of our Allies, or the Misfortunes into which the new Counsellors have plunged us? And whether they will not be equally liable in either to be call'd to answer for the Confusion they have brought upon us, notwithstanding our continued Success abroad, and our flourishing Credit at Home?

A SPEECH made in the *House of Commons*, upon the late Ministry's forcing a new Charter upon the Town of *Bewdly*, in the County *Worcester*, without a Surrender of the old. 1710.

MR. SPEAKER,

I Did not intend to have troubled you this Session, and I believe it will be to little Purpose now: For if a Gentleman stands up to complain of Grievances, although this House meets in order to redress them, he is represented as a Person that obstructs her Majesty's Business; if he finds fault with the Ministry, he is said to reflect upon the Queen; if he speaks against the Continuance of the War, to prevent the Beggary of the Nation, to prevent the Monied and Military Men becoming Lords of us who have the Lands, then he is to be no

Object of her Majesty's Favour and Encouragement. This, Sir, is the Pass we are brought to, and this is the Freedom of Speech you are pleased to ask for at the Opening of this Session, and which of Right belongs to every Member of this House. I remember the Time, when such Restraints as these would not have been suffered or endured; but we are under arbitrary ministerial Power; and if ever there was an Instance of it, it is in this that is now before us: But how great soever the Discouragements are to Freedom of Speech, I think myself obliged, as an *English* Gentleman, who never will comply with an arbitrary Ministry; as a Member of this House, who has been always zealous to support the Constitution of Parliaments; as a Neighbour to this Borough in the Case now before us; to speak my Mind with that Warmth I used to do, when the Liberties of my Country, or any Part of it seem to be touched. For though the Injury may be felt by one single Man, or one single Society of Men; yet the Terror, the Concern, and the Consequence of it, reaches unto all. We have had a Fact this Day of dangerous Tendency laid before us, of a new Charter forced upon an ancient Corporation, at the single Instance of a noble Lord, without a Surrender of the old, contrary to Law, to Reason, and the Rights of the Members thereof; which they refused to accept, as being inconsistent with their former Charter of King *James I.* and, as they conceived, void in itself; since it is impossible for two Charters, any more than two Grants, or two Leases, to have a Being at the same Time. Ever since the Revolution, every thing has been transacted in this Corporation pursuant to the Charter of *James I.* the Right of the Bailiff and Burgeesses affirmed by Judgment in the *Queen's-Bench*, until this new Corporation was erected by this unprecedented Charter, which the old was so far from consenting should pass, that they opposed it, by entering Caveats in all the Offices, and by shewing that it was contrary to her Majesty's Intention expressed in the Warrant.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, have you seen the Prerogative enlarged and extended farther, I will be bold to say, than it was in the unhappy Reign before the Revolution. Every Gentleman remembers how highly Things of this Nature were resented in King *James's* Time, when Court Arts were used to wheedle and terrify Boroughs into a Surrender of their Charters, and when they found that Method would not do, they endeavoured to take them away under Colour of legal Process, by bringing *Quo Warranto's* against them: This was then thought dangerous to the Constitution; and very well it might, for the People of *England* could expect no other Fruit from such a Proceeding, but that this House would be filled with Men of the Army, with Men of desperate and broken Fortunes, with Pensioners, with Vassals of the Court, with Slaves of the Ministry, and with all those servile sort of Gentlemen that can give with one Hand to receive with the other, and thereby betray those they represent to arbitrary Power: But this Instance now before us is more new and dangerous, than taking away Charters by Surrender or *Quo Warranto's*; those Methods made some Noise, alarm'd the free People of *England*, and you see what became of it. But this is a quicker, a more silent Method of doing it, which, like white Powder, destroys the Liberty of the People, and subverts the Constitution of this House without Noise or Notice. I beg, Gentlemen, you would consider all the Circumstances with

with which this Charter was attended, and I am sure you can't reflect upon them without Grief. First, as to the Time, you have heard, Sir, how the great Seal of *England* was affixed to this Charter upon the Twenty-second of *April*, 1708, the very same Day there was an Order made in Council to issue out Writs for calling this Parliament; in this critical Juncture was this Corporation erected, I will not scruple saying, to serve the arbitrary Designs of those who are afraid of a free Election, who are afraid of a free and uninfluenced Parliament: Such a Parliament would scorn to flatter great Men, would inquire into Miscarriages, and punish such as are faulty; would call those Ministers to Account who should prevail with the QUEEN to turn Men of Ability and Consideration out of Place and Employment, for acting upon Principles of Honour and Conscience, and doing their Duty in this House. Another evil Consequence with which this Charter is attended, is, that so many new Electors and a new returning Officer are created by it, to the Infringement of the Liberty of the Subject, and making all Elections, in a manner, depend upon the Will of the Prince. I hope, Gentlemen, you will seriously consider this Matter, that you will lay aside all Thoughts of Party in this Cause; for if it be in the Power of the Crown to dissolve old Corporations and erect new, in so exorbitant a Manner, we may bid adieu to Liberty and Property, and to all that has cost us so much Blood and Treasure to maintain and defend; there will be no Difference then between a Parliament of *Great-Britain* and a Parliament of *Paris*.

I hope, once more, Gentlemen, you will seriously consider how much the Honour and Justice of this House are concerned in the Determination of the Case now before you: The Eyes of the People have been for some time opened; they will observe, they will judge of our Votings in this Case, and do expect from us, as we have put a Stop to unjust and exorbitant Power abroad, that we should neither suffer nor endure it at home.

The THOUGHTS of an HONEST TORY, upon
the present Proceedings of that PARTY: In a Letter
to a Friend in Town. 1710.

YOU know, my Friend, that I take a great deal of Pleasure in communicating my Thoughts to you, especially when they are such as lie heavy upon my Mind. I cannot forbear giving myself this Relief, and you are always so kind as to esteem it the Part of Friendship to bear with me in it. I need not tell you, that my Sentiments in Matters relating both to *Church* and *State* have been ever conformable to *your own*. The same Fears, the same Hopes, the same Joys, the same Sorrows, have been hitherto entertained by us both. But I know not how it is; I cannot by any Means enter into the Measures of your last Letter, nor by any Means receive that Satisfaction from some Appearances, which you seem to have received. Whether it be that your closer Conversation with some Persons of *refined Politicks* in Town hath a little alter'd

your Soul from that Regard to *Right* and *Just*, which seem'd once inflexibly to possess it ; or that the Quiet and Composure of my *Country Seat* gives me more Leisure and Inclination to melancholly Reflections ; or what the *Reason* is, I am not able to say.

The Day is our own, you tell me ; ' we are just now coming into Play again. ' The Credit of the Ministry is gone : The Reputation of the *Whigs* sunk to ' nothing : There are those who have satisfied her Majesty, that we are her true ' Friends ; that the *House of Commons* must be dissolved ; a total Alteration ' made ; ' and the like. How this would once have rejoiced my Heart, I need not tell you. But I confess, a Walk or two in my Garden, and a Thought or two upon the Matter, hath made me at present entertain but too melancholly Apprehensions concerning this Piece of News. If you will give me Leave to speak my Mind freely, as I used to do, I will own to you that I am quite sick at the Review of the Methods our Friends have used to gain this happy Prospect, and at the Consequences which at this Time present themselves to my Thoughts. Honour obtain'd by dishonourable Means must end in Dishonour : And Honour obtain'd by shaking the *publick Happiness* is only a more visible Disgrace. These are my Maxims which recur perpetually to my Mind at this Time.

A little *Patience* might have made way for our Friends, without that Load of *Infamy* which must now stick to our *Cause*, till it hath eaten into it, and consumed it. You and others, I find, fondly imagine, that the late *Trial*, and our Management upon it, have laid the Foundation of our Reign. But I fear, my Friend, that when the whole Matter comes to be sedately consider'd, both the *Trial*, our *Management*, and the *Man* who was the Occasion of all, will hang like a *Millstone* about the *Neck* of our *Cause*, till it is sunk lower than ever it hath yet been. I know several considerate Persons in our Parts, who were a little wavering before, now entirely confirm'd that the *Tories* care not if the Affairs of *Europe* be entirely confounded, so their personal Ends be answered ; and that no Methods are too bad for them to encourage and make use of. And between Friends, a little more of the like Management cannot but alienate myself from a Cause which I have hitherto been heartily engaged in. You know, that though I am for the *Church*, I am for *Religion* too ; and though I join with the *Tories*, yet I took *Oaths* with a sincere Design of being faithful to them ; and therefore you will not wonder, if I look with Grief upon some Proceedings.

What Defence shall we make for raising a *Mob*, upon the foremention'd Occasion, wherever we could ? It cannot be palliated, it cannot be denied. To cast it now upon the *other Party*, is only adding to the Wickedness : And to do it, as some of our Friends do, even whilst themselves are boasting of having the *Mob* against the *Whigs*, is too gross and bare-faced a Contradiction. I have, to my Grief, heard several glorying in it : and I am myself Witness, that no Care was on our Side taken to suppress it ; but a great deal to hinder the Punishment of any who were concerned in it. If ever there can be such a Thing as *Rebellion* against *Queen*, *Lords*, and *Commons* ; this may justly be so accounted. And this is our *Glory*, which ought to be our *Shame* ! What shall we say to the *Insults* made upon the Sentence pass'd, by *Bonfires*, *Illuminations*, *riotous Assemblies*, encouraged, or connived at amongst us universally ? When it is asked, are these
the

the Men who are crying out upon *others* as the *Promoters* of *Rebellion*? Are these the *Passive*, the *Submissive* Disciples of the *Cross*? What shall be answered to the *Adversaries*? You know what my Opinion hath always been of the other Side; but I must own, that my Reading will not furnish me with a *Parallel*, nor can I say that they have ever, upon so slight an Occasion (a Man judicially call'd to Account) shewn so turbulent and seditious a Spirit. And put the *Case* that at this Time they had been as ready to return Injuries, as others to offer them, and as desirous of fomenting Disturbances, as we have usually thought them; what must have been the *Event*, but something terrible and bloody? Something which I cannot, without Horror, think of? But it seems our Methods, which I used to think open, honest, and generous, must now be wholly alter'd. Nothing is *bad*, so it be for a *good End*: Nothing to be balk'd that can serve a Purpose. Nor hath our great Management stopt at these *Tumults*, and *Insults* upon the whole *Legislature*, by which we have shewn our Valour to our *Constitution*. If all the Profelytes we have gain'd, and all the ignorant *Men* and *Women* we have spirited up for us, on this Occasion, by Lyes and Calumnies, by personal undeserved Praises and undeserved Abuses, were taken away, I fear the Remainder would be very inconsiderable. The *Man*, who is now, it seems, made our *Champion*, we both agree, is not more hated by one Side, than he is heartily despised by the other. For my own Part, I have heard such a Character of him, that I never desire to have to do with him. Our Friends, indeed, pay him, as they would do a *Fidler*, that plays the *Tune* that is call'd for, and helps forward a *Country-Dance*; and they seem inwardly to value him as much as they do such a one. You know in the *House of Commons* they did not think fit to say one Word in his Behalf, or in the Behalf of his *Sermon*. In the *House of Lords*, it was pleaded by them, that the *Sermon* was *incoherent Nonsense*, and he that could preach it, little better than mad; and this was thought the best that it was proper to say for him. All the World knows, he was not to be trusted with the Management of his own *Cause*, or with any Thing but the speaking such Words as were put into his Mouth. And yet to this Man we must wisely tack our Fortunes. The *Church of England*, nay, the whole *Church of Christ*, *Christianity* itself must be made dependent upon his Fate. His *Pictures*, his *Cause*, must be made our *Tools*. Who would not envy us such honourable Instruments? He is now, I hear, in his Progress, propagating *his Gospel*, making his Triumphant Entries into our Cities, receiving the obsequious Homage of adoring Crowds, and dispensing his Blessings amongst them. I suppose, quickly we shall have a *Map* of our *Apostle's Travels*, as there are of the others; and *Proposals* for setting up his *Statues* in all *Market-Places*, and his *Picture* in all *Parish-Churches*. Hath he not a Friend left in the World to recall him, for his own Sake? Or, hath not our *Party* one left to stop his *Career*, before he grows too *ridiculous*, even to be a *Tool* any longer? And is all our *Argument*, and *Reason*, dwindled into this? Have we nothing to say for ourselves but by such a Mouth, and such a prevailing Figure? In my Conscience, I think it a Season for us to mourn, instead of rejoicing, if this be so. The *Man* himself will sink us in Time.

And then, what shall we say of that numerous Train of *Lyes* and *Calumnies*, which our *Agents*, with Applause, scatter abroad through the whole *Country*; especially

especially a *News-writer*, J. D——r, whom, however some may think of him, I cannot but esteem the greatest Infamy belonging to our Party. Justice is due to all Men. You may remember what a barefaced Lye he told us about Dr. *West's* Sermon on the 30th of *January*: What Representations he hath made of Matters since, which we knew to be otherwise; and just now (what toucheth my Temper as tenderly as any Thing) he hath been insulting Mr. *Dolben's* Death, to make *God's* Hand in a particular Manner upon him; and confidently attributed that to him, which I since know, from those who attended him on his Death-bed, to be a *notorious Falshood*. Numberless are the Instances of this Nature: So many of late, that I have had a Suspicion these six Months, that the *Whigs* give him a *Pension* to ruin us, under Pretence of serving us, by his scandalous Lyes and Calumnies.

Our *Addresses*, I own, make as deep an Impression of Melancholly upon my Mind. Shall I, because I differ from Men in other Things, presently go and represent to her Majesty, and insinuate that *they* are *Republicans*, whom I know in my Conscience to be otherwise; that *they* are not *Churchmen*, whom I know to be so; or that they have Designs, which I cannot prove ever to have entered into their Heads? And shall I so far forget myself, as to declare *that Right* to be the *best Right*, which I myself have *abjured* for the future? All the *Posts* and *Offices*, in all the *Kingdoms* of this World, are not worthy of one such Instance of *Foul-play*. I cannot forbear doing Justice to all, and acting the Part of a generous Enemy, as well as an honest Man. I ask'd one great Man, who brought me an *Address* to sign, whether he could name one single Person of any Remark among the *Whigs*, who desires our present *Constitution* may be changed into a *Republick*; whether as great Friends as any we have had not openly own'd *Passive Obedience* to be a *limited Duty*; whether that which we *ourselves* own to be true, should be made Matter of Reproach to *others*; whether our Cause could not be better supported without *Lyes* and *Calumnies*, and the like. I found he could name no such *Republican*; and as for the *Doctrine* of *Non-resistance*, he frankly own'd between Friends, that he believed all were of a Mind about it, and that none would practise it in *Cases* of *Extremity*. He added, that by *Hereditary Right* he for his Part meant no more than *Hereditary Right* according to that *Act* which excludes *Papists*, and consequently destroys *Hereditary Right*; but that these *Terms* would serve as well as any in the World to break another Interest, and to keep up a *Distinction* where there was no *Difference*. I could not forbear answering him, that I detested *Popish Principles*, and detested *Republican Principles*: But at this Time found my *Detestation* to rise highest against those *false Friends*, who were now bringing an indelible Disgrace upon a good Cause, by *Jesuitical* and *Diabolical* Methods. He seem'd to pity my Honesty, and so took Leave. As soon as he was gone, *good God!* thought I, to what a Height shall we come at last, and where will such Proceedings end? Our Cause may be carried indeed for the present by such Methods: But what *Cause* can long subsist by them? If we could not hold it, when we came regularly, and by the voluntary Favour of our *Princesses*, into the *Posts* and *Trusts* of the Nation; how shall we be able to hold it, when we come to them under a Burthen of such *Infamy* and *Dishonour*, as will one Day or other appear in due Light, to the Generality of the Nation?

And,

And, my Friend, the Circumstance of Time should methinks strike some little Concern into every *British Heart*. Think to what a *Crisis* Things are coming abroad; the great Affair of Peace now on Foot; a *General* fighting our Battles, in whom the *Allies* have an entire Confidence; the *Summer* almost half spent; the *Pretender* watching the lucky Opportunity: At home, think of a Nation of Men, mutually provoking, and provoked by one another; hardly, at best, abstaining at this Time from open Quarrels. Is this a Time for such a total Alteration, as must shake the Confidence of Friends, and inspire the Enemy with Hopes? Is this the Season for an entire Change of Hands, when *publick Credit* must be sunk into nothing, before the rest of *Europe* can have Time to know whom they are to depend upon, and the People at home whom they are to trust? Is this a Day for a *new General*, or to disgust the *old*, when he is happily in the Favour of all abroad, and in the Midst of the Execution of glorious Projects? Or is this a Time for a new Choice of a House of *Commons*, when such an Opportunity is more likely than ever to be improved by our *common Enemies* into a *civil War* amongst ourselves? I should upon other Terms have been as glad as any Man of such Alterations: But not upon the hard Terms of hazarding a total Ruin of us all together; of endangering the whole Confederacy; of forcing upon *Europe* a dishonourable Peace, and of laying open ourselves to the greatest Heats and Quarrels. As much as I have ever opposed the *Whigs*, and as heartily as I have ever espoused another Interest, I profess I would not, for all the World, be the Man who should at this Time bring about so terrible and hazardous *Alterations*: Which can hardly, without a Miracle, be unattended with the most fatal Consequences both *abroad* and at *home*. Abroad, we cannot ourselves deny it, the Diffidence and Distrust upon an entire Change here must be as great as, we know, the Confidence and Security to be at present: And so the sole *End* of a twenty Years War all at once disappointed, even when it is come within View of a Conclusion. At *Home*, such Threatnings have been given out, and such Insults made, that I dread to think, lest the *Field of Election* should become a *Field of Battle*. This however I cannot help foreboding, that if there be any one happy Consequence of such *Changes* at this Time, it must be to the *common Enemy*; if any miserable, it must be to our *native Country*.

Alas! Whither are we running so hastily? And what is the *Spirit* which we have been raising? We see the Beginnings of these Things; but we see not the End. Would it not make a Man of sober Sense heart-sick, to hear what is vented (by Means of our Encouragement, and our Protection *forsooth*) from those *Pulpits* in which our *Friends* do so superabundantly at this Time triumph? The *young Man*, just come from the *University*; and the *old Man*, that hath been long in the World; (those I mean, that are called of our *Party*) agree in making *them* too often Places of *Liberty*, how much soever they are against *Liberty* in others. Nothing hardly now to be heard of from them, but the Superiority of the *Crown* to every Thing, except the *Church*; the *Independency* of *Church* and *Churchmen* upon the *State*; the *Royal* and *Divine Dignity* of the *Priesthood*; the entire *Dependence* of us poor *Laity* upon their *Absolutions* and *Benedictions*; not without frequent Hints concerning the *Restitution* of *Church-Lands*; and open Declarations, that any Notice taken by the *Civil Power*, of what they think fit

to deliver from the *Pulpit*, is downright *Persecution* and *Usurpation*. 'Behold
 ' I am with you to the End of the World. As my Father sent me, so send I
 ' you. A royal Priesthood. Shall perish in the Gain-saying of Corah. Ask
 ' for the old Paths. They that resist, &c.' These and the like Passages of
Scripture, distorted from their original Design, furnish them with plentiful
 Matter for magnifying themselves and their Office, as well as for preaching up
 the *Slavery* of all others. And as one Madness of the *People* draws on another;
 so who knows, what may be the Consequence of so many *fine Harangues*? Some,
 I find, are come already to talk of the *Catholick Church of England*: Which is
 the old *Popish Blunder* of a *Universal Particular Church*. What they may come
 to next, I cannot divine. We have opened our *Preachers* Mouths, and who shall
 shut them we know not. We have taught them to cry out against all *judicial*
Notice, as *heinous Wickedness* and *Diabolical Invasion*: And now it shall be lawful
 for them to vent any Thing! The more bold, the more like a *Minister of God*,
 who is to answer at *another Tribunal*, for the Abuse of his Office, and not to
 earthly Judges! If they are so weak as to think, that *we* desire and long for
 their *Dominion*, any more than the *Whigs*, they are as much mistaken as ever
 Men were: But if *we* still go on to encourage such a *Spirit* in them, and such
 extravagant Flights, as it may be too hard, in Time, to restrain, I know who
 are the Fools. We may flatter ourselves, they are doing our Work: But it is
 manifest they are doing *their own*. We imagine them our *Tools*: But, I fear,
 the *Tools* may come to be too hard for the *Workmen*.

You have here my free Thoughts. I have this Peculiarity in my Temper,
 that I am more affected and angry at the Vices and evil Practices of my own
Party, than of the contrary; and think myself more obliged to declare against
 them. And I cannot but think, there never was such Ground as there is at this
 Time. We used to complain of the Methods and Arts of the *Whigs*: And we
 are now combating them with more infamous Weapons, than they ever in my
 Memory used against *us*. We are lamenting the Profaneness of others: What
 greater *Profaneness* is there than to be *wicked* for the *Church*? We are crying out
 upon *Hypocrisy*: What greater *Hypocrisy* is there, than to make an extravagant
 Noise about Obedience the Cloak for *Turbulency*? And, what seems a Fate
 upon us, *our Wit is dwindled with our Honesty*, and our *Sense* hath forsaken us to-
 gether with our *Plain-dealing*. I know not how it is with you in *London*; but
 in the *Country*, I profess to you, I can hardly meet with any one Thing writ on
 our Side, but what is either *inhumanly dull*, or *inhumanly abusive*; what is enough
 to make either the *Man* very *sick*, or the *Christian* very *melancholly*. Whether it
 be that the chief *Light* of our *Cause* is at present carried in a *Dark-Lantern*; or
 that our *new Heads* are resolved to keep all their deep Sense within their own
 unsearchable Breasts; or that it is thought best to adapt every Thing to the
 Capacity of *Watermen, Porters, Carmen, and Plowmen*, leaving *Gentlemen* and
 Men of common Sense to shift for themselves; or that we in the *Country* are
 permitted to have nothing but what some *Whig-Booksellers* in *Town* will let us:
 This I can assure you, that I can meet with nothing to put into the Hands of a
 sensible *Whig-Neighbour* who visits me, but what makes him think us *insipidly*
mad, and what sets him ten times more against us than he was before. The last
 Paper I sent him he this Morning returned, with this Note in the blank Leaf,
 ' God

‘ God be thanked, I have now lived to see the *Party-Writings* of the *Tories* as ‘ void of *Wit*, as I ever thought their *Cause* to be, of *Reason*.’ I desire, if you have any Thing *new* that may serve to take off this Reproach, you would immediately send it down to me. But of all Things, I entreat you, let me have nothing that bears any Relation to the *Author* of *Timothy* and *Philatheus*, who, I hear, hath been dabling again. For a *Wag* is my *Aversion*: and, with me, *Want of Decency* is always *Want of Sense*. His first *Work* gave me Disgust enough: and I confess my Amazement is hardly yet diminished, that *Christians* and *Divines*, who expunged, as I have been inform’d, so much of his *Obscenity*, *Profaneness*, and *Folly*, could still leave so much behind; especially when they had *Martial’s* easy Rule before them, *Una litura potest*: ‘ There are a Sort of Writings, not to ‘ be corrected but by one long black Stroke of the Pen.’

Indeed, we have hardly one *Writer* on our Side, as I see; but the Weight of a numerous Company of *Scriblers*, void of *Sense* and *Good-Manners*, sparing neither *Dead* nor *Living*, insulting the one beyond Example, and abusing the other beyond Patience. If any of us condescend to argue, we are forced to acknowledge the Truth of the main *Whig Principles*, as hath been now done in the Face of the whole World. And yet the next News we hear of from our Quarter, is *Obedience without Reserves*, and I know not what *Monsters* of equal *Wickedness* and *Nonsense*. When we are forced to explain ourselves upon *absolute Non-resistance*, or *Hereditary Right*; we have the Absurdity to own, that by *absolute Non-resistance*, we mean a *Non-resistance* which is not *absolute*; and that by *Hereditary Right*, we mean the same with the *Whigs Parliamentary Right*. And yet we have the *Conscience* to raise the Spirits of the poor People against them, by the deceitful Use of these Words, and by Clamours about a Difference, where we cannot maintain any. If this don’t do, why then we have a farther Fetch, viz. to tax them with secret Intent against our *Church* and *Monarchy*; contrary to all the Rules, I will not say of *Christianity* (for it seems to be forgotten that we are *Christians*) but of *Heathen Justice*, or *Mahometan Honesty*. In one Word, our *Champion*, our *Addressees*, our *Writers*, our *Methods*, are all of a Piece. I will undertake that, at a lucky Conjunction of Circumstances, the best Set of *Principles* and of *Men*, that ever yet appear’d, might be run down, and exploded for a Time, by the like *Persons*, and the like *Means*. But remember again, what I have said to you, ‘ They that make use of them will, at length, ‘ be sunk by them.’

Before I ease you of this Trouble I will add a Word or two. Our Friends are grown very fond of *Fast-Days*. But their Thoughts, I find, always turn upon the Sins of others. Why should we not for once call to Mind our own? And instead of humbling ourselves for the Madness of *Lunatics*, or the Folly of those whom nobody regards, and few so much as knew of, before we, out of our Christian Compassion, disclosed the Infernal Scene; instead of this, I say, why should we not publicly repent in Dust and Ashes for that Scene of *Villany*, and *Scandal*, which is working on our Side, and which I cannot say we desire so much as to seem to discourage. And for the Time to come, let us dare to be honest; if we think fit to enter the Lists, let us combat our Neighbours upon equal Terms, and not be so dishonourable

honourable as to fight them with Weapons that make us an Over-match for all that have any Degree of Love to their *Country*, or of *Modesty*, or of *Humanity*, left. *I am, &c.*

POSTSCRIPT.

‘ I have just now received the *Impartial Account of the Proceedings in the last Sessions, &c.* and have consider’d it enough to tell you, that I am still more confirm’d in what I have been lamenting. The very *Title-page* is *Knavery*; and the *Conclusion* as plainly points to a *Second Restoration*, as any one could well dare to do, before it comes to pass. The *Tenderness* express’d, *p. 111.* to *Papists* and *Nonjurors*, as if it was unreasonable to look upon them as *Enemies* ready to disturb our *Government*, hath an Appearance in it, shocking to every honest Man who hath taken the *Oaths*: And the ridiculous Contradiction of boasting of the *Zeal* of the *Mob*, against those whom our Friends have nick-named *Republicans*, and yet attempting to throw the Scandal of the *Tumults* upon those very Persons who are so nick-named, will remain upon Record, as great a Testimony of *Understanding*, as the former is of *Honesty*. I am told we are indebted to a celebrated *Patron* of our Cause for this Account. If this be true, so much the worse; so much the greater Load of Scandal upon us. I pass by a Multitude of other Points, which, I am sorry to say, are utterly unjustifiable. *Integrity* and *Honour* seem to be entirely forgotten. *God help a Cause* that is supported by such Methods! *Adieu.*’

FAULTS

FAULTS on both SIDES: Or an ESSAY upon the original Cause, Progress, and mischievous Consequences of the Factions in this Nation, Shewing, that the Heads and Leaders on both Sides have always imposed upon the Credulity of their respective Parties, in order to compass their own Selfish Designs, at the Expence of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation. Sincerely intended for the allaying the Heats and Animosities of the People, and persuading all Honest, Well-meaning Men to compose their Party-Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for the promoting the Publick Good, and Safety of their QUEEN and COUNTRY. By way of Answer to the THOUGHTS of an HONEST TORY. By *Richard Harley, Esq;* 1710.

——— *En quo Discordia Cives*
Perduxit miseros. ———— *Virg.*

S I R,
YOUR Thoughts and mine agree in so many Things, that I could please myself to think that there were a Possibility of reconciling *Whigs* and *Tories*, if there were to be found, among your Party, Men of such moderate Sentiments as you have express'd through your whole Letter ; but,

Timeo Danaos, & Dona ferentes.

your Concessions are so large in our Favour, that you give me Cause to suspect you have only assumed the Name of a *Tory*, but are indeed a crafty *Whig* at the Bottom ; however, I am willing to incline to the charitable Side, and had rather submit to the Delusion, than omit so fair an Occasion to own my Belief, that there are honest Men in both Parties ; and to endeavour to convince the Honest *Whigs*, as well as the Honest *Tories*, that the Difference of their Opinions, in relation to Religion and Civil Government, is not so great as they are made to believe ; and that they might easily be brought to agree in preserving the publick Tranquillity, if there were not designing Men in both Parties, who have each in their Turns artfully contrived to keep open the Breach, and ventilate the Heats and Animosities of ignorant People ; that by the Strength of their respective Factions they may be enabled to promote their own sinister Designs, which ge-

nerally have been to engross the Places and Profits of the Government into their own Hands, to raise vast Estates to themselves by purloining all they can from the Publick, and to establish such an Interest as may always support them from being call'd to account for their Mismanagements.

I can think of no Way that is more likely to create a right Understanding between us, than by an impartial Enquiry into the original Cause and Spring of our destructive Feuds and Divisions, which is primarily the affecting a greater Power than our Constitution admits on the Part of the Crown; and the endeavouring to maintain the ancient Rights and Privileges of the Nation, on the Part of the People: But there is a second Cause, hitherto less observed by the Writers on this Subject, which has, as it were by a natural Course, led us into these Contests; and that is, the mighty Alteration that has happen'd in the Property of the Lands, and consequently in the constituent Strength and Power of the Government, since the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh.

For, as in ancient Times the Peers of this Kingdom were possess'd of vast Tracts of Land (some of them perhaps equal to whole Counties) they had, by Virtue of their Tenures, the Power of Sheriffs in the Civil Administration, and the Power of Lord Lieutenant in the Military, whereby they did for many Ages hold the Ballance of the Government, and were able to defend their own and the People's Rights, and check the exorbitant Power of such of our Kings as have at any Time attempted to usurp upon them. A very large Proportion also of the Lands of the Nation was, in those Times, annex'd to the Crown, together with all the Military Services dependent thereon; and then the Possessions of the Abbies and Monasteries made likewise another considerable Tenure of Lands.

But we have seen, that in the Course of one Century, since the forementioned Reign, this vast Allotment of Property (which perhaps amounted to no less than three Quarter Parts of the whole Lands of the Kingdom) was quite alienated and sold off from the former powerful Possessors, and divided into the Hands of a numerous Gentry and Commonalty, who (for the most Part) by making their Purchases in smaller Portions, and by the Subdivisions that have been since made, neglected the Military Services that were annexed to the Tenures; (which have been since quite abolish'd) and by this Means the mediate Power, which the former great Proprietors of Lands exercised over at least seven Eight Parts of the Militia of the Kingdom, coming to fall, the Crown took to the immediate Administration of the whole; which great Assumption of Power seems likely to have been the prevailing Argument with the false Politicians of King *Charles* the First's Time, to put that Prince (contrary to the Goodness of his own natural Inclination) on some arbitrary Methods of Government, upon a Presumption, that now the Strength of the Lords was broken, there was no Power left in the Kingdom able to dispute or oppose the Royal Will and Pleasure in any Thing; and the Parliament of 41 were doubtless very apprehensive of the Danger that threatened the Constitution from this Increase of Power on the Crown Side, and therefore endeavour'd to have the Militia settled by Act of Parliament, in such a Way that it might not be made use of to destroy the People's

ple's Liberties; and the King's utterly refusing to consent to this, seems to be the principal Point that occasion'd that fatal War between him and his Parliament.

If that King had found himself in the Possession of all the ancient Crown Lands, together with the Military Strength annex'd to them, he might have been enabled to raise and maintain such an Army out of his own Lands, as would have been strong enough to subjugate the Nation; because the ballancing Power which had been fix'd in the Peers was utterly broken, and the People had now no visible Standard to resort to for the Defence of their Liberties: But as the natural Power, inherent to the Lands, was now also fallen away from the Crown, it soon became visible, that the effectual Strength of a limited Monarchy is inseparably united to the Property of the Lands and Riches of the Nation; for tho' the King, with the Assistance of such of the Nobility and Gentry, as voluntarily join'd with him (many of them rather with an Intent to assist him to come to good Terms, than really to enable him to vanquish the Parliament, and withal their own Liberties) carried on the War with some Vigour at first; yet having no Fund of his own, either of Treasure or Strength, the single Authority of his Prerogative proved but an artificial and precarious Power, unable long to hold out against the real and natural Power of Property, which was now so largely vested in the People, that when they had found the Way to put their Affairs into a Method, and came to feel their own Strength, they were able to bear down all before them; though it is probable that this Maxim in Politicks had never been consider'd by the King's Advisers, till they came to be convinced by this unhappy Experiment.

'Tis at this Period then that I would place the Beginning of those unhappy Divisions, which, from the same original Cause, and by the same evil Arts and factious Disposition, though distinguish'd by different Names of mutual Reproach and different Circumstances, hath continued even to this Time miserably to distract the publick Affairs, and obstruct the Tranquillity of our dear Country.

It is neither in my Inclination or Purpose, to vindicate any of those many ill Things that were acted in the Prosecution of that Civil War; but since my Lord *Clarendon* himself fairly acknowledges, That that Prince was misled into many Mistakes in the Conduct of his Government, we may modestly say, that it was the proper Business of the Parliament to insist upon a thorough Reformation of all that had been done amiss, and to obtain such Laws as might effectually secure the Liberties and Properties of the People from the like Invasions for the future: If the King, at first, adhered to the Advice of those who dissuaded him from giving such Satisfaction to his Parliament as he would have yielded to at last; and if he was persuaded to decide the Dispute by the Sword, and to begin it by displaying his Standard of War against his People; what could then remain for them to chuse, but either to give up for ever all their Rights and Liberties, and to submit themselves and their Posterity to be govern'd by the Will and Pleasure of all their future Kings; or to resolve to defend their ancient Laws and Privileges to the utmost, and to oppose Force with Force?

There is, doubtless, a true Distinction to be made between a Rebellion and a Civil War; the first is notorious, when Subjects take up Arms against lawful
Governors

Governors lawfully governing; but when a Prince violates the establish'd Laws of the Nation, raises Taxes by his own Authority, contrary to the known Rules of the Constitution, invades the Liberties of his Subjects by illegal Imprisonments, unjust Prosecutions, and other grievous Oppressions, and persists in such arbitrary Acts of Government for a Course of Years; if a People can find no other Means to preserve their most valuable Interests, but by having Recourse to the last Remedy, and shall take up Arms to compel such a Prince to restore their Rights, and reform his ill Government; 'tis evident, from the Histories of the Civil Wars of *France* and other Countries, that grave and impartial Historians have not thought fit to treat this Way of opposing the unlawful Usurpation of Princes with the odious Name of Rebellion; and it is observed, that our Parliaments have had the Caution, that in the Acts passed after the Restoration, in relation to the preceding War between the King and Parliament, they would never give it the Name of a Rebellion, doubtless out of the Consideration that it behoved them to keep up the Sanction of the Parliamentary Authority, and that that War was authorized by a legal Parliament, who had a Right to vindicate the Liberty of the Nation.

The Names of Reproach, which pass'd in those Times, were *Cavalier* for those who sided with the King, and *Roundheads* for such as took Part with the Parliament: Now if the Intention of the latter were no other than to bring the evil Counsellors to condign Punishment, to prevail with the King to comply in a just Settlement of their civil and religious Liberties, and then to restore him to the Regal State under such Limitations as might secure them from any future Invasions of their Rights and Privileges (and this, I believe was the general Design of those who took up Arms at first) I see no Reason why those *Roundheads* should lie under a harder Censure for what they acted at that Time, than may be imputed to ourselves for what we have done in the late happy Revolution, for the rescuing our Laws and Religion from the Violations of the late King *James*.

Hitherto you will say I have argued like a *Whig*, but I shall soon shew you that I am not inclined to be partial. When this very reforming Party had reduced the Forces of the King, and it was in their Power to have put a good End to the War, they fell into Factions and Divisions among themselves, and many of those that had eminently distinguish'd themselves, and gain'd the Applause of the People, entered into Designs to advance their own Grandeur; the great Officers of the Army form'd Cabals in the House of Commons, who by their Strength and Interest violated the Rights of Parliament, by imprisoning several of their Fellow Members without just Cause, and excluded such as opposed their sinister Designs, without filling the House with new Elections; so that they became no true Representative of the People, and carried on all their extravagant Actions afterwards by a small Number of their own Faction: In short, when the King was at last brought to yield to such Terms as might have settled the Nation in Peace, they rejected all Manner of Accommodation with him, hurried him to the Block, usurp'd the regal Power, kept up the Army to support their own Tyranny, oppress'd the People with illegal Exactions, and ruled the Three Nations by the Sword; and if those who stile the Whole a Rebellion had

had but distinguish'd between the Commencement of the Civil War, and the Time when these Actions were perpetrated, I should be content to allow them that Term, or even a worse if they could invent it.

And thus, after our Fathers had spent their Blood and Treasure to rescue their ancient Rights and Privileges from the Invasions of a misguided but legal King, they were cheated out of all by the Chiefs of their own Side, who made it evident to the World, that their hypocritical Zeal for Religion, and their specious Pretences for Civil Liberty, were made use of as Artifices to delude the simple People, and make them their willing Tools whereby to accomplish their own ambitious Designs; and I have the rather gone so far backwards to bring in this Instance of the Deceits of these Men, because it is my Intent to shew that from the Beginning of our Contests to this very Time, the Zeal and Affections of the People have always been kept up by both Parties with fair and specious Pretensions of Publick Good, till the Heads and Leaders of either Side could get themselves into the Saddle, and then they have driven on their own Interests, and left the poor People to shift for themselves, till they should have further Occasion to make use of their Credulity.

To proceed then with my Observations in what Manner the Frame of our Government is varied from the ancient Constitution, and to shew what mischievous Inconveniencies have been introduced thereby; as I have already noted, that the ancient Possessions allotted for the Support of the Dignity of the Crown were alienated, so now after the Restoration (mostly) there was a Necessity to find out some other Ways of raising Money to enlarge the small Revenue that remain'd, so as it might enable the King to live honourably, and to maintain the Charge of the Civil and Military Lists: The Customs on Merchandize were much advanced, great Duties of Excise, together with that of Hearth Money, were given, and these new Ways of taxing the People required a Multitude of Officers for the Collection, and many profitable Places for Men of Quality, all in the Gift of the Crown, and consequently a Means of engaging Abundance of Creatures and Dependants upon it.

It may be asserted for a Truth (though it has been contested by some) that the Representatives of the People (or House of Commons) did in ours, and in all right *Gothic* Governments, make a constituent Part of the Assembly of the States (or Parliament) though it be certain that in old Times they bore a much lesser Figure than now, and were much at the Devotion of the great Lords; but as their Power decreased, that of the Commons grew, and (as is said before) their larger Share of Property has naturally devolved the Ballance of the Government upon them, and their Authority is much increased since the Crown is brought to have so great a Dependance upon them for its Support; but as the Commons were formerly wont to be elected, and to sit and vote with Freedom, having nothing more in View than to serve their Country faithfully, now our Kings came to apply their utmost Endeavours to influence Elections, and then to gain as many Members as they could into their Interests, by giving them Honours, profitable Places, and Pensions: So that our Parliaments have since come to be divided into the Court and Country Factions, by which Means the Crown has acquired a new Sort of Power, that has sometimes proved more dan-
gerous

gerous to our Constitution than its former Power, which (as I have shewn) was founded upon Property, because a sufficient Ballance was provided to check the Excess of that; whereas this introduces a Corruption into our very Constitution, and it appears a Matter of the utmost Difficulty to provide a sufficient Remedy against it.

I must not omit also to observe, that in the Times of Popery the great Preferments of the Church depending upon the Pope, the Clergy were then as zealous as the Temporality in defending the Liberties of the People against the Usurpations of the Crown; but when, in the Reign of *Henry the VIIIth*, the Parliament abolish'd this Foreign Jurisdiction, and placed the Power of conferring the Dignities of the Church in the King, this laid the Foundation for Men of aspiring Tempers, since the Reformation, to strain their Inventions to form such Schemes of Divinity as might render them acceptable to the Court, and become a Means to advance them to Deanaries and Bishopricks; and thus they came to wrest the holy Scriptures, and to pervert the pure and uncontroverted Doctrines of Christianity, to maintain Falsities and Absurdities, to flatter Princes with an Opinion that God had placed them in a Sphere above all human Laws, and that they were accountable to him alone for their Male-Administrations; to teach the People that they are bound by the Precepts of the Gospel to pay an unlimited passive Obedience to Princes in all possible Cases; and that themselves may not want a fair Share in these Heavenly Privileges, they would make us believe that they are *Jure Divino* God's peculiar Heritage in a distinct Superiority to the Layety, and that their Order is exempted from any Dependency upon the State, &c. But I shall leave the Examination of these Opinions to another Place, my Intent at present being only to shew, that as the Clergy are dispersed over the whole Kingdom, and have great Influence upon the People, they have deluded Multitudes of unthinking Men into these false Notions of Government, and almost persuaded them out of their own Birth-right; and have ruin'd more than one King by misleading them into the actual Practice of arbitrary Rule, from a Confidence that these Principles would support them in it: And in this mannner they are become another additional Power to the Crown with a Mischief, for it has operated but like a Sword in the Hands of a Madman, to his own Destruction.

By what has been said then you will see that the essential Powers of our Constitution are very much changed, and it is from thence that the first Occasion of all our National Contentions spring; while on the one hand the Crown is struggling to supply the Loss of it's natural Strength by arbitrary or artificial Innovations; and the People on the other hand are contending to preserve their ancient Rights and Privileges; when in the mean Time both are made a Prey to the Ambition and Avarice of self-seeking Men: And we must always expect to be subject to the Breakings out of this old Sore, until some good Patriots shall be so happy as to find out such a Temperament as may make the Crown easy and the People secure; wherein, as it will always be the true Interest of the latter to keep to the ancient Constitution as near as possible in preserving the Lustre and Salutory Authority of the Crown, so on the other Side, it will be more for the Ease and Safety of the Prince to soften any such Powers of the Prerogative, as may tend to keep up Fears and Jealousies in the Subjects, and which indeed are more apt to be made use of by Favourites

vourites and evil Ministers to promote their own Grandeur and private Gain, than to contribute any real Advantage to the Crown.

After the Restoration, the Nation run into an Excess of Loyalty, and (except the violent Persecution of the poor Dissenters) Things went on smoothly for several Years, the Generality of the People not much concerning themselves in the Contests between the Court and Country Parties in the House of Commons, untill after the Discovery of the *Popish Plot*, which alarmed the whole Kingdom, and then all Sorts of Protestants thought themselves equally concerned to oppose the impending Danger; the Court itself was forced for a Time to give way to the Current, untill they had formed new Intrigues to sham the *Popish Plot*, and turn it upon the Presbyterians; too many of the Clergy came into this Scheme, and by theirs and the Court Influence many of the Gentry and common People were drawn off from their late Indignation against Papists, and taught to believe that the Presbyterians (not excepting the other Dissenters) were a more dangerous People; and as great Numbers of the more considerate People of all Ranks, who had always adhered to the established Church, joined with the Dissenters in the common Apprehension of the Danger of Popery, and in their mutual Jealousy of the Intrigues of the Court; all these (who made at that Time the much greater Party) were by the others reproached with the Appellation of *Whigs*, which was a Name that had been formerly put upon the *Scotch Presbyterians*; so they on the other side called their Adversaries *Tories*, which originally denoted the wild *Irish Papists*: And thus began these opprobrious Distinctions, which with sometimes more, sometimes less Warmth, have divided this poor Nation, and kept up Feuds and Animosities between the unhappy People for more than Thirty Years.

It may be very material also to observe to you, that as these Names of Distinction are taken from Words signifying Parties differing in their Religious Sentiments, the World has been led into, and still persists in a Mistake, as if the one Sort were altogether Dissenters, and the other included all that were true Church of *England-Men*, whereas there has always been a great Number of the *Whig* Party, even of the Clergy as well as the Laity, who are as zealous for the Episcopal Church Government as the *Tories* themselves; so that they are indeed more truly to be accounted Factions in the State than in the Church: Nor can we have a more just Idea of the real Difference between them, than that in the Beginning the *Whigs* considered that the Duke of *York* was a Papist, and gave Life and Strength to that Party; that if he should live to inherit the Crown, our Religion and Liberties would be in the utmost Danger; that he had great Influence over the King his Brother; that such Ministers were employed in the Administration of the Government as were in his Interest, and who were evidently inclined to arbitrary Measures; they every where used their utmost Diligence in the Elections of Magistrates for Corporations, and Members for Parliament, to chuse such as they believed to be zealous for the Good of the Publick, and would oppose the Designs of the Court in any thing that might tend to the Prejudice of the People in their religious or civil Rights; they foresaw and endeavoured to prevent the many Mischiefs that have since fallen upon us, so that all Men of Candour must confess that they were then true

Patriots, and had espoused the best Cause: On the other hand, the *Tories* applauded the Duke of *York*, and promoted his Interest all they could; they contended for such Elections as should be intirely devoted to the Court; the Magistrates of that Side oppressed the *Whigs* with vexatious Prosecutions; violently persecuted those that were Dissenters, and went so far as by pack'd Juries and strained Laws to destroy some of the best Men in the Kingdom; in short, that Generation of *Tories* gave themselves up to fulfill the Will and Pleasure of the Court in every Thing that lay in their Power; and, by what we have since seen come to pass, it is evident that they engaged on the wrong Side, and were made the very Instruments to bring about those evil Designs of the Duke of *York* and the Papists, which broke out upon the Nation in the next Reign: I will not yet doubt but that many honest well meaning Men, zealous for the Monarchy and the Church, were imposed upon by the Leaders of that Party, (who were all the while playing their own Game at Court Preferments) and deluded into a groundless Jealousy, that the Dissenters were aiming at the Destruction of both.

When the late King *James* succeeded to the Crown, the *Tories* deafened him with the Noise of their Addresses from all Parts of the Kingdom, stuffed with Expressions of the most extravagant Loyalty and unlimited Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, professing them to be even Principles of their Religion, and the very Characteristic of their Church; and, after the Suppression of the Rebellion of the unfortunate Duke of *Monmouth*, to compleat the enslaving of the Nation (and themselves withal) they furnish'd him with a formidable standing Army; and thus provided, he soon discover'd his long projected Scheme, and fell on amain to establish Popery and arbitrary Power.

It was by his Influence (when Duke of *York*) that the violent Persecutions were carried on against the Dissenters, and the chief Instruments were known to be his Creatures and Partizans; this hard Usage had begotten in the Dissenters the utmost Animosity against the persecuting Churchmen; and now he changes the Scene, and, in an Instance so plausible, breaks through all the Laws to gratify them (and the Papists withal) with a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, pretending also that it had always been his own Principle; the Charters of Corporations are taken away, and (by the dispensing Power) Dissenters are made Magistrates, to revenge themselves upon the Churchmen; and thus Protestants were to maul one another, that Popery might slide in with the less Noise and Resentment; Papists are brought into the King's Privy Council, then into the Universities, and ecclesiastical Commissions executed, to deprive such of their Incumbencies as opposed these illegal Innovations; Protestants are turn'd out, and Papists brought into the Army and Magistracy in *Ireland*, and so that whole Kingdom put into their Hands; Popish Chapels are set up, and Mass publicly celebrated in the City of *London*; Papists made Officers in the *English* Army; and at last an Army of Five Thousand Papists brought over from *Ireland*.

At length the flattering Addressers and Adorers of *James* the Just have their Eyes open'd to see how near Popery and Tyranny was approach'd to their own Dwellings; now they begin to stir themselves, seven Bishops (to their great

great Honour be it remember'd, though they had been all of the high Side) took the Courage to petition the King, for which they were sent to the *Tower*, the whole Party were frighten'd out of their Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance Doctrine (I mean in that undistinguish'd Sense that many of them had preach'd it) they enter'd into a Confederacy (otherwise call'd a *Plot*) to invite the Prince of *Orange* to come over with an Army (not to resist or compell, you will say, but with Prayers and Tears, or some way or other) to bring King *James* to Reason, and re-establish the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Nation on a secure Foundation; now they courted the *Whigs* (who were forward enough to join with them, it having always been their Principle to endeavour to reform what was amiss in the Government) and profess'd their Readiness to come to a Temper for the Ease of tender Consciences; and thus when they themselves came to feel the Weight of the Power which they had been so many Years raising up, they saw their Error before it was quite too late, and both Parties heartily join'd to bring about the late happy Revolution; though, to their Honour, it must be acknowledged that for almost the whole Merit of the Contrivance, and the larger Share of the Success, we stood indebted to the *Tories*.

But as soon as the Convention Parliament came to declare King *James* abdicated, the Throne vacant, and to settle the Crown upon King *William* and Queen *Mary*, behold! the *Tory* Spirit returns upon many of them again,

Naturam expellas furca licet usque recurret.

they struggled to set up a new Sort of Government, a Regency over a King that was a grown Man, a Thing that our Laws never knew (probably they had a Mind to be Regents themselves :) Surely if the People have Power so far as to unking their King, and leave him nothing but the bare Name, they used their Authority much better in making a new King, and keeping to the Constitution: But those of them who refused to swear to the new King and Queen (in that yet much honest Men than those that took the Oaths and remain'd Enemies to the Government) how could they have better kept their Oaths and maintain'd their Allegiance to King *James*, if they had set up a Regency over him? However, I must still own that the wiser and better Part of those that had been call'd *Tories* became true Converts, came into the Government, and I doubt not (though they may have sometimes contended about other Matters) but that they have been hearty in its Support ever since.

And now the Factions are at Peace for a Time, and the general Expectation was, that some, at least, of the many that had been the Advisers and Instruments of King *James*'s Male-Administration would have been punish'd for an Example to deter others from the like Attempts; and that Laws should be made to settle the Government on such a Foundation that it might not be in the Power of any future King to endanger the Rights of the Nation: For the first, it seem'd as if King *James* alone in his own Person had done all the Mischief, for not one Man could be found whom they thought worthy to be prosecuted: The other Point, for fencing the Constitution against any future Invasions of

the Crown, was slightly pass'd over with only a Bill of Rights, which was no more than a bare Recognition of such Privileges as were well known to be the People's Due before; but no Provision was then made for frequent Parliaments, for punishing the Delinquency of Ministers of State, or for purging the House of Commons from the dead Weight of Court Officers and Dependents; on the contrary, it was now become the Language of *Whigs*, that we must not make the King a Doge of *Venice* (though nobody thought of any such Extreme) nor make the Crown uneasy for him to wear, &c. The Truth is, that many of the Leaders of the *Whig* Party run into the Court for Preferments, and were very well content to sit down with a Mixture of *Tories* to teach them their Business, and that Leaven soon proved strong enough to leaven the whole Lump.

At the Beginning of this Government the *Whigs* had the Ascendant, but in a little Time the *Tories* got Strength, and the King was persuaded to change the Militia and the Justices in their Favour; however, the former prevailing in the House of Commons, work'd out the latter again, and (with a few of the complying *Tories*) kept in the Administration till the latter End of this Reign; but we were soon convinced by woeful Experience that, like the *Roundheads* in the *Oliverian* Time, they were no sooner got into Power, but their former Zeal for the Publick turn'd all into Words and Professions, when in Deeds they greedily pursued their own private Interests, and fell on the readiest Ways to enrich themselves at the Nation's Cost, prostituting their Principle to their Profit: It is true indeed (what they said for themselves) that *Whigism* does not oblige us to stand always in Opposition to the Court when they manage every thing well; but these Men were so tender of displeasing, and so devoted to ingratiate themselves with the Court for Places and Advancement, that they came into all the wrong Measures that were taken in that Reign.

It has been found by Experience that the most natural Way of exerting the Power of this Island in Time of War has been by our naval Expeditions, wherein we are certainly capable of being superior to any of our Neighbours; but (unhappily for us) King *William's* Genius inclining more to Land Armies, we were drawn in by Degrees, from the moderate Quota which was agreed to at the Beginning of the War, to maintain so great an Army beyond Sea, that the Nation was drain'd of not less than two Millions of its Treasure for several successive Years, whilst in the mean time we fell into so scandalous a Management of our Sea Affairs, that our Coasts were insulted, our Fleet beaten, and our Merchants ruin'd by the Depredations of the Enemies Privateers. We did indeed at length gain a considerable Advantage over the *French* Fleet, and burnt several of their best Ships at *La Hogue*, and, if that Victory had been closely pursued, there appear'd the utmost Probability of destroying the rest; but it seem'd as if some People had no Mind to break the naval Power of *France* at once; for the Admiral return'd immediately into Port, and though he was forthwith order'd out again, to attempt those Ships that had saved themselves at *St. Malo*, he made so many frivolous Delays that the Enemy gain'd Time to fortify themselves so well that nothing could then be done; and being accused in Parliament for his Mismanagement in that whole Affair, his Friends the *Whigs* were strong enough to bring him off, with a Vote of Thanks from the House
of

of Commons into the Bargain: But any one that will be at the Pains to examine the Minutes of the House of Lords upon that Accusation, will find great Reason to suspect, that there was either Treachery in the Case, or at least so apparent a Deficiency in Conduct, that such a Person ought never more to have been intrusted with the Command of the royal Navy; and yet even after this, he had the good Fortune to continue in that weighty Employment till he had gain'd a vast Estate; and had Interest enough to obtain a privy Seal for the passing his Accounts, after he had been accused by an honest Commissioner of the Victualling for having defrauded the Publick of great Sums. But to return to the *Whig* Administration.

The War created a vast Receipt in the Treasury, and we have seen what mighty Estates have been since raised by many of those through whose Hands the publick Money has pass'd; never was the Nation engaged in so great an Expence, never so loose a Management; the Publick run into Debt, and the People that trusted it paid with distant Tallies, which crept up from 10 to 20, 30, 40, 50 *per Cent.* Discount, for which, to be sure, the Government must pay in Proportion for what they bought; great Premiums given for the borrowing of ready Money; the Coin of the Kingdom spoil'd through the supine Neglect (if not Connivance in some) of those who had the Direction of the publick Receipts; private Advantages made of the publick Money; Accomptants suffer'd to lie behind in their Accounts, to the Loss and Defrauding of the Publick; Misapplication of Taxes, and no Care taken for the Discovery or Prevention of these Abuses.

It had been the Part of a provident and careful Ministry, when they had found by two or three Years Progress of the War, at what Expence it might be supported, to have sought out effectual Means to raise annual Supplies sufficient to carry on the War without involving the Nation in Debt; but these took up with mean Projects for raising Money, and gave divers insufficient Funds; it was enough with them to give in Name the Sum required, and they had no more to care for, than to add the Deficiency to the next Year's Sum total, and then as deficiently to supply it; from which Improvidence (if not Artifice) arose so many distant Tallies, and the depreciating of the publick Credit, whereby the Nation lost some Millions, which the Tally-Jobbers and the Money-Mongers (not excluding the skilful Ministers and their Friends) got among them; and they had so little Regard to provide for the future, that the annual Revenues of the Excise, Customs, &c. were made Funds of Appropriation to pay high Interest for Millions taken up every Year for the Service of the War, till, by a Continuando after this evil Precedent, the Kingdom is become plunged into an immense Debt, to be work'd off by a Prolongation of heavy Taxes on us and our Posterity for a long Tract of Years to come; and we are at length so far exhausted, that it will be impossible for us to sustain the War much longer in this Way; when yet we have the Mortification to reflect, that all this Mischief might have been prevented by an honest and prudent Management at first; for it is plain that five Millions *per Ann.* would have defray'd the whole Expence of the Government from the Beginning, and kept us clear of Debt; and though we have been brought by Degrees to raise a fix'd annual Revenue, which

which (with the Land and Malt-Tax) amounts to more than that Sum, yet the better Half thereof must now be applied to pay Taxes to our Fellow Subjects for Interest Money and Annuities, and we are to seek for above two Millions *per Ann.* more, to support the War.

But the worst is yet to come; that detestable Art of poisoning our Constitution, by corrupting the Members of the House of Commons with Gifts, Places, and Preferments, was practised by them with as much Application, and as successfully, as it had ever been in the *Tory* Times; what Sums of Money have been employ'd in that Way is hard to discover, but the turning out and bringing into Places, according as Members behaved themselves in their Votes, was notorious to all the World, and twenty Expectants were kept in Awe for one vacant Place, those that miss'd it at last being still kept in Hopes that their Turn would come next; from whence it came to pass that, for several Years together, a great Majority of the House of Commons were led and govern'd at the Pleasure of the Ministry, and voted unanimously in whatever they directed; the Miscarriages of Men in great Trusts, the wrong Methods of managing the War, the misapplying the publick Money, exorbitant Grants to Favourites, and that scandalous squandering away of the *Irish* Forfeitures to the Value of near a Million, which was afterwards recover'd by an Act of Resumption; all these destructive Enormities, which it was the Business of Parliaments to inquire into and see redress'd, were suffer'd to go on without Controul.

But what will fix a perpetual Mark of Infamy on the Heads of that *Whig* Ministry is, that (being under Apprehensions that they should be laid by after the Peace) they were the Men who enter'd into a Compact with King *William*, that if he would keep them and their Friends in his Ministry, they would use their Interest in the House of Commons to procure him a standing Army of Twenty Thousand Men; and though in this worse than *Tory* Attempt, the wise and honest Men of their Party deserted them, and they could not carry their Point, yet they struggled hard to keep up as many of the Army as possible, and dispersed Pamphlets to persuade the silly People among their own Party, that Forces kept up from Year to Year by Consent of Parliament, were not to be accounted a standing Army, and that the great Number of Forces continued by the *French* King, and I know not what other Circumstances, made it absolutely necessary for a Time; nay, they have insulted since the short Duration of the Peace, and would have it thought they were in the Right, and that none but King *William's* Enemies were for disbanding the Army: But all this is odious Language from the Mouth of a *Whig*, with whom it should be a Maxim never to be departed from, not to trust the Crown with any such Overballance of Power as can enable it to endanger the Liberties of the Nation; the narrow Escape we had so lately made, might have been a sufficient Argument against ever suffering a standing Army for the future; and is it not evident to a Demonstration, that when the Crown is in the Possession of a more immediate Power over the Militia than ever our ancient Constitution admitted, and shall withal have a regular Army at its Command, that then the People will have nothing at all left for their Defence, but must entirely depend upon the meer Goodness of the Prince, and the Honesty of his Ministers, for the Enjoyment

ment of their Rights? And though it be acknowledged that we had nothing to fear from King *William*, yet it is never good Policy to create such Precedents; and what future King will think himself kindly used, if a Parliament should refuse to trust him with the same Confidence? If then, to allow them their most plausible Argument, it had been judged requisite to have kept up an Army for some Time, I am sure that when I was first a *Whig*, we should have accounted it abominable *Torism*, to have intrusted the entire Disposal of them to any King whatsoever, and that at least the Money raised to maintain them should have been put under the Direction of Parliamentary Commissioners.

But our Court *Whigs* were by this Time grown so very tender of the Prerogative, that they shew'd little Regard for securing the Properties of the People: Many Millions have been advanced upon the Funds of the appropriated Revenues, but still the Receipts and Payments are to pass through the old Course of the Exchequer. What if ever hereafter a King should arise, that would not think himself safe without a standing Army? We don't say that our Kings may not by their own Authority raise as many Forces as they can maintain, but the Ballance against that Power is, that they cannot support them without Parliamentary Aids; but what if such a King should (according to a former Precedent) stop the Payments of the Exchequer? He would certainly find Means enough to maintain a good Army, but the Subjects would find themselves in a poor Condition to dispute with him for their Rights and Properties: Could any Courtier have maintain'd an Argument against the Reasonableness of constituting Trustees by Authority of Parliament, for the receiving in, and Distribution of these Revenues, which were now become the purchased Property of the People? Or can we imagine that the King would have scrupled the gratifying the Publick with such a Security at that Time of Day? What then can we say or think of the Wisdom or Honesty of those *Whig* Ministers, who, to render themselves grateful to the Court, and that they might make their own Fortunes, betray'd the Nation into so loose and precarious a Condition, as well in Regard to their Liberties as to their Estates?

But we have yet another Piece of Cunning to remark in this Ministry: The House of Commons began to fall into the Consideration that it was fit for them to appoint Inspectors into the publick Managements; and accordingly they proceeded to constitute Commissioners for examining the publick Accounts, for stating the Accounts of the Army, and for inquiring into the *Irish* Forfeitures, &c. But these crafty Ministers started a Notion that it would be dishonourable and unbecoming Parliament Men to erect new Places of Profit for themselves, and so after a while they persuaded the House to exclude their own Members from being nominated to those Employments, well foreseeing that this would be the likeliest Way to bring them into a Neglect of those Scrutinies, when they were like to get nothing for themselves; but the Mystry was, that if the Parliament should come into this right Way of husbanding the national Business, it might not only discover and destroy the profitable Juggling of the Court Managers, but if a competent Number of good Employments should once come into the annual Disposal of the House of Commons, to reward their most useful and deserving Members, many would come to be drawn off from their
Dependence

Dependence upon the Court, when they might expect a quicker Advancement by exerting their Fidelity to the National Interest in the House: But if this provident Care had been exercised so far by the Parliament, as that they had from the Beginning appointed Commissioners of their own to inspect the true Musters of the Army, and to have overseen the Payment of the Armies, Fleet, and all other Disbursements relating to the War, I leave it to any thinking Man to consider, whether the Nation might not have saved many Millions in the Expence, and have made much greater Efforts in the Prosecution of the War? I know well that the prerogative *Whigs* have been ready to object against such an Interposition of the Parliament in the executive Part of the Government, as an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of the Crown; and though I am as far as themselves from desiring to alter the true Methods of the Administration, yet as the raising of such vast Taxes yearly upon the People, and such a Way of managing War, were Things wholly unknown and unprovided for by our Ancestors, I can see no just Reason, since now the People bear the whole Expence, why their Representatives should not think it their Duty to constitute Stewards of their own, to see their Money well husbanded; nor yet are we without former Precedents of our Parliaments having named Commissioners to manage the Taxes they have given.

The Project of Exchequer Bills was serviceable to the Government at that Time, though the Circulation was contrived in such a Way that the Nation paid dear for it; all which might have been saved by raising one half Million in ready Money at first, which might have maintain'd the circulating Cash from Time to Time; but then themselves and their Friends, who had always the Preference of subscribing what they pleased (and 'tis believed that much of it was supplied with the publick Money) would have lost the Opportunity of getting many Thousand Pounds. The keeping up the Fees of the Exchequer, when the multiplied Taxes created so vast a Receipt, nay the taking Fees for that very Money that was brought in to be recoin'd, was an unreasonable Improvidence to the Publick, however very gainful to the Officers. Moreover, their selling of Places, neglecting many deserving Men of their own Party (and even the extraordinary Mr. *Johnson*) that had been Sufferers in the late Reigns, never offering to take off the Sacramental Test when it was in their Power, *cum multis aliis*, were Peccadillo's in Comparison with their greater Faults. After all, it must be said in their Commendation, that they were always hearty in the supporting King *William's* Government, but withal that they were ever for doing it in such Ways as they might be sure to get most by it.

Thus these Ministers, and their mercenary or misguided Party in the House of Commons, became as entirely devoted to the Court as the *Tories* formerly had been (with this laudable Distinction however, that the latter sacrificed our Liberties and all, but the former only our Purses) and were in their Actions really turn'd *Tories*, though they still affected to be counted as good *Whigs* as ever; and generally the well-meaning People of that Side, throughout the Nation, not seeing into their Misdeeds, nor distinguishing between the Name and the Thing, continued their good Opinion of them; and it was nauseous to see how their Creatures and Emissaries labour'd in *Coffee-Houses*, and publick Conversation, to
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give favourable Turns to every Thing they did, hide their Faults, and keep up their Reputation with the Party; and though this has been the common Artifice of both Sides to delude their Followers, and engage them heartily to espouse their Interests, yet Things will always speak themselves, and we have seen and felt the many Mischiefs that have been brought upon the Nation, and know under whose Conduct Affairs have been managed when we have been made to suffer by either Faction in their Turns; both have taken Care to provide well for themselves, but the *Tories* better for their Friends than the *Whigs*.

The *Tories* had lain under a long Mortification to see their Adversaries rule the Roast and themselves kept out, and this, as it is natural for Men in Affliction, gave them Occasion to consider the Misfortune of a Nation when the publick Affairs are unfaithfully managed; many of them, who in their younger Years had been seduced by the Leaders of that Faction in the House of Commons, to engage in their wrong Measures, were grown older and wiser, and like those we call'd enlighten'd Cavaliers, saw their former Mistakes, and espoused the Country Interest; if some did it in Policy to make themselves popular, I will not doubt but others did it upon Principle; however, the Nation was served by both, and we have Cause to rejoice in it, as the Apostle did when Christ was preach'd out of Contention; and thus the *Tories* themselves became *Whigs* in Practice, may they never repent the Change! Divers also of the old stanch *Whigs* kept steady to their Principle, and form'd what we call'd the *Flying Squadron*, dividing from the Courtiers on such Occasions when they saw the publick Good neglected; and it is well known how industrious the Party were to calumniate, vilify, and render odious the *Harleys*, the *Foleys*, &c. who were accounted the Principals in this (as they reckon'd it) Defection, of whom it may be truly said, they have borne the Reproach of many; however, they may be worthily esteem'd the Instruments of much Good to the Nation in their joining with (those that were still call'd) the *Tory* Party, to stop the Career of those corrupted *Whigs*, whereby many a Hundred Thousand Pound came to be saved to the Publick, the forfeited Estates of *Ireland* were reclaim'd, and this destructive Ministry with much ado work'd out at last.

By this Time both the Factions had taken their successive Turns of Humiliation, and their Heats were pretty well allayed, while in the mean Time the People had found by Experience that (speaking of the Leaders) neither Barrel had proved the better Herring, so that they were grown more calm and indifferent in their Affections for Parties than they had been for several Years past, and most Men seem'd rather to desire that the publick Affairs should be put into the Hands of the honest and most moderate Persons of both Sorts, than that it should fall into either Extreme; and the King himself, who had been too much inclined to make his Advantage of Party (though I believe without ever having had any Design to invade our Liberties) came into this Disposition towards the latter End of his Reign.

After her present Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, this moderate Temper continued for some Time, till through the Competition of some great Men, the Animosities of the People were again stirred up, and made use of as an Engine to work about their own ambitious Designs. The Queen had made

choice of certain extraordinary Persons (whose Number did not amount to that of the Plural according to the *Greek Usage*) of whose Wisdom and Abilities she had had many Years Experience, to whom she resolved to commit the prime Conduct of her Government; these therefore may be distinguish'd by the Name of the Ministers. There were others (and among them a Chief whose Pretensions and Capacity render'd him second to none, had he but been qualified with more Temper, and less Zeal for a Party) who thought themselves worthy to be admitted into an equal Share of the Queen's Confidence, but not succeeding therein, we may remark them by the Appellation of the disappointed Lords: Both the one and the other had been always of the *Tory Party*, but the Ministers foreseeing that the others would have a great Influence upon the *Tories*, soon enter'd into a secret Correspondence with the *Whigs*, resolving to secure that Interest for their Support against all Events; they did indeed carry it fairly with the *Tories* for a Time, bringing several of them into the Ministry and into Places, and join'd with them in procuring the Election of many Members for the first Parliament, which by that means came to be composed of a great Majority of that Side.

The Ministers had acted wisely, they had restored the Credit of the Nation, managed the Affairs of the War well, and manifested so careful a Conduct in every Thing, that hitherto they had given no Occasion to those that watch'd for their halting: But the disappointed Lords found out another Way to work, they were become very careful for Religion, and a Bill is brought into the House of Commons to prevent occasional Conformity, where it pass'd in two successive Sessions, but was lost by the Lords; and it was remarkable that though the Ministers openly concur'd and voted for the Bill, yet they declared their Opinion of it as unseasonable, secretly discouraged it, and artfully contrived to drop it.

The Mystery of this Project was to raise the Spirits of the *Tory Party*, to create in the Queen an Opinion of their formidable Strength, and by Degrees to model the Corporations, weed out the Dissenters, and at length to disable them in their electing Members of Parliament; and their Design was still more evident, when in the third Session they attempted to tack it to the Land-Tax Bill, that if by that Compulsion they should get it pass'd, or if the Lords (as they had formerly declared) would rather reject a Money Bill than admit of any Tack, the Queen might be overawed by their Power, and necessitated to take them into her Ministry: But here they quite lost themselves, and broke their Reputation for ever since, and the bigotted Party-Men had herein a convincing Instance how much their Leaders use them as Tools to work their own Ends, for several of the most considerable Men of that Side having been taken off by the Ministers, and gratified with good Places, they left their Party in the Lurch, and voted against the Tack. And thus this Noisy, Mischief-making, Party-driving, Good-for-nothing Bill came to be utterly lost.

Now again the Factions are blown up into a Flame; the Danger of the Church cry'd out on one Side, the Danger of High-Church Persecution on the other; *Rebearsals*, *Reviews*, *Observers*, Pamphlets on both Sides, all stuffed with fit Matter to keep up the Ferment, and no Care taken to suppress them; cunning Ministers know how to find their Account in Party Contentions, 'tis but to join

their Power to make one Side much the strongest, and then they will be likely to support each other against all Opposition. Our Ministers declared openly for the *Whigs*, and this created a new Thing call'd a *Junto*, a Ministry within a Ministry: Some of this *Junto* had formerly been eminent Leaders of the unanimous *Whigs* in the House of Commons; but they made their Bargain before they would engage in the Work, if the Ministers would turn out and take in as they pleased, then their Party in the Parliament should stand by the Ministers on all Occasions; however, it was some Years before they could work it up to an intire Confidence in each other: Sometimes the Ministers promised to gratify them with such Changes of Hands as they required, and, after the Parliament was up, neglected the Performance: The next Sessions the *Junto* would be sure to thwart them by their Friends in the House of Commons; then all was made up again by a new Bargain, which yet was perhaps but half perform'd; then the *Junto* quarrel'd again, upbraided them with Breach of Promise, sought out for Faults to tax them with, and now and then gave them a Pinch in the House of Commons, till they promised a full Compliance: And thus it pass'd through several Sessions, sometimes in League, sometimes at Daggers drawing, till at last an Occurrence happen'd that gave the *Junto* such an Advantage over the Ministers, that they have since led them as in a cleft Stick; and it will be no unprofitable Digression to look backwards to the original Causes that brought it about, since a great deal of the ill Usage of the Ministers will thereby appear.

The brave Earl of *Peterborough* had gone on with a Course of surprising Successes in *Spain*, Cities and Kingdoms were reduced to the Obedience of King *Charles*, even faster than the Couriers could bring us the Intelligence, and his Competitor must have been quite driven out in the second Campaign, had not that King been unhappily diverted from pursuing the right Measures that had been concerted, and another General neglected both the securing of *Madrid*, and the getting in Provisions to support the Army for a few Weeks: After this Miscarriage the Earl went to *Genoa*, and pawn'd his own Credit to take up Money to preserve the Army from starving; from thence he proceeded to *Turin*, and form'd such a Scheme for the taking of *Tboulon*, that (morally speaking) it could not have miscarried, if the principal Part of the Project (which was to begin the Campaign early by entering into *Roussillon*, in order to invade *France* on that Side, with an Army to be composed of a Detachment from *Savoy*, another of but 5000 from our Forces in *Spain*, the rest to be made up of Miquelets; and when the *French* should have drawn their principal Forces that Way, then the Duke of *Savoy* was to have march'd to *Tboulon*) had not been disappointed by the Earl of *Galloway*'s utterly refusing to spare 5000 Men from that Army, on Pretence that he had positive Orders from *England* not to divide his Forces; whether he had any such Orders or not, or whether his Orders were to cross all the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Designs (which he effectually did) is not yet plainly discovered, but worth the Enquiry of a Parliament in fit Time; this is certain, that when all the World applauded that Earl's Conduct, and whilst the whole Nation were extreamly pleased and gratified with his unparallel'd Atchievements, the Ministers thought fit to turn him out of all Command, and that they might affront him beyond Example, they even writ to Foreign Princes to discountenance him.

him; whether that they were afraid he should eclipse the Glory of another, or that too quick a Period would be put to the War, or that the *French* King was so alarm'd at the Progress of our Arms in those Parts that he began to make Overtures of Peace (as the Earl had more honestly than warily let them know) and might probably give us the Advantage of treating the Peace on that Side, to the Disappointment of those who never intended it should be negotiated in any other Place but *Holland*; or whatever it were, they stop'd the Progress of our Arms in those Parts, lost two Kingdoms to the Enemy, deprived their Country of the Services of one who had in so short a Time given such a Specimen of an enterprising Genius, such Proofs of his superior Abilities, such Demonstrations of a Conduct always successful, and never subject to Mistakes or Disappointments, and had made so many and so great Conquests with a Handful of Men, that he has rarely been equal'd, never exceeded by any General of the present or former Times; his Enemies had no better Foundation for their Proceedings against him than false Reports, Aspersions, and Calumny; and though after his coming home a Minister of State sent him five Articles of pretended Accusations, yet one of them was grounded on a mere Mistake of their own, and the Earl justified himself in the other four, by producing their own Directions and Orders for what he had done, so far had these Ministers forgotten their own Acts and Deeds; and it is since evident to the whole Kingdom, that they had nothing at all to lay to his Charge, for when in the next Sessions he desired to be heard in his own Vindication, his Adversaries had no other Shift than to order Multitudes of Papers to be brought in, tiring the House with reading them, still avoiding to enter upon any Matter of Fact, and adjourning it from Time to Time, till they had spun out the Sessions.

I am now led to the Matter of which I was speaking. The Mismanagement of our Affairs in *Spain* came to be inquired into in the House of Commons, and it was found, that though the Parliament had voted and provided for the maintaining of 28000 Men for the second Year's Operations in *Spain*, there were not actually 9000 of that Quota employ'd in that Country; this Business was brought on by the *Tory* Party, who press'd hard that the House should prepare an Address to the Queen, roundly to represent this fatal Miscarriage, and to pray her Majesty to lay before them the Occasion of it; the Court *Whigs* knew then no better but that it was their Business to stand by the Ministers in every Thing, and therefore they labour'd to mitigate the Matter, and that the Address might only be to pray that due Care might be taken to prevent the like Faults for the future; they speech'd it out till late, and struggled hard to get the Debate adjourn'd for some further Time, which at last they carried but by nine Votes (for it must be noted, that there have always been some of the true Old *Whigs* that will not baulk their Principle to vote through thick and thin, like the Moderns in such notorious Cases) but after all it appear'd, that the Mercenaries had fought this Battle on the wrong Side for Want of their Orders; the *Junto* wanted at this Time so fair an Opportunity to bite the Ministers, and force them into a Compliance with what they had been long bargaining for, and therefore directed their Creatures by all Means to let the Address pass as smart as the *Tories* would have it; so when this Debate came on again, the Warriors were grown

as tame as Lambs, and the Address went without any more than a little faint shewish Opposition: The Ministers were frighten'd out of their Wits, here was a Gap open'd that led into a Discovery of all the foul Play that had been acted in the *Spanish* Affairs, they fly to the *Junto*, sue to them for Peace, promise every Thing if they will but help them out of this Plunge; an Answer to the Address is trim'd up (in the Queen's Name) to palliate as much as possible, but too narrow to hide the Miscarriage from any one that was not willing to be blind to it, and the Nation is told plainly that one third of our Army has always been allow'd for Officers Servants; (a fine Cheat for *Whigs* to countenance or acquiesce in) however the *Junto* had gain'd their Point, and now the Party in the House were to let this pass for Satisfaction, and so the Ministers were brought off from this Difficulty. Thus the same Men who at first set themselves with all their Might to defend the Ministers in a Matter wherein the Nation had been notoriously abused, presently, when they are bid, leap over the Stick the other Way, and join in a Complaint against the same Ministers for the same Fault, and then at the Word of Command leap back again as you were, all's well done, nobody to be blamed. How mean an Opinion would the honest *Whigs* through the Nation have of the Men they put their Confidence in, if they saw how little Regard they have to the true Interests of their Country, and how easy they are to betray it to serve a Turn!

They had been long lifting at a Secretary of State, and now the Ministers durst not deny them any Thing, and out he must, though to the great Regret of the good Queen, who had had manifest Proofs of his great Ability and Fidelity, yet they had the Hardiness to exact a Promise from her Majesty that she would not see him; and because he had faithfully discover'd to the Queen some Mismanagements of the Ministers, that would be of ill Consequence if not redress'd in Time, the Party gave out that he had been working underhand to throw out the very Ministers themselves, whereas the utmost of his Aim could be but to reform or ballance; for to think of displacing and disgracing them at that Time of Day, was fit for no Man in his Wits: But this was a trifling Slander in Comparison to what they made it the Business of their Emissaries to load him with. He had himself entertain'd a Suspicion that one of the Clerks of his Office held a treasonable Correspondence with the Enemy, and in order to discover it, he writ to the Post-master on the other Side to send him back a certain Packet of Letters, wherein he found a Letter of this Clerk's written to a Minister of State in *France*; he first acquainted her Majesty alone with it, and then appointed a Committee of Council to meet at his Office, sent for the Clerk, and then surprised him at once by producing and reading the Letter before his Face; the Clerk was committed, arraign'd, pleaded Guilty, and was executed for the Treason: The Party used all their Endeavours, and had their Creatures in publick Conversation to make the World believe that the Secretary himself was privy to this traiterous Correspondence; seven Lords were deputed from that House to examine the Clerk in Prison, and it is remarkable that they were all of one Side: Surely they that knew the Manner in which the Secretary surprised him, must believe in their Consciences that no Man durst treat a Person with such Severity, if he knew it to be in the Criminal's Power to accuse himself; but the Secretary's Innocence was amply vindicated,

vindicated, when the Clerk at his Execution deliver'd a Paper to the Ordinary of *Newgate*, declaring, That his Master was wholly ignorant of this treasonable Correspondence, till he made the Discovery himself, and thank'd God that he gave him the Grace not to do so vile an Action for the saving his own Life, as some would have put him upon; but the Ordinary was not permitted to publish this Paper (as is usual) and so it was suppress'd for a Time, till Care was taken to print it from a Copy that had been given to another Hand, and then *Paul Lorrain* got Leave to publish it also. I have been the larger in this Narrative, that all well-meaning *Whigs* may be truly inform'd, that though themselves and their Principles abhor such Practices, yet there are great Men among their Leaders that stick at nothing that they think will serve their own Interests, and destroy those they hate, and the same Men that could so lately both accuse and acquit the Faulty in one Breath, were now as ready to attempt the Ruin of their Enemy by Subornation, and to stifle and suppress so clear a Vindication of his Innocence. Nor is it less worthy the Notice of the *Whigs*, that this very Gentleman who has been render'd so odious in their Esteem, if his Conduct shall be impartially consider'd, it will be found that his Actions have shewn him much more a Patriot and a true *Whig* than his Adversaries; it was their deserting the true Interest of their Country, and running into and supporting all the Mismanagements of the late Reign, that made him join with those that were call'd *Tories* (though I am sure they deserved the good Opinion of all true *Englishmen* on those Occasions) to rescue the Nation from the Rapine of that corrupt Ministry; and, as *St. Paul* became all unto all that he might gain some, if this Gentleman has employ'd the Dexterity of which he is so great a Master, to draw off the best Men of that Party from the Extreme which they had formerly fallen into, and to win them into the true Interest of the Nation, his voting with them, pleasing them, and gaining their good Opinion in order to good Ends, are so far from Faults, that they deserve the highest Applause, and both Parties ought to look upon him as the happy Instrument that is content to sacrifice his own Ease, to pass through good Report and bad Report, and to labour constantly to destroy Faction, and to reconcile the honest Men of all Sorts who really design the Good of their Country: I am sure his bringing off so many of the High-Party upon the last Struggle for the Occasional Conformity Bill, and the losing it by the Tack, ought to be look'd upon by the Dissenters as such a convincing Proof of his Inclination to keep them easy, that they should never suffer themselves to be deceived by the Impositions of those, who, to serve their own Turn, would persuade them to think him their Enemy.

It will also be needful to say something of another Person, whom, together with the former, they have been pleas'd to make the Objects of their Slander and Calumny: This is a certain Lady, related to and introduced into her Majesty's Service some Years since by a very great Lady who had long engross'd the Bounty and Beneficence of her Sovereign; but when the young Lady had by her virtuous Qualities and prudent Behaviour gain'd also some Share in her Royal Mistress's Favour and Esteem, the Patroness began to look upon her as a Competitor, but by how much the more the Jealousies of the latter increased, by so much the more did the former labour to extinguish them by a submissive Demeanor, and avoiding all possible Occasions of Offence, otherwise than what would always be
so

so taken as long as she should continue to receive any Marks of the Queen's Favour, and even in these she besought her Majesty to be more sparing towards her, rather than thereby to increase the other's Uneasiness; but the great Lady was of a Temper not to be mollify'd, the Thoughts of any Competition in the Queen's Favour, though in a Degree much inferior to what herself continued to enjoy, could not be borne, no real Fault could be found, therefore something must be invented to raise her powerful Enemies; the *Junto* were told that she did them ill Offices to the Queen, was the entire Confident of the late Secretary (she is indeed his near Relation) and abetted him in his (no body knows what) Intrigues against them; they list hard to get her out, but the Queen had too great a Confidence in her Innocence and Integrity to be prevail'd upon to part with her; however, the great Lady presumed to turn her out of her Lodgings at *Kenfington*, with less Decency than became the Regard due to her Royal Mistress, and the Mouths of the Party were open'd to traduce and render her odious among the *Whigs*, who are persuaded to believe her to be the worst of *Tories*, though at the same Time she is married to the Son of one of the best *Whigs* in the Nation, and hath never engaged herself in either Faction: Thus from the private Animosity of a Ministerial Lady, a modest, discreet, inoffensive, virtuous Gentlewoman, is set up for the very Mark of Reproach and Indignation of the *Junto* and their Friends, and the Queen herself to be disrespectfully treated through her Sides.

By this Time the Ministers and the *Junto* were grown into the highest Degree of mutual Confidence, and, what with the entire Command which the former had over the Members who enjoy'd Civil and Military Offices, and the strong Influence which the latter had over the misled unanimous *Whigs*, they had so large a Majority in the House of Commons, that they had great Assurance of carrying every Thing there according to their own Minds: The Lord High Admiral (who had managed that high Trust with unexceptionable Conduct) must be laid by, and the Nation burthen'd with a Pension of 3000*l.* *per Annum.* for no other Reason but that one of the Principals of the *Junto* might be placed at the Head of the Admiralty; surely Men will think themselves great, strong, and powerful, when the Parliament, Army, Navy, and Treasury of a Kingdom are at their Devotion; and we had Reason to think so, when a certain very great Man, whose general Behaviour had always been remarkably soft, easy, courteous, and cool to all, could now presume to dispute the Disposol of a single Regiment in the Army with his Sovereign, and to such a Degree of Animosity, as to depart from her Presence in Disgust, without returning till the good Queen (may I say) submitted and yielded the Point to him. But this was soon exceeded by a higher Step of Insolence; I have noted before that the Queen would not be persuaded to give up the persecuted Lady, so now they meditate on a Way to force her from her Arms, and depending upon their Strength in the House of Commons, resolve to procure an Address to her Majesty from that House, to pray her to remove this harmless Lady from her Presence, which had certainly been carried on if the Queen had not concern'd herself to stop it, by letting some honest Gentlemen of the House know, that if she knew the Lady to be guilty of any Crime, she should be as ready to part with her as they to desire it, but she hoped that those who had any Regard for herself, would never use her so hardly, as to consent to an
Address

Address to pull from her a Servant whom she esteem'd, without convicting her of the least Crime; this indeed prevail'd at last to break this audacious Attempt. I must yet tell you of another Step larger than this, and even so high that it wanted but one of the Top; in a Word, they had projected to get the great Man created General for Life.

It was Time now for our good Queen to look about her, and having lost the Support of her dear Consort, the Anxiety of her Mind was become so great, that she was even overwhelm'd with Grief, till she found some faithful Advisers to open her Mind to; and surely they had been much to blame if they had not sedulously applied themselves to consult such Measures as might render their Sovereign safe and easy, and restrain the Power and Ambition of some Men that were grown too great. It falls out indeed at an unhappy Conjunction with respect to our Affairs both at home and abroad, that there should be any Occasion for an Alteration of the Ministry, but as I have shewn you, from Facts that are well known, the real Cause and Foundation from whence all arises, you must needs be convinced, that what has already, or may further be done therein, proceeds not from Caprice, or from a greater Inclination to the *Tories* than to the *Whigs*, or from a mere affected Novelty to change Hands, when all's well already; (as the Party vainly noise it through the Nation) but from an inevitable Necessity of giving some speedy Cheque to the formidable Power of a few Men, who have given Indications too evident to be slighted, that they have enter'd into Confederacies, and taken Resolutions to govern both Queen and Nation according to their own Pleasure: And because the great Men of the *Whig* Side have so deeply engaged themselves with the Ministers in these dangerous Intrigues, and divers of them have rendered themselves too obnoxious to be longer confided in, it therefore became unavoidable to have Recourse to such who have indeed ranged themselves on the other Side, but have seen the Error of Extremes, and are willing to enter into healing and moderate Measures; nor is there the least Reason to doubt, but that all those of the *Whig* Party who shall abandon the ill Designs of the *Junto*, and heartily concur (according to their own Principle) in the Promotion of the publick Good, will be as freely admitted to Employments, and as well regarded as ever; nothing being more desired than a Coalition of the honestest Men of both Sides to ballance the overgrown Power of the Ministers, and to manage the Affairs of the Government in such Ways as may most conduce to the Ease and Satisfaction of her Majesty, and to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation.

The Ministers and the *Junto* soon discern'd the Cloud that was gathering over their Heads, and as quickly bestir'd themselves to provide for Shelter against the Storm. 'Tis easy to imagine at whose Instances our good Allies the States of *Holland* order'd their Envoy here to desire her Majesty not to change her Ministers; 'tis true that this Message was deliver'd with as much Modesty as the Subject Matter would bear, but perhaps Monsieur *Vryberg* may be noted for the first Foreign Minister that ever was charged with such an Affair, and it would have look'd with something a better Grace, if he had been instructed to have made this Sort of Intercession by Way of Conference with some of the Queen's Ministers, who probably might have been order'd to give him such an Answer as would have satisfied his Masters, without his applying directly to herself in a Business

Business which could not possibly be void of some Offence, though her Majesty would take every Thing as well intended that came from a State for whom she has ever had so sincere a Regard, and who have so signally exerted themselves for the Good of the common Cause.

Their next Attempt was to play the *Bank* upon her Majesty; this was contrived by procuring the Governor, with some of the Directors (and we may guess who sent them, and gave them their Errand) to request certain great Lords to represent to her Majesty, that the Apprehensions of a Change in the Ministry had mightily disturb'd the Trading People in the City, shock'd Credit, and they fear'd, if a Stop were not put to it, would cause a Run upon the *Bank*, and disable them from serving the Government; the Message was deliver'd, and it was desired that her Majesty would be pleased to permit them to receive her Answer from her own Mouth; accordingly they were appointed to attend the next Morning (and this they have since been pleased to call a being sent for) and had a most gracious Answer from her Majesty. I am unwilling to reflect so hardly as the Thing deserves upon Men whom I esteem so considerable in themselves, and so useful to the Publick, but yet it is fit their Principals should know that they have not well deserved of them by their meddling in this Affair, which (as I shall shew anon) did not at all concern them, if they manage their Bank (as I really believe they do) prudently and honestly, and may possibly at some Time or other turn to their Disadvantage. What if a Parliament should come to be of the Opinion (as some have suggested against them) that they may really become dangerous to the Government? or else that it may be dangerous for the Government to have so great a Dependance upon them? Would it not be ridiculous for all the other Bankers of the City to petition the Queen to take Care of their Credit? Is it not the Duty of a Body of Men join'd in a Bank, though they deal with the Government, yet to be as careful as private Men not to launch out beyond the Power of their Purse, but to keep themselves ever in a Condition to answer all Calls? 'Tis known that the Bank of *England* has a real Fund of Five or Six Millions; is it Sense to imagine that the Change of a Ministry should shake such a Credit? The People have a well grounded Confidence that they may trust their Cash upon such a Security, and under the Direction of honest Men, and the Bank may reasonably make Use of some competent Part of the Money so left in their Hands, to employ it for their own Advantage in the Way of Banking, which is to deal in Plate, Jewels, or other such valuable Commodities as will always command ready Money; to discount Bills of Exchange, to purchase or lend upon Tallies, or other publick Credit in near Course of Payment, or what may (as that Business now runs) be daily disposed of for Cash; they ought withal never to launch out in this Kind of Dealing so far as to leave themselves unprovided of such a constant Stock of ready Money as they find by Experience to be much more than sufficient to keep up the Circulation of their Specie Notes; now if they do really manage in this Manner, they will be always provided against all Runs upon them, upon whatsoever Occasion they may happen, and consequently had nothing to fear from any Change in the Ministry: But if they have forborne to call in from their own Members all such Sums of Money as they have lent to the Government upon the Funds

appropriated to themselves, or any other Funds of distant Payment, and have made use of the People's running Cash for that Purpose (which is best known to themselves) they may indeed be apprehensive that their Credit will be in Danger from any Event that may occasion a hasty Call; but at the same Time they must bear to be told, that in such a Case they will not deal honestly with those who lodge their Cash in their Hands, in confidence that it always lies as ready to answer their immediate Occasions, as if they had it in their own keeping; for if ever such a Run upon the Bank should happen, as might slacken their punctual Compliance with all their own Bills whensoever demanded, 'tis not enough to tell these People that their Money is secure, or that they shall have it in a Week or a Month hence; such a Disappointment might break Hundreds who had Bills of Exchange or other nice Credit to comply with. Where then can be the Wisdom of this their Application to the Queen? Would they in so publick a Manner give Occasion to the World to suspect that they have indeed made too bold with the People that put Confidence in them? This were the ready Way to hasten those People to call for their Money; but the Citizens have (and I believe very justly) a much better Opinion of them; or did they do it to gratify some powerful Men, who might hope that a Deputation to represent the Fears and Jealousies of so considerable a Body would awe her Majesty from pursuing such Measures as she thought best for herself and the Kingdom, but which they might fear would break their own Designs, and lessen their Authority: Either Way could bring very little Reputation to the Bank; and surely those Gentlemen ought more maturely to have consulted the true Interest of their Society, before they had suffered themselves to be made the Instruments of a Party in so absurd a Manner to impose upon their Queen and Country.

Another Artifice to disturb the Minds of the People was, to persuade them that this Change of the Ministers will fall the Stocks, Foreigners will draw their Money out of our Publick Funds, and both publick and private Credit will be ruin'd, and this they tell you is already evident; but if these Matters are set in a true Light, they will all appear to be nothing but Amusements and Bugbears to frighten ignorant and unthinking People. The true Standard of the Worth of any Thing is its intrinsic Value; if a higher Price be set upon it, that is but imaginary, not real Worth. If there be a certain Knowledge that the Principal Stock is improved by Management, just so much is the intrinsic Value raised; if it be as certainly known that the Principal is lessened by Losses, the intrinsic Value is fallen in the same Proportion; but as long as this Profit or Loss shall remain doubtful or uncertain, the Principal Stock must always be accounted the intrinsic Value, because the Expectancy is precarious, and may prove better or worse than the Expectation, and consequently any Variation from this Way of Valuing will always be but imaginary, never the real Value of any Thing; it is indeed a common Saying, *Valet quantum vendi potest,*

*Just as much Money as 'twill bring,
Is the true Worth of ev'ry Thing.*

But these are Maxims invented by Knaves to cheat Fools. To consider then the

true Worth of *India* and *Bank* Stock; as these Companies do make a Yearly Dividend of Profit, the real Value of these Stocks can be accounted for no other-wise than by the Principal Money paid in, with an Addition of so much of the Annual Dividend as has accrued since the last Payment: I will not pretend to be so perfect in the Mystery of Stock-Jobbers as to know exactly how much *per Cent.* has been actually paid in by the Subscribers, but I take it from the general Voice, that those Stocks continue still to be sold considerably above the intrinsic Value, so that the great Noise that is made about the falling of Stock has been a mere Imposition, and a palpable Untruth; for though we daily see that these Stocks are run up and down by the new Science of Stock-Jobbing, yet this can never be truly said to operate any thing upon the real intrinsic Value, which can never be moved otherwise than by the known Profit or Loss upon it: We know that the Management of the *Bank* is profitable, and that the Funds settled for the Payment of their Interest is competent, and as secure as any other Possessions in the Kingdom, for whatsoever over-turns one, must over-turn all; but if some People will be frighten'd at Shadows, or in Disgust should sell their Stocks for less than the real Value, what Reason is there for a Government to be moved at this, more than at such angry Children who throw away their Bread and Butter?

Well, but Foreigners will withdraw all the Money they have put into our Stocks and publick Funds: I say they cannot, for the Money must lie where it is. O! but they will sell it all off; with all my Heart, then *Englishmen* must buy it, and the Sums that they yearly carry out of the Nation for their Interest or Annuities will remain here and circulate among ourselves. This, weak though it be, they may think sufficient to puzzle the Ignorant, and serve their Turn well enough, if it does but set the People a grumbling.

Now for our publick and private Credit; a new Ministry, say they, will certainly destroy both, bring all Things into Confusion, and disable us from carrying on the War. I hope not; but, in the mean time, what do we owe to those Ministers that have brought the Nation into such a Condition, that, as they think, she cannot subsist without a Dependance upon them and their Creatures? However, if our future Parliaments will give as good Funds, and as good Bargains as they have done, how can they tell but that the People (and the Foreigners among the rest) will throng as hard to get in their Money as they used to do? But they tell us the money'd Men are on their Side, and they will lend no more; no, not when they do not know how to employ their Money so well in any other Way? I believe yet, if there should be some froward Children (as I noted before) that would throw away their Bread and Butter, we shall find more hungry ones that would catch it up and eat it. But what if our new Ministry should do better for us than they have done, and find Ways and Means to raise the needful Supplies within the Year? This surely would heighten our publick Credit, and put us into a Condition to live of ourselves, without having so much Occasion to borrow, and to mortgage the Nation to future Generations; a moderate general Excise added to a just Land-Tax would do all, and there is a Necessity for us to come to it at last, or ruin ourselves if we go on in the borrowing Way. What do they mean by destroying private Credit? Shall not we be able to find Trust for our daily Bread? Or

will the Merchants or wholesale Traders refuse their best Chapmen, unless they come with ready Money in their Hand? Woe be to bad Paymasters then, yet the Nation may be comforted in this, that then we shall have fewer Bankrupts; be it as it will, I am of the Opinion that let who will be in the Ministry, Men of Substance and Probity will never want as much Credit as they desire, and they that have neither, if they should ever get it, will never be able to keep it: A certain Writer (just as if he were an humble Servant of the Party on all Occasions) is reading us a large Lecture on this Topic, *Credit*; he trims her up like a gay Lady, and tells us she can do Miracles and cack Wonders; he had better have compared her to a loving *Spaniel Bitch*, that will never leave a Master who uses her well, but if he gets up to ride her, she sinks under him, she can do no more than she can do. But what if under this Title of private Credit they mean also the Paper Credit, and would have us think that Trade could not subsist without it for Want of a sufficient Quantity of Specie Money to circulate Payments? But this, like the rest, is all Fallacy, for neither Bank nor Bankers give out their Bills till the Money is actually lodged in their Hands, and though these Bills may pass through twenty Hands before one comes to fetch the Money, yet there is not one Penny more or less employed in Trade than would have been if this Money had been paid from Hand to Hand; the whole Business is simply no more than this, Men in Commerce must always owe Money to some, and have it to receive from others, and if they make a Bank their common Cashier, their mutual Occasions of receiving and paying meet there as in a Center, and they are enabled by Means of the Bank Bills to make their Payments to each other by Assignment, without the Trouble of telling the Money, and the Bank's Security for the Payment creates a more general Acceptance and Currency than the Bills of private Men; because Banks always pay at the first Call, when a good Man may make you come two or three Times for the Money; and thus Banks, and Paper Credit, are a good Ease and Conveniency to Tradesmen, but add nothing to the Increase or Diminishing of Trade or Money. After all, when the Citizens shall have any Reason to doubt the infallible Punctuality of the Bank or Bankers, they may blame themselves for any Inconvenience they may suffer, because they might have prevented it by taking the Pains to keep their own Cash as their Grandfathers did; it is true, such a Turn of Caution and good Husbandry might have hinder'd the Profit of the Bankers, but it concerns not at all the Government, who have no Reason to trouble themselves whether the trading Citizens manage their Business wisely or otherwise. Our Party-Politicians also had better let the World rub on in its own Way, than make a Noise about Things which they don't well understand; and it is because the Clamour about them has been very great, that I have thought it worth while to say so much as might undeceive such as have entertain'd wrong Notions thereof, and convince them from the Nature and true Reason of the Things, that Court Changes can no more lessen their real Value, than they can that of our other Substance; and when these groundless Fears are abated, People will resume their former good Opinion of them, at least, those that continue their Interests, and do not mind Stock-Jobbing, will find their Stocks in these Companies to be employ'd to as much Advantages as ever.

But

But these are not all the false and malicious Suggestions that the *Junto*-Party have invented, to inflame the Minds of their credulous Admirers; they tell them nothing less is intended than a total Change of Hands, all *Whigs* to be turn'd out of the Ministry, and the *Tories* to rule all; then the Dissenters must expect another Occasional Conformity Bill, nay even their precious Liberty of Conscience will be taken away: We shall soon see whether they have any Ground for such Reports, or whether they are altogether fictitious and false; let honest Men but take Notice of, and remember the Persons who make it their Business to talk up these Stories in Conversation, that, when they shall see the Event to be otherwise, they may know who are the Tools of the Party, and never more suffer them to impose upon their Credulity; in the mean Time I dare assure them that they have none of these Things to fear, and that her Majesty is as firmly resolved against all Extremes as they can wish, that she will bear equal Regard to Men that behave themselves well of either Side, and desires that the Names of Parties and Factions may be buried in Oblivion, and that we may have no other Mark of Distinction among us than that of Knaves from honest Men; that they will find such of the *Tories* (as People still call them) as shall be admitted into the Ministry, will come into moderate Measures, and when any of them act otherwise they will be laid by; and that the Queen has declared, as a Principle she will always stand by, that she will never suffer herself to be prevail'd upon to make the Dissenters uneasy by an Occasional Conformity Bill, or any Thing like it; and that she will inviolably maintain the Toleration they now enjoy.

Nor will the Party stop here; but to shew that they have no Limits to their Scandal, they give out, that nothing less is design'd by these Changes, but that such Men may be put into Power as will work about another Revolution, and bring the Pretender in upon us; they tell us too of a Sponge that shall wipe out all the publick Debts, and cancel the appropriated Funds. *Fortiter calumniare, aliquod adhaereat*, is an old Maxim which they practise as freely as any People ever did before them; they know that nothing can more expose Men to the Odium of the Nation than such Imputations, and therefore they labour to fix them on their Enemies, without the least Regard to Truth: But such Things can't be brought about without some previous Indications; it will be then Time enough to suspect such villainous Designs, when any Thing like them appears; and, God be thank'd, there is so general a Disposition in the People of this Kingdom (notwithstanding their Party Feuds and Divisions) to support her Majesty's Title to the Crown, the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and their own Rights and Properties, that we have no Reason to disturb ourselves with such Apprehensions, or think it in the Power of a few Ministers, if they had the Will, to attempt them; and I am in no Doubt but that we shall see such Men in the new Ministry as will soon convince the Nation, by their Actions, that they will shew as much Zeal for the present Government, more Duty to her Majesty, and less Regard to their own private Interest, than their Predecessors; in the mean Time, we need take no more Pains to answer these Calumnies, than the Parson did to confute the Cardinal, and that was to tell him in short, *Bellarmin* thou lyest. They have told us that these Changes would shock our Allies, and force

us into a dishonourable Peace, but we have seen the quite contrary; and then we are to be persuaded that these Clashings among ourselves have encouraged our Enemies to break off the Treaty; I hope for the better still, and that in the next, more Regard will be had to the Trading Interest of *Great-Britain*, than these Ministers had shewn in the former Preliminaries.

The last of their Clamours which I shall here take Notice of, is that against dissolving the Parliament. A Parliament, say they, that have given such vast and effectual Supplies to support the War, and done every Thing that could be expected from them to shew their steady Zeal to the Queen and Government; in all this they did but their Duty, and why should we fear that the next will not do it as well? But it must be said withal, that the *Junto* had wrought up so great a Majority into Engagements to stand by them on all Occasions, by voting unanimately in every Thing that concern'd the Ministry, that it was from thence they took the Confidence to make those large Steps I have formerly mention'd; and therefore 'tis no Wonder that they are so extremely fond of this Parliament, and so much afraid of its Dissolution; take away this, and we know their Strength is departed from them; if they can but get this Parliament to sit, they have Hope, and 'tis the only Hope they have left, that their Party will still stick together, and be strong enough to retard the Supplies till they have forced a Kind of Necessity upon the Queen to undo all that has been done, and submit herself to their Dominion again; and perhaps her Majesty may think that a sufficient Reason utterly to deprive them of that Hope; of what Use is that Right of the Prerogative to dissolve Parliaments, if it may not be exercised on such Occasions? No Wrong can be done to the Subject by it, for their Right of Election remains free to them, and they may chuse as many of the same Members again as they think fit. After all, I must own that I should be glad that the chusing a new Parliament could be avoided at a Time when the People on both Sides are in so high a Ferment; I know also that a great many good Men, equally zealous for their Queen and Country, would be extremely gratified if it could be forborne; and I can't doubt, but that such a Number of the true old-principled *Whigs* (such as voted for the Bill against Officers sitting in the House) would come over into her Majesty's just Measures, that they would leave the *Junto*-Party very thin and impotent; but I freely submit to the Wisdom of my Superiors.

I will, Sir, own to you, that I have always espoused the true *Whig* Principle; that is, to be heartily affected to the Court and Ministry when they act uprightly for the publick Good, and as heartily to oppose them when they do otherwise; and you will see that I regard the Thing itself so much more than the bare Name of it, which some Men have assumed only to work their own Ends, that I have as freely animadverted on the late Proceedings of some of my own Party as you have done upon yours; but still I desire you will take Notice, that as the Number of the *Whigs* is made up for the most Part of Men of Thought and Industry, who understand their Principle, and are careful to preserve Liberty and Property, I esteem them to be generally honest and well-meaning People, and to intend the publick Good; but then, when their Leaders have proved otherwise, they have been too apt to be deceived, and misled by them through the Confidence and good Opinion they have of them, being blind to their Faults,
and

and constantly standing by them in Opposition to those they account *Tories*, even though the Former should pursue wrong Measures, and the Latter be in the Right.

On the other Side, I take the Generality of the *Tories* to consist mostly of a looser and less thoughtful Sort of People, who look no further than the Outside of Things, and take up with Notions they don't understand, condemning the very same Thing in others which they have practised themselves; they are mightily influenced by the High-flying Clergy, and dance after their Pipe in every Thing, and we see what a Madness they are run into for the silencing an Incendiary: What a Noise do they make with their nonsensical Addresses and furious insolent Sermons? We know that the Queen has both an Hereditary and Parliamentary Title, but without the Latter she had not now so happily fill'd the Throne: What do they mean then by crying up the Hereditary, and slighting the Parliamentary Title? And what Nonsense is it in them to lay so great Stress on the Former, and yet at the same Time to profess their Adherence to the Succession of the House of *Hanover*, which can pretend to no Claim but by Act of Parliament? But, if their own ignorant Partizans don't see, we know what the Contrivers intend by it; for one of their own Writers has told us plainly, that 'Hereditary Right, and the natural Allegiance due to it, is a stubborn Thing, and will not bend even to an Act of Parliament, nor to a Thousand Usurpations.' This is plain enough without a Comment. Why do they make such an Outcry against Rebellion and rebellious Principles, when (except the notorious *Jacobites* who herd with them, and what has lately appear'd on their own Side) the whole Nation is full of Duty, Loyalty, and hearty Affection to her Majesty? To what End do they cry out against Republicans, when at this Day there is not the least Appearance of any Party that affect any Change of the established Government? For my own Part, I am suspicious that the Non-jurors and the High-Church Clergy, who think their ecclesiastical Domination too much clip'd by our present Constitution, are at the Bottom of all these Out-cries, that if possible they might stir up their giddy Devotees to bring in the Pretender, with whom they may imagine that they could make their own Terms. Such false and malicious Suggestions as the above-mentioned do indeed shew the true Spirit of *Torism*; but then we must do so much Right to others who are reckon'd of that Party, as to acknowledge that there are many Gentlemen among them, who though they may have a more than needful Concern for the Monarchy and the establish'd Church, are yet zealous for the supporting her Majesty's Title and the *Hanover* Succession, and do sincerely approve the Revolution Principles, and abhor the slavish Doctrine of unlimited passive Obedience: And these do, in respect to Civil Government, so nearly mean the same Thing with the honest, well-meaning, disinterested *Whigs*, that if these two Sorts would but let fall their mutual Jealousies, and unite themselves in all those Things that apparently concern the publick Good, the Nation might be so happy as to see a speedy End put to our Factious Divisions, and the designing Grandees on both Sides would find themselves left without Followers to shift for themselves.

'Tis most certain that all good Men mean well, and that their Animosities against each other, on Account of their differing Sentiments, arise more from the Prejudices

Prejudices of Education and Conversation, than from a thorough Examination, and well-grounded Knowledge of the Points in Controversy; and the Strife between them seems indeed to be more about Words than the Things themselves, so that the admitting but a few modest and easy Distinctions would go a great Way towards reconciling their various Opinions: To instance in some Particulars; the *Tories* value themselves highly upon their Principles of Loyalty to Princes, and say they are not to be resisted, but must be obey'd actively or passively; thus far the *Whigs* agree with them, and allow that lawful Authority is not to be resisted; that Civil Government is the Ordinance of God, for the procuring and conserving the Peace and Quiet of human Societies; that 'tis the indispensable Duty of all Christians to live peaceably and quietly under their Princes and Magistrates, to reverence their Persons and esteem them sacred, and if in any Case they cannot obey them actively, yet they are bound to obey them passively in every Thing relating to their just Power; this, and nothing less, is what they think sufficient to answer the End of humane Government: But then the *Laudan* Churchmen have, from these true Principles, taught by the Scriptures, and believed by every good Christian, extorted extravagant Consequences nowhere warranted by the sacred Writings, and utterly destructive of the Rights of Mankind, and contrary to the common Dictates of Reason and the Laws of Nature; they would persuade us that all Kings are *Jure Divino* placed above the Laws, and accountable to no Power on Earth for their Misgovernment, that we are bound to submit ourselves to them with an unlimited Passive Obedience, and if they should violate all the Laws of Liberty and Property, and should attempt to take from us our Estates, Wives, Children, nay our Lives, merely to gratify their own Will and Pleasure, we are not to make the least Resistance on Pain of eternal Damnation. This now is such a Doctrine of Slavery that it perverts the very End for which God Almighty instituted Government, and is so contrary to his Divine Attributes of Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness, that, though it may pass for good *Mahometanism*, I am sure there is no Christianity in it: The Scriptures indeed give us a Description of what wicked Kings would do, such as God gave to his People in his Anger, and took away in his Wrath, and their Tyranny is denounced as a Curse upon the *Israelites* for rejecting their God, but is nowhere approved, nor were the People bound to submit to it; the one Instance (besides many others) of the ten Tribes rejecting *Rehoboam*, and making *Jeroboam* their King, and that this is said to be from the Lord, is sufficient to confute Gainsayers: All History is full of Examples of the People's rescuing themselves from the Tyranny and Oppression of their bad Princes whenever they were able; the *Huguenots* in *France*, the *Dutch*, and the *Scots*, have in these later Times taken up Arms against their lawful Princes when they oppressed them in their Civil and Religious Rights, and yet they have been approved therein by all good Protestants. The *Whigs* therefore say, that the Precepts of the Apostle enjoin such an Obedience as is due to all lawful Government, and claim not the least Pretence to Resistance, but in such extreme Cases when the Prince breaks through the Fundamental Laws of his Country, and sets himself to destroy Liberty, Property, Religion, and all that is near and dear to the People, then they believe that Christianity does not require Free-born Subjects to submit themselves

to become Slaves, but that they may use such Power as God has given them, to defend and preserve themselves, and to restore the Laws and Liberties of their Country; this must be admitted by all who approve of the late happy Revolution, wherein there seems a Design of Providence to expose the great Sticklers for Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, who, when they began to feel the Rod of Persecution upon their own Backs, soon forgot their own Doctrines, were the first that invited the then Prince of *Orange* to come over with an Army, and join'd heartily with the *Whigs* to resist the late King *James*, and rescue the Nation from the impending Ruin; and thus we have seen that how much soever these Parties have differ'd in Words, they both agree in the Necessity of the Thing; and for those that have since strain'd their Inventions to persuade the World that marching with an Army against the late King *James*, firing upon his Forces at *Reading*, and driving him out of the Kingdom, was no Resistance, but still good Passive Obedience, their ridiculous Sophistry deserves no other Answer but Contempt. But the *Tories* think this Notion of Resistance encourages Treasons and Rebellions, for every one may think himself a competent Judge when the King misgoverns, and consequently may oppose him: We say no, 'tis not Acts of private Injustice or mere Errors in Government that can warrant a People to resist the Authority that God has placed over them; here we own Passive Obedience to be a Christian's Duty, and contend for it as much as themselves; but when a Prince shall exercise repeated Acts of Violence and Oppression upon his People, shall dispense with the known Laws, and set himself to overturn the Constitution, and to make his own Will and Pleasure the only Rule of his Government, and all this is as visible to the whole Nation as the Sun that shines at Noon, then, and never till then is the Time (if no other Means be left) for the People to have Recourse to the last Remedy; and herein I believe all considerate unprejudiced Men of the *Tory* Party agree with us; nor is there any *Whig* (that I know of) who will not heartily submit to the Christian Doctrine of Obedience, as clear'd up by the present pious and learned Archbishop of *York*, in his excellent Sermon preach'd before the House of Lords on the 30th of *January*, 1690, wherein he asserts that 'The standing Laws of every Country are the Rule of the Subjects Obedience, and not merely the Will of the Prince.'

Again, the *Tories* commend themselves for steady Supporters of Monarchy, and upbraid the *Whigs* for Men of Republican and Antimonarchical Principles. These Terms indeed render them as directly opposite in their Opinions as Liberty is to Slavery, and yet, when what each of them mean by these Terms is fairly explain'd, I believe it will appear that the honest and judicious Men on both Sides are equally inclined to support and oppose the same Kinds both of Monarchical and Commonwealth Governments. Politicians have distinguished Monarchy into absolute and limited; absolute Monarchy is where the Prince in his own Person is above all the Laws, and governs alone by his own Will and Pleasure, the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of all his Subjects (or rather Slaves) being entirely at his own Disposal, and he gives Laws and takes them away at his Pleasure, his single Will being the only Law, and his People must submit to whatever Taxes he requires: The Emperor of the *Turks*, the King of *Persia*, and other Eastern Princes govern after this Manner, and the *French* King, with

some other *European* Princes, who have suppress'd the Authority of their Parliaments, come little short of it. What they call a limited Monarchy is, where the King bears a Royal Grandeur, Dignity, and Majesty equal with the other, and enjoys the supreme Administration of the Government, but has not in himself Authority to make, abrogate, or dispense with the standing Laws of the Kingdom, or to raise Taxes upon the People, but the Parliament or States of the Kingdom participate with him in the Power of Legislation; and they have a Right to inquire into any Mismanagement of the Government, and to punish such Ministers or Officers as have acted contrary to the Laws, or done any Thing to the Detriment of the publick Weal, in which Cases the King may not interpose or pardon the Delinquents; and thus he Liberties and Properties of the People are defended and secured to them by the Laws. This Form of Government, with small Alteration, was introduced into most of the Kingdoms of *Europe* by the *Gothic* People, in some the King was elective, in others hereditary, but not always confined to the immediate Succession of Birth-Right. A Republick or Commonwealth is where the Power of both Legislation and Administration is placed in many, chosen among the Subjects for their Wisdom or Merit, without any single Person or King to be Supreme or Head of the Government. Now our modern Flatterers of Royal Power, because our Constitution is call'd a Monarchy, have taken the Advantage of the Word to attribute to our Kings the same Powers that are taken by an absolute Monarch, and have magnified his Authority above the Laws, which is a palpable Absurdity, for then there can be no Limitation; but we know that ours is (and has been so accounted from Time immemorial) a limited Monarchy, and they that argue against it do avert the very Foundation of the Nation's Rights, and deserve not to live in the Kingdom. A limited Monarchy then and a Commonwealth do both aim at the Preservation of the Liberty of the Subject, and if the Ancients could have foreseen how much the Word Monarchy would have perverted its Companion, perhaps they might have thought it as fit to have call'd this Kind of Government a regal Commonwealth, and we see at this Day the *Polanders* stile themselves a Commonwealth, though they put a King at the Head of it; this then is the only Republick we love, and the absolute is the only Monarchy we hate; and in this (as I said at first) I believe all the honest and judicious among both *Whigs* and *Tories* mean the same Thing: 'Tis true our Fathers tried the Experiment of a Commonwealth without a King, but it was found so disagreeable to the Genius of this Nation, that the People rather chose to set up a Broomstick and submit to it, than to be without a single Head or Supreme in the Government; and it appear'd plainly in the Convention-Parliament, that the Number of those was very inconsiderable who shew'd any Inclination to change our limited Monarchy into a direct Commonwealth, so that the Reflection upon the *Whigs* at this Day is wholly malicious and groundless on that Account.

In like Manner our religious Contests are more about Ceremonies and Church-Discipline than the Worship of God, which consists in Spirit and Truth, and therein I am afraid all Parties will be found too much wanting. God created Man in a State of Innocence, Uprightness and Spiritual Union with his Maker, but through the Disobedience of our first Parents this Heavenly Condition was
lost,

lost, and the Curse of Sin, Death and Hell entail'd upon all their Posterity; hence it is that every Man, who seriously examines his own Heart, finds by Experience that his Will and Affections are depraved, so that his chiefest Love and Desire are turn'd away from the Supreme Good, and placed upon the Creatures and worldly Enjoyments; the sole End of Religion then is to reform and correct our evil Natures and corrupt Inclinations; in order to which, God in his infinite Mercy hath given us Divine Helps and Means sufficient to recover us out of this undone State and Condition, and to conduct us to his heavenly Kingdom; the first Foundation of all was his Promise to send his only Son, who in the Fulness of Time came into the World, took upon him our Nature, became acquainted with our Infirmities, and was made like unto us in all Things, Sin excepted; having performed the Will of his Father upon Earth, he gave himself up unto Death as a Sacrifice to appease the Wrath of God for the Sins of all Mankind; after his Resurrection from the Dead he sent forth the Holy Spirit, and shed abroad the Love of God in the Hearts of the Faithful, and gave them his Grace to enable them to live Righteously and Godly in this present evil World, then he ascended into Heaven, where he sits at the Right-Hand of God the Father, making Intercession for us, till he shall come again at the last Day to judge both the Quick and the Dead, according to their Deeds done in the Body; and as God has thus given us his Son, he hath truly with him given us all Things, all secondary Helps and Means for our Encouragement to persevere in the Way of spiritual Religion, such as the Holy Scriptures, the Ordinances, Church Fellowships, and Communion of Saints, Pastors and Teachers, with all other heavenly Gifts and Graces, for the edifying the Body in Love, and Building up in the most holy Faith. This then is such a System of Religion, as I think all Christians do agree in; and though all reasonable Men hold for a Maxim that the End is always more worthy than the Means necessary to the attaining it, yet such is the miserable Apostacy of professed Christians, that both Clergy and Laity of all Sorts have manifested a much greater Zeal for the Means or outward Form of Religion, than for the End, which is the changing our depraved Nature and sanctifying the Soul; they have wrangled, fought, and contended so long and so bitterly about the Shadow, that they seem to have lost the Virtue, Power and Substance of it; nay, to such a Degree of Profaneness are Men grown, that it is too frequent to hear some swear and execrate for their Church; but we seldom see the fiercest Contenders for Religion shew any in their Lives and Conversations, whilst the sober practical Christian finds he has enough to do to watch against the Infirmities of his own Nature, to master his own Will, and to mortify his carnal Affections and sinful Inclinations; and is so sensible of his own Unworthiness, that he is much readier to judge and condemn himself than others; he falls not out with his Brethren by the Way, but is full of Meekness, Tenderness, Love and Compassion, and bears Good-will and universal Charity to all Christians, without Regard to their different Forms of Worship: How little of this Temper do we see in the Conduct of many who pretend to be Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, and yet fill their Sermons with Reviling, Slander and Inveective, to stir up Men's Minds to Wrath and Discord?

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May we not then from their Works conclude that these have no Savour of the Things of God, but are of the same Spirit with such whom our Saviour denominated Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing, and that they are of their Father the Devil, whose Works they do? It is high Time for the Multitude to open their Eyes and see whither these Guides are leading them, and for the Government to awake, and provide such Laws as may stop all Mouths and Pens from weakening our Constitution, betraying our Liberties, exposing the Revolution, and undermining the Queen's Parliamentary Title and the Protestant Succession. But these high-flying Clergymen would place themselves in a Station above the Reach of human Laws, they tell us they are *Jure Divino*, God's Heritage, a Royal Priesthood, touch not mine Anointed, &c. We see they would be flying as high as Popery itself, if we would let them: But though these glorious Titles are predicated of the Divine Spiritual Gospel-Church and Ministry, let not these Men be too forward to attribute them to themselves, till they first convince us that they have no Ambition to exceed the Bounds of the Gospel Dispensation; it is not enough for them to tell us that they are the Successors of the Apostles, unless withall they shew us that they are acted and guided by the same Spirit that dwelt in the Primitive Christians. We freely yield to them that the Offices of Christian Bishops, Pastors, &c. are of Divine Institution, but then let them distinguish with us between what is Divine, and what is but Human, in the Exercise and Appendices of those Offices; many Powers and Emoluments have been added to them which were not known or thought of in the Days of the Apostles, such as lordly Titles, temporal Possessions, Jurisdictions and Immunities, with the divers Forms, Powers, Liturgies and Ceremonies of national Churches, and the Dominion of the Clergy over the Laity; these Things may be useful to Religious Societies so far as they conduce to their Support, Decency and good Order, but are not indeed any Part of true Spiritual Religion, no more than the Garment is a Part of the Body, and may be enlarged or diminished, put on, or put off, as the differing Circumstances of Time and Place, and the Inclinations of the Prince and People may require: In short, we ought to distinguish between the Political Churches of Nations, which are subject to be set up and pull'd down, limited and reformed by the Authority of the Christian Magistrate, and the invisible Church of Christ, which consists of all such of the whole Body of Christians, who worship God in Spirit and Truth, whose Powers and Privileges are not carnal, but spiritual, and can never be altered or taken away; God grant that all Men of Good-will, of whatsoever Persuasion, may be found of this Number, without which all our Zeal for the outward Forms of Religious Worship will stand us in no Stead; in this I am sure all sincere and virtuous and pious Christians agree with each other, and for the rest, they do but profane the venerable Name of God by their Pretences to Religion; and if such should come to be made legal Bishops and Pastors of Political Churches, they might yet have no Part or Portion in the Royal Priesthood or in God's Heritage.

I am very sensible that my Argument has led me to speak of Things which may touch some great Men whom I yet honour in my Heart, but all the Respect I was able to shew on such an Occasion was to forbear their Names;

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the Facts I have mention'd are known to be true, 'tis therefore their own Actions that reflect the Censure, not the Relation; I have the utmost Aversion to detract from the Merit of such who have deserved well of their Country, but when any Man has done the most glorious Actions, has deservedly gain'd an universal Esteem both at home and abroad, and has obtain'd both the greatest Riches and the highest Honours that his Country is capable to confer, he ought still to consider on his Part, that he has done but his Duty, that he has been bountifully rewarded, and to remember that he is still but a Subject, and the greatest of Subjects owe the same Regard to the good Pleasure and just Commands of his Sovereign as the meanest Peasant in the Kingdom; we know that the greatest and wisest of Men are still subject to human Infirmities, and may have stronger Temptations to ambitious Excesses than such as move in lower Spheres; in such a Case, the best of our Wishes in his Behalf should be, that he may be reform'd by some seasonable Reproof, and be preserved from falling into any such Extreme as might cancel the Merit of his past Services, and in the mean Time, though we are willing to bear a large Measure of Respect and Good-will for him, yet our indispensable Duty and Love to our most excellent Queen and our Country ought always to engage our chiefest Regard to them.

Thus, Sir, I have taken the Occasion of your Letter, to convince the honest Men on both Sides, that they have been all along deceived and cheated through the Opinion and Confidence they have had of their respective Parties, who have proved to us like a Whip-saw, which soever Extreme is pull'd, the Nation is still miserably sawn between them. 'Tis Time for us then to grow wiser, and for all such as sincerely desire the publick Good and Welfare of their Country, to bury their Animosities, and labour to reconcile their imaginary Differences, that they may no longer suffer themselves to be made Use of as Tools, and to be play'd against one another by crafty and designing Men, who regard them no farther than as they can make them subservient to their own Purposes. It would be a great Happiness to the Nation, if in Cities and Corporations both Sides would meet together in a Friendly Manner, to consult of their Elections for Representatives in Parliament, and unite in making choice of Men of the greatest Integrity and Probity, without any Consideration of their Party; a Man that is wise, honest, and independent, will never be led by any Party to a Compliance in such Matters as he thinks detrimental to his Country; they know the Temper and Qualifications of Gentlemen who live in their Neighbourhood, but such as are wholly Strangers to them, and live at a Distance, they will have Reason to suspect as set up to serve, not their Country, but themselves or their Patrons: Pity it is to see, that People who have so noble a Privilege as that of using their own Freedom and Judgment in chusing the Makers and Conservators of their Laws and Liberties, should throw it away and sacrifice it to the Solicitations and Recommendations of Men in Power, or, which is worse, sell it to those that bid most; would the free People of *Great-Britain* but once exert their own Power to reform the House of Commons, by electing a Majority of virtuous and disinterested Members, we might soon expect to see the publick Managements reform'd, and such an Improvement might be made of the invaluable Blessing we enjoy in her present Majesty, as would root out our Factions, heal our Breaches,

and

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and so equally settle the Bounds of Prerogative and Liberty, that no Room should be left for clashing about them for the future; our late Kings have had so strong Inclinations to extend their Power to gain all the Advantages they could upon the People, that those Courts have always had separate and distinct Interests of their own to carry on, which (as I have before shewn) was the first Cause of all our Discords; but our present Queen has never manifested the least Regard to any Interest divided from that of her People, and has indeed no other Thing so much at Heart as the Ease and Tranquillity of her Subjects; this then is the happy Conjuncture, wherein nothing but our own Divisions and Folly can hinder us from making our Queen safe and easy, and our valuable Rights as secure as our Hearts can desire, and leaving them so to our Posterity; and 'tis for that End only, that I have taken this Pains to stir up my Countrymen to be wise for themselves, and to beware of the Impositions and specious Pretences of their guileful Managers.

For yourself, Sir, though we are equally Strangers, and like so to remain, yet your happier Style shews me your superior Capacity, and my own Inability to contract, like you, my Matter into a narrow Compass; but if I have been able to expose the Faults of such who have been the unhappy Occasion of the present Distempers of the Nation, and to vindicate the Proceedings of those who are endeavouring to reform what has been amiss, and to put the publick Affairs into a better Way, I hope the Sincerity of my Intentions will atone for my Prolixity and the Weakness of my Performance. I conclude then with a Precept of the Ancients, fit to be observed in these Times, and with assuring you that I am,

S I R,

Publica privatis secernite, Sacra Profanis.

Yours and my Country's

Very humble Servant, &c.

FAULTS

FAULTS on both SIDES: Part the Second. Or an
ESSAY upon the original Cause, Progress, and mis-
chievous Consequences of the Factions in the CHURCH:
Shewing, That the CLERGY, of whatsoever Denomi-
nation, have always been the Ring-Leaders and Beginners
of the Disturbances in every State; imposing upon the
Credulity of the LAITY, for no other End than the
accomplishing their own Selfish Designs, at the Expence
of the Peace and Tranquillity of the NATION. Faith-
fully produced from the most eminent Authorities.
Sincerely intended for allaying the Heats and Animosities
of the People, and persuading all honest, well-meaning
Men, to compose their Party-Quarrels, and unite their
Hearts and Affections for promoting the Publick Good,
and Safety of their QUEEN and COUNTRY. By
Way of Letter to a New Member of Parliament. 1710.

*Nec quenquam jam ferre potest Cæsare priorem,
Pompeiusve Parem.*———*Lucan.*

Oxford, Dec. 5, 1710.

S I R,

SINCE my Return home I have frequently recollected, with the greatest
Satisfaction, several Passages of that learned and instructive Conversation
which I often had the Honour of enjoying in your Company, during my
Stay in London; more particularly, Sir, the Discourse we had concerning the pre-
sent Posture of Affairs both in Church and State, and the mischievous Conse-
quences which are likely to attend the Nation, by that great Height and Violence
to which all Parties are now fomented, if some Methods are not speedily thought
of by your Honourable House, for the composing of these Differences, by look-
ing into the very Source from whence they arose, and administering, with
the strictest Justice, upon the Guilty of all Parties, *the due Reward of their
Deeds.*

'Tis Matter of the most surprising Admiration, to see Men carried away into
such Party-Prejudices by the Bulk and Gross as you very well observed, without
so

so much as the least Inquiry into the real *Faults on both Sides*, or making a true Judgment, by avoiding the Extremes of all Parties, and comparing Matters of Fact, which is undoubtedly the only Way of representing all popular Objects in a clear Light; but instead of this, the Leaders of each Clan run themselves aground with a precipitated Kind of Madness and inveterate Hatred of each other's Person, upon the bare Account of entertaining some different Opinions; which, in short, is such a monstrous Piece of Ridicule, that we may with the same Equality of Justice quarrel one with another about the Variety of our Complexions, or any other natural Infirmary.

I shall now, Sir, since you have often requested it of me, shew the Folly of this inequitable Way of Procedure, by tracing the *Faults of the Clergy of both Sides*, during the same Space of Time in which the *Political Faults* have been survey'd; and since *RELIGION* is the Subject of our present Contention, I hope my Design will meet with a candid Approbation among all Parties, when I sincerely declare that I have no other Prospects in View but what are intended for the allaying of our Heats and Animosities, and persuading all honest, well-meaning Men to compose their Party-Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for promoting the publick Good, and Safety of our most gracious *Queen* and Country.

In Prosecution of my Design, I shall first give you (in the Words of the learned and judicious *M. Bayle**) an Account of the Behaviour of a turbulent Bishop, even in the most early Days of Christianity, what Sentiments were at that Time entertain'd of him, and the dreadful Consequences that attended his rash and inconsiderate Zeal.

' *ABDAS*, a Bishop in *Persia*, in the Time of *Theodosius* junior, was, thro' his inconsiderate Zeal, the Cause of a very terrible Persecution which was raised against the Christians, who enjoy'd a full Liberty of Conscience in *Persia*, when this Bishop took upon him to pull down one of the Temples where the *Persians* worship'd the Fire. † The *Magi* made their Complaints to the King,

* *Vide* *M. Bayle's* Dict. Artic. of *Abdas*, Vol. I.

† The *Magi* made their Complaints to the King] It was *Isdegerdes*, if we rely upon *Theodoret*; but according to *Socrates*, the Persecution began only under *Varanes*, Son and Successor of *Isdegerdes*. *Baronius* dares not determine which of the two is the right. The *Magi* may be properly call'd Priests, for it was their Business to take care of holy Matters, and to prevent all manner of Innovation in Religion. *Theodoret* compares them to a Whirlwind, which raises the Waves of the Sea; such was their Function in the Storm that toss'd so violently the Church of *Persia*, for the Space of thirty Years. *Socrates* tells us, That they made use of several Impostures to put a Stop to the Progress of the Christian Religion, when they saw that the Love *Isdegerdes* had conceived for the holy Bishop *Maruthas*, gave them Reason to fear, that he would forsake their Religion. They were so bold as to hide a Man underground, in the Temple where the King used to worship the Fire; and they order'd him to cry out, when the King should come in, That Prince ought to be dethroned, who has been so impious as to believe, that a Christian Priest is a Friend of God.

If what is most falsely said by impious Men were true, viz. That Religion is a mere human Invention, set up by the Sovereigns to keep Subjects within the Bounds of Obedience,

' King, who sent for *Abdas*, and after a mild Censure order'd him to rebuild
' that Temple. *Abdas* refused to do it, though the Prince declared to him, That
' in

dience, how could it be deny'd, that Princes are the first who have been taken in their own Snares? For Religion is so far from making them Masters of their Subjects, that on the contrary it submits them to their Subjects: inasmuch as they are obliged to profess the Religion of their People, and not that which seems to them to be the best: But if they are resolved to profess a Religion different from that of their Subjects, they run the Hazard of losing their Crown. We see how the *Persian Magi* threaten'd their King, though he had only carest'd one Bishop. It has been said, that the last King of *Siam* was dethroned for having too much favour'd the Christian Missionaries. The same *Socrates*, who mentions the Artifices made Use of by the *Magi*, to put a Stop to the Propagation of the Gospel, tells us likewise, that after the Death of *Isdegerdes*, they inspired his Son with such a Spirit of Persecution, that a horrid Cruelty was exercised against the Christians. They had endeavour'd, but in vain, to inspire his Father with the same spirit, for he was like to embrace the Gospel; though *Socrates* is to blame for not owning sincerely, that the rash Action of Bishop *Abdas* afforded the *Magi* a very plausible Pretence. All the Church Historians are not guilty of the Unfincerity for which I blame *Socrates*; for *Theodosius* does ingenuously confess, that the Bishop, who pull'd down a Temple, occasion'd the dreadful Persecution of the Christians in *Persia*. He does not deny but that the Zeal of that Bishop was unseasonable; but he maintains, that his refusing to rebuild such a Temple is worthy of Admiration, and deserves a Crown: For methinks, says he, it is as great an Impiety to build a Temple to the Fire, as to worship it.

For my own Part, I am of Opinion, That no private Men, whether they be Metropolitans or Patriarchs, can at any Time be dispensed from this Law of natural Religion. The Damage that has been done to one's Neighbour ought to be made up by Restitution, or some other Way. Now *Abdas*, a mere private Man, and a Subject of the *Persian* King, destroy'd what did belong to others, and was so much the more privileged, because it belong'd to the prevailing Religion; he was therefore indispensibly obliged to obey the Orders of his Sovereign, by restoring what he had destroy'd: And it was no good Excuse to say, That the Temple which he was order'd to rebuild was design'd for the Use of Idolators; for he was not to put it to that Use, and he could not be answerable for the Abuse of those whom it did belong to. Would it be a good Reason for robbing a Man, to say he spends his Money extravagantly! Let him do so; you are not answerable to God for the Follies he commits: Let him enjoy what is his own; what Right have you to it? Besides, could there be any Comparison between the Destruction of a Temple, without which the *Persians* would have remain'd as great Idolators as they were before, and occasioning the Destruction of many Christian Churches? *Abdas* should therefore have prevented this last Evil by the first, since the Prince put it to his Choice. Lastly, can any Thing render the Christian Religion more odious to all the Nations of the World, than to see, that after they have insinuated themselves, as only desiring the Liberty of teaching their Doctrine, they are so bold as to destroy the Temples consecrated to the Religion of the Country, and refuse to rebuild them when the Sovereign commands it? Is it not to give Occasion to say; These Men desire at first a mere Toleration, but in a little Time they will pretend to share with us all Employments and Places of Trust, and then become our Masters: At first they think themselves very happy if they are not burnt, afterwards very unhappy if they have fewer Privileges than those who are of the establish'd Religion; and then again miserable, if they are not the only prevailing Party. During a certain Time they are like *Cæsar*, who would have no Master; and then they are like *Pompey*, who would have no Partner.

The Persecutors of the *French* Protestants did maliciously inspire *Charles IX.* with such a Thought. It is said, that Prince made Use of these Words, speaking to the Admiral

‘in Case of Disobedience, he would cause all the Christian Churches to be
 ‘pull’d down; which he did, and all the Faithful were deliver’d up to the
 ‘Mercy of the Priests, who being vex’d at the Toleration that had been grant-
 ‘ed, fell upon them with great Fury. *Abdas* was the first *Martyr* who lost his
 ‘Life on this Occasion; it we may so call a Man, who by his Rashness ex-
 ‘posed the Church to so many Misfortunes. The Christians, who had already
 ‘forgot one of the most essential Parts of Christian Patience, had Recourse to a
 ‘Remedy which occasion’d another Deluge of Blood; they implored the As-
 ‘sistance of *Theodosius*, which kindled a long War between the *Romans* and
 ‘*Persians*. It is true, that the latter were worsted: But was there any Certain-
 ‘ty that they should not overcome the *Romans*, and that being flush’d with
 ‘Victory, instead of persecuting only the Christians in *Persia*, they would not
 ‘exercise a general Persecution in all the other Churches? The Fury of the
 ‘Persecutors could scarce be satisfy’d in the Space of thirty Years: Thus we
 ‘see what Mischiefs the inconsiderate Zeal of a private Man may occasion.’

Thus, Sir, have I faithfully laid before you the Article *M. Bayle* gives us of
Abdas, together with his own Remarks, and am not insensible that though I have
 chosen this Example of an inconsiderate and rash Zeal to introduce my present
 Design, that upon first Sight our Clergy will fall foul upon me for so doing;
 because they reckon *M. Bayle* an Enemy to all reveal’d Religion; which will
 be a Demonstration of that Vice I am endeavouring to correct in them. ‘Tis
 not my Business here to inquire into *M. Bayle*’s Principles, but supposing him to
 be such a Person as they would represent him to the World, yet must nothing
 that he says be regarded? This is indeed the true and fatal Cause of all our
 former, and present Uneasinesses, in being carried away wholly by Prejudice, and
 not allowing the least Time for Recollection.

I shall now prosecute my intended Design without making the least Reflection,
 leaving Matter of Fact to speak for itself; the Instance of *Abdas* already recited
 is sufficient to shew the dismal Effects brought about by an inconsiderate Zeal in
 the early Days of Christianity, and it being needless to look any further into re-
 mote Parts, I will now confine myself to *English* Examples, and refer to the
 Authors themselves, for the Proof of what I assert.

The first Instance I shall produce, is the Behaviour of the Clergy in King
Henry II’s Time, thus deliver’d by that learned and impartial Historian * *Sir*
Bulstrode Whitlocke; — ‘In the sixth Year of his Reign, King *Henry* looks
 ‘to the Prerogatives of his Crown, infringed by the Clergy, whose Power he
 ‘had found too great in the Business between his Mother and King *Stephen*;
 ‘and he doubted how they might deal with his Posterity. The Lay Nobility
 ‘laid more Weights, informing the King, That the Clergy hinder’d the Exe-
 ‘cution:’

ral Coligni. ‘Such are the unavoidable Inconveniencies which they expose themselves to,
 ‘who maintain so warmly, that the Power of the secular Arm ought to be made Use of
 ‘for the Establishment of Orthodoxy.’ Such were the Principles of *Abdas*: For what
 would he not have done with Force of Arms against the Idolators under a Christian Em-
 peror, since under a heathen Prince, who tolerated the Christian Religion, he pull’d down
 a Temple for which the Heathens had a very particular Veneration?

* *Whitlocke’s Memorials*, fol. p. 47, & seq. lately publish’d by W. Penn, Anno 1709. ¶

‘ cution of Justice, held their Dominion a-part; and, being exempt from secular Punishments, committed many enormous Acts, and no Redress to be had. That since his Reign, about 100 Manslaughters had been committed by Men in Orders.

‘ The seventh Year, the King had preferred *Thomas Becket*, a Creature and Servant of his, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*; whom he expected ready to advance all his Affairs, made him Chancellor, and gave him the Education of the Prince. The Clergy had got their Jurisdiction much enlarged and strengthen’d. The King calls a Parliament, and propoundeth, That such of the Clergy as should be convicted of any heinous Offence should lose the Privilege of the Church, and be punish’d by the Civil Magistrate as other Subjects were.

‘ The ninth Year, *Becket* and the other Bishops and Clergy opposed this, being against the Liberties of the Church. The king demanded, if they would submit to the Laws and Customs which the Bishops, in the Time of Henry I. did observe, *i. e.* * *To acknowledge the King as supreme Judge in Ecclesiastical Affairs, granting him the Power of redressing all Grievances complain’d of by the Laity, &c.* They answer’d they would; their Order, the Honour of God, and Holy Church, in all Things saved. The King, displeased with this Reservation, breaks up the Parliament, denies *Becket* Access to him, takes from him what he could, and countenances those who opposed him.

‘ The Pope and Cardinals writ to *Becket* to reconcile this Jar, and to make Peace with his Lord the King, and to promise to observe his Laws without Exception; which *Becket* did promise to the King, who thereupon calls a Parliament at *Clarendon*, where they were charged to reduce the Laws of Henry I. the King’s Grandfather, into Writing: Which being done, the King willed the Archbishop and Bishops to set to them their Seals, which the rest were content to do, but *Becket* refused it. At length the rest persuaded him, and intimated Danger, by the King’s Servants rushing up and down with threatening Countenances: Whereupon *Becket* took his Oath to observe the King’s Laws without any Reservation. Then taking the Writing into his Hand, he said to the Clergy, *Brethren, stand fast, you see the Malice of the King, and that we are bound to beware: And so the Council ended, but not the King’s Displeasure; whom only he found to bear up against him, who had so much favour’d him.*

‘ He therefore proceeds to disgrace him, and to advance the Archbishop of *York* above him, writes to the Pope to make him Legate; but he refused, and sent his Legation to the King, so as he should do nothing to grieve *Becket*. But the King, in Indignation, sent back the Pope’s Grant, as an Indignity to him.

‘ *Becket* repents of his Oath at *Clarendon*, suspends himself, and doth Penance till the Pope sent him an Absolution: Then he endeavours to go to *Rome* without the King’s Leave, contrary to the Law made at *Clarendon* (but by contrary Winds brought back) which more exasperated the King. Then he is summon’d to a Parliament at *Northampton*: Suits in Law go against him, he is

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* *Vide Whitlock’s Memorials, fol. p. 40.*

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‘ call’d to Account for the King’s Monies, and pleads his Acquittance for all Receipts. The King urged to have Judgment against him, and he is summon’d to appear.’

‘ In the Morning of his Appearance, he saith the Mass of *Stephen* the Proto-Martyr, and comes to Court in his *Pontificalibus*, carrying the Cross; for which he was blamed by the other Bishops, who offered to pull it out of his Hand, but he held it fast.

‘ The Archbishop of *York*, his ancient Adversary, rebukes him sharply for coming thus as to a Tyrant or Heathen Prince; and told him *the King had a Sword sharper than his Cross*. *Becket* reply’d, *the King’s Sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes spiritually, and sends the Soul to Hell*.

‘ *Becket* inveighs at the Proceedings against the Spiritual Father of the King, and of all his Subjects, especially by the Sons of the Church; and he appeals to the Pope. The Parliament cried he was a Traytor, that having received so many Benefits from the King, he refused to do him earthly Honour, and to obey his Laws which he had sworn to: And the Bishops renounced their Ecclesiastical Obedience to him, cited him to *Rome*, and condemned him as a perjured Man and a Traytor. Being charged to answer, he refused to stand to the Judgement of the King, or any other Person; saying *they were bound to obey God and him, rather than any earthly Creature*. Then he departed, and disguising himself got into *Flanders*, and so to *France*.

‘ Presently King *Henry* sends to the King of *France* not to countenance *Becket*, a Rebel against his King; yet the King of *France* sends to the Pope in *Becket’s* Behalf.

‘ King *Henry* sends divers Bishops and Lords Commissioners to the Pope, to inform him of *Becket’s* Cause; which they did, and of his Crime and Peevishness very fully: But they not being able to prevail with the Pope, came away in Discontent. Then *Becket* brought to the Pope the Laws made at *Clarendon*; which being read before him, the Cardinals, and the rest of the Clergy, they condemned them, and all that obeyed or favoured them, being smart against the Church Privileges.

‘ King *Henry* ordains, that if any bring Letters of Interdiction from the Pope, he shall forthwith be executed as a Traytor; that no Clergyman shall pass over Sea without License; forbids Appeals to *Rome*, and *Peter-Pence*; banisheth all *Becket’s* Kindred, and adheres to the Anti-Pope; this exasperates Pope *Alexander*, who writes to the Clergy of *England* to oppose the King; excommunicates his special Ministers who adhered to the German Faction, *Alexander’s* Enemies, and those who had entered upon the Goods of the Church of *Canterbury*.

‘ *Becket* having now been a considerable Time abroad, the fourteenth Year the Pope writes to some Bishops, to admonish the King to desist from intruding upon the Liberties of the Church, and to restore Archbishop *Becket*.

‘ The Bishops write a long Answer to the Pope, giving him an Account of the King’s Answer to their Message, and the Reasons of his Proceedings.

‘ The King of *France* mediates with King *Henry*, when in *Normandy*, to be reconciled to *Becket*: King *Henry*, to please his Brother of *France*, made an

‘ end

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• end of the Difference with the Clergy. And the King of *France*, with King
• *Henry* and *Becket*, meet: He at the King's Feet saith, *he will refer all to his*
• *Royal Order, God's Honour only reserved.*

• King *Henry* in Choler said, "Whosoever displeaseth this Man, he would
• have it to be against God's Honour: But that you may see I will not resist
• God's Honour, and him, look what the greatest and most holy of all his
• Predecessors have done to the meanest of mine: Let him do the same to
• me, and it shall suffice."

• *Becket* reply'd peremptorily: So that the King of *France*, and all with him,
• were satisfied of the King's Proceedings, and of *Becket's* Forwardness; yet at
• length they were reconciled: And afterwards the King wrote a Letter to his
• Son, the young King *Henry*, commanding him to restore *Becket* to his See.

• *Becket*, returning to *England*, suspended the Archbishop of *York* for crown-
• ing the young King without his Leave within his Province, and against
• the Pope's Command: He had Letters also to suspend other Bishops that
• officiated at the Coronation.

• The Bishops resort to the King in *Normandy*, acquaint him with *Becket's*
• Proceedings; and that he was grown so imperious, that there was no living un-
• der him: Wherewith the King was so much moved, that he is said to utter these
• Words; *In what a Miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet in my own King-*
• *dom for O N E only Priest! Is there no Man that will rid me of this Trouble?*
• At which Words, some report, four Knights, guessing at the King's Mind,
• went into *England* to the Archbishop; others say, they were sent to him from
• the King to take off the Suspension from the Bishops, and to wish him to take
• his Oath of Fealty to the young King.

• These four Knights came to the Archbishop, and finding him peremptory,
• and not regarding their Master the King, they entered in their Armour into
• the Church, whither *Becket* was withdrawn, and the Monks at Divine Ser-
• vice: There they reviled the Archbishop, called him Traytor, and gave him
• many Wounds, and struck out his Brains, that his Blood besprinkled the
• Altar.

• He died with much Courage, committing the Cause of the Church, with his
• Soul, to God and the Saints. The Circumstances and Hatred of the Deed
• made Compassion and Opinion to be on his Side. The Murderers durst not go
• back to the King, but within four Years all of them died miserable Fugitives.

• The King of *France* and the Earl of *Blois* inform the Pope of this wicked
• Fact, and excite him to unsheath St. *Peter's* Sword, and take Revenge for
• *Becket's* Martyrdom.

• The Archbishop of *Sens* writes to the Pope, "That he was appointed
• over Nations and Kingdoms, to bind their Kings in Fetters, and their Nobles
• with Manacles of Iron; that all Power, both in Heaven and Earth, was given
• to his Apostleship: Bids him look how the Boar of the Wood hath rooted
• up the Vineyard of the Lord of *Sabaoth*;" and then rails bitterly against
• the King imbruing the *Sanctum Sanctorum* with Blood, and tearing in Pieces
• the Vicegerents of Christ, &c. concluding with an Exhortation, that he would
• arm all the Ecclesiastical Power for Revenge.

• The

The King employed the ablest Men he could chuse, to declare his Innocence to the Pope, and how grievously he took the Matter; yet the Pope denied Audience to his Ambassadors, and the Cardinals refused Conference with them: But they wrought so by Apologies and Remonstrances, and dealt so, as they kept off the highest Censure, daily threatened and expected. They gravely urged the Mischiefs that might follow in the Church, if a King of so great a State and Stomach should be driven to take desperate Courses.

The Pope sent two Legates into *Normandy* to interdict the King, but he appeal'd to the Presence of the Pope, and so disappointed them: And returning into *England*, he commanded that no Brief Carriers should be permitted to cross the Seas, without giving Security of good Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

Thus have I faithfully given you the whole Relation of what passed between this *Prince* and *Archbishop*, from his first Rise, to his deplorable Fall; we proceed next to the Behaviour of *Archbishop ABBOT* in the *Convocation* at the Beginning of *King James I's* Reign.* This Convocation goes under the Name of *Overal's* Convocation; it is very probable that this *Convocation* was called, to clear some Doubt that *King James* might have had, about the Lawfulness of the *Hollanders* throwing off the *Monarchy* of *Spain*, and their withdrawing, for good and all, their Allegiance to that Crown: Which was the great Matter then in Agitation in most Courts of *Christendom*.

It appears plainly by some of those *Canons*, that high-flown Notions of *Prerogative* and *Absolute Obedience*, which became afterwards into Fashion, were not much known at that Time: At least the Clergy were not of that Opinion. It is true, this was the first Time that a King *de Jure* and *de Facto* was ever mentioned as a Point of Divinity, or a Doctrine of the Church: Though it had been taken Notice of before, and that but once, as a Matter of Law, in an Act of Parliament of *Henry VII*. But these *Canons* did never receive the *Royal Approbation*, and therefore are in the same Case as if they had never been.

King James thought these Points too nice to be much touch'd upon, and was highly displeased with the *Members* of that *Convocation*, for meddling in Matters which he thought were without their Sphere. Thereupon he writ the following angry Letter to the *Archbishop* (then *Dr. Abbot*) which I had the good Fortune to light upon, viz.

Good Dr. ABBOT,

I Cannot abstain from giving you my Judgment of your Proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as *Rex in Solio*, and *unus Gregis in Ecclesia*, I am doubly concern'd. My Title to the Crown no body calls in Question, but they that neither love you nor me; and you guess whom I mean. All that you and your Brethren have said of a King in Possession (for that Word, I tell you, is no worse than that you make use of in your Canon) concerns not me at all; I am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine by all Rights

* *Welwood's Memoirs*, 12°. p. 31. & seq.

Rights you can name, but that of Conquest; and Mr. *Sollicitor* has sufficiently express'd my own Thoughts concerning the Nature of Kingship in general, and concerning the Nature of it, *ut in mea Persona*: And I believe you were all of his Opinion; at least none of you said ought contrary to it, at the Time he spake to you from me: But you know all of you, as I think, that my Reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgments how far a Christian and a Protestant King may concur to assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon the Account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's Time this Kingdom was every free in assisting the *Hollanders* both with Arms and Advice, and none of your Coat ever told me, that any scrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to *England*, you may know that it came from some of yourselves to raise Scruples about this Matter: And albeit I have told my Mind concerning *Jus Regium in Subditos*, in May last, in the *Star-Chamber*, upon the Occasion of *Hales's* Pamphlet; yet I never took Notice of these Scruples till the Affairs of *Spain* and *Holland* forced me to it. All my Neighbours call on me to concur in the Treaty between *Holland* and *Spain*; and the Honour of the Nation will not suffer the *Hollanders* to be abandon'd, especially after so much Money and Men spent in their Quarrel: Therefore I was of the Mind to call my Clergy together, to satisfy not so much me, as the World about us, of the Justness of my owning the *Hollanders* at this Time: This I needed not have done; and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not. You have dipped too deep in what all Kings reserve among the *Arcana Imperii*, and whatever Aversion you may profess against God's being the Author of Sin, you have stumbled upon the Threshold of that Opinion, in saying upon the Matter, that even Tyranny is God's Authority, and should be revered as such. If the King of *Spain* should return to claim his old Pontifical Right to my Kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it: For you tell us upon the Matter before-hand, his Authority is God's Authority if he prevail.

Mr. Doctor, I have no Time to express myself farther in this Thorny Business. I shall give you my Orders about it by Mr. *Sollicitor*; and until then meddle no more in it, for they are Edge Tools, or rather like that Weapon, that is said to cut with the one Edge, and cure with the other. I commit you to God's Protection, good Doctor *Abbot*, and rest

Your Good Friend,

JAMES R.

That * Historian, who is now by our Clergy almost reckon'd Canonical, gives the following Character of Archbishop *Abbot*, who though he made such a Stir and Bustle, was as unfitly qualified for what he undertook as it was possible for any Person to be: And as the Historian very justly observes, "He had sat too many Years in the See of *Canterbury*, and had too great a Jurisdiction over the

* Lord Clarendon's *History*, 8vo. Vol. I. Part I. Page 88.

the Church, though he was without any Credit in the Court from the Death of King *James*, and had not much in many Years before. He had been Head or Master of one of the poorest Colleges in *Oxford*, and had Learning sufficient for that Province. He was a Man of very morose Manners, and a very sour Aspect, which in that Time was call'd Gravity; and under the Opinion of that Virtue, and by the Recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's first *Scotch* Favourite, he was prefer'd by King *James* to the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and presently after to *London* (and from thence to *Canterbury*) before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate of any Parish Church in *England*, or Dean, or Prebend of any Cathedral Church; and was in Truth totally ignorant of the true Constitution of the Church of *England*, and the State and Interest of the Clergy; as sufficiently appear'd throughout the whole Course of his Life.

Such were the Qualifications of this *Ignoramus* Bishop, who was yet thought a vere proper *Tool of a Party*, that through the Necessities of impair'd Fortunes had given Demonstrations sufficient of their Endowments being upon an Equality with the *Archbishop's*, and from the Acquirements of Noise and Nonsense, join'd to a sordid Self-Interest (though with the old Text ready in their Mouths of *Liberty, Property, and the Welfare of the Nation lying next their Heart*) these new Governors must break through all, to get into the State-Saddle, in which how long they would sit, any Man of a reasonable Capacity might prognosticate from their awkward mounting; and indeed to such surprising Turns may very well be applied that judicious Invocation of the *Poet*,

Protect us mighty Providence,

What would these Madmen have?

First they would bribe us without Pence,

Deceive us without common Sense,

And without Power enslave.

Let us now survey the Management of Archbishop *Laud*, his Successor.

King *Charles I.* came to the Crown under infinite Disadvantages; and yet the Nation might have hoped that their Condition would be mended under a Prince of so much Virtue, as indeed he was, if the Seeds of Discontent, which were sown in his Father's Time, had not every Day taken deeper Root, and acquired new Growth, through the ill Management of his Ministers, rather than any wilful Errors of his own.

Some of them drove so fast, that it was no Wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke: And it was in great Part to the indiscreet Zeal of Bishop *Laud*, who had got the Ascendant over his Master's Conscience and Councils, that both the *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy* owed afterwards their Fall.

To trace this Matter a little higher; there arose in the preceding Reing two opposite Parties in the Church, which became now more than ever exasperated against each other; the one headed by *Abbot*, the other by *Laud*; *Abbot* was a Person of too easy a Temper, being not well turned for a Court, and either could not, or would not stoop to the Humour of Times: And now and then by an un-

seasonable

seasonable Stiffness, gave Occasion to his Enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the Prerogative, or too much addicted to a *Popular Interest*, and therefore not fit to be employed in Matters of Government.

On the other Hand, as Bishop *Laud* was a Man so much superior in Learning that they are not to be named together, so much greater was his Ambition and natural Parts, for he nicely understood the Art of pleasing a Court; and finding no surer Way to raise himself to the first Dignities of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary Part to that of Bishop *Abbot*, he gave into every Thing that seemed to favour the *Prerogative* of the Crown, or enforce an *Absolute Obedience* upon the Subject.

The King's urgent Necessities, and the Backwardness to supply them, had forced him upon unwarrantable Methods of raising Money; and the Readiness the *Roman Catholics* expressed to assist him in his Wants, did beget in him at first a Tenderness towards, and afterwards a Trust and Confidence in them; which was unhappily mistaken by his other Subjects, as if he inclined to their Religion.

Among other Means of raising Money, that of *Loan* was fallen upon; which met with great Difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One *Sibthorp*, an obscure Parson, in a Sermon preached at *Northampton Assizes*, was for making his Court by asserting not only the Lawfulness of this Way of Imposing Money by *Loan*, but that it was the indispensable Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the same Time Dr. *Manwaring* preached two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanced these Doctrines, I. 'That the King 'is not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm; concerning the Subjects 'Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command, in Imposing 'Laws and Taxes without Consent of Parliament, does oblige the Subjects 'Conscience upon Pain of Eternal Damnation. II. That those who refused 'to pay this Loan did offend against the Law of God, and became guilty of 'Impiety, Disloyalty and Rebellion, and that the Authority of Parliament is 'not necessary for raising of Aids and Subsidies.

Abbot indeed was averse to these Doctrines; and for an Advantage against him, *Sibthorp's* Sermon, dedicated to the King, was sent him by his Majesty's Order to license, which he refused, and sent back his Reasons; which *Laud* answered, and licensed both *Sibthorp's* and *Manwaring's* Sermons. Upon this, *Abbot* was confined and suspended from his Function; the Administration of which was committed to *Laud*, and some others of his Recommendation. Some Time after *Abbot* dying in Disgrace, *Laud* succeeded him in the See of *Canterbury*, while in the mean Time Things went on from bad to worse, and hastened to a *Crisis*.

The two first Parliaments King *Charles* had called, pressing him hard for Redress of *Grievances*, and pushing on the Resentments begun in the preceding Reign; he was prevailed with not only to dissolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for twelve Years together; and this contrary to the Advice of his best Friends and Counsellors, who foresaw the ill Consequences that might follow if an unlucky Juncture of Affairs should necessitate him to call one: Which soon fell out in the worst Manner that could be, *viz.*

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The *Scots* had long been sour'd by the Inroachments they complain'd Men made upon their Rights and Liberties, particularly as to the Matter of *Church-Government*. *Laud's* Zeal for a Liturgical Uniformity between the two Nations proved the fatal Torch that inflamed both Kingdoms: Being the sooner kindled, because there had been so much Fuel laid up for many Years, that the least Spark was sufficient to fire the Pile.

Anno 1637, the *Scots* had not only in a tumultuous Manner refused the *Liturgy* composed and sent them by *Laud*, but assumed afterwards to themselves the Liberty and Power of holding a *General Assembly* of their Church, and therein to abolish *Episcopacy*, and commit several other Things judged to be inconsistent with the Duty of Subjects: Upon which they were declared *Rebels*; and the King thought his Honour concerned in reducing them to Obedience by the Sword.

Instead of venturing to call a Parliament, to enable him to prosecute this Design, he was necessitated to level Money another Way. Great Sums were raised by *Loan* and *Benevolence*, to which the *Roman Catholicks* and the *Laudean* Faction contributed most. Thus supplied, the King marched to the *North* with a gallant Army; and the *Scots* came as far as the Borders in a Posture of Defence, and to prevent the Extremity of what might happen, they presented his Majesty with their humble *Supplication and Remonstrance*, setting forth their 'inviolable Fidelity to the Crown; and that they desired nothing more, but the peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties; and that all Things might be settled 'by a free Parliament, and general Assembly.' At length, through the Intercession of the moderate Party about the King, and some of the highest Rank in both Kingdoms, his Majesty was pleased to comply with the Desires of the *Scots*, by a solemn *Pacification*, sign'd in View of both Armies near *Berwick*, in June 1638.

This Treaty was but short-lived, and ill-observed on either Side. The same Men that counsel'd the King to the first, push'd him on to a second War against the *Scots*. Parliaments had now been for some Years discontinued, and there appear'd no great Inclination in the King to call any more, if this Emergency had not fallen out: But his pressing Necessities, and this new War, oblig'd him once more to try the Affections of his People in a Parliamentary Way.

Accordingly a Parliament met in April 1640, at the Opening of which the King acquainted them with the Affronts he had received from the *Scots*, and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their Duty by Force of Arms. Both Houses shew'd a Willingness to relieve the King's Wants, and offer'd him a considerable Supply; but with this Condition, *That their Grievances might be first redress'd*, which were mightily increased since the last Dissolution: Not only so, but the *Scots* had Friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great Matter that should be conceal'd against them; and the Majority both of Lords and Commons were but little inclined to a War of *Laud's* Kindling.

The King, thus disappointed, dissolved this Parliament within the Month of their sitting; and made what Shifts he could to raise a new Army against the *Scots*: And they being resolved not to be behind in their Preparations, enter'd *England*.

land with a numerous Army, composed for the most Part of *Veteran* Officers and Troops, that had served in *Germany*, under *Gustavus Adolphus*, and taking *Berwick* and *Newcastle* pushed their Way as far as *Durham*.

The King came in Person to *York*, and found himself environ'd with perplexing Difficulties on all Hands; the Nobility and Gentry that attended him express'd on all Occasions their Dislike of the Cause, and the War they were engaged in: The *Scots* stood firm to their Ground, being flush'd with Success; and the King was follow'd from the South with Petitions from *London*, several Counties, and a considerable Number of Lords, desiring him to 'call a new Parliament, as the only effectual Means to quiet the Minds of the People, and compose the present War without Bloodshed.

The King, to extricate himself out of this Labyrinth, summon'd the *Great Council of Peers* to meet at *York*, and concert proper Measures for this Juncture: They unanimously advised him to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and summons a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*; with both which Advices the King complied, and immediately issued out Writs for the Meeting of a Parliament in *November* 1640, and adjourn'd the *Scots* Treaty to *London*.

No Age ever produced greater Men than the Members of this Parliament: They had Abilities and Inclinations sufficient to have render'd both the King and Nation happy, if *England* had not been through a Chain of concurring Accidents ripen'd for Destruction. At their first Meeting a Scene of *Grievances*, under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made use of to display them in the liveliest Colours. The many Cruelties and illegal Practices of the *Star-Chamber*, and *High Commission Court*, that had alienated People's Minds from the *Hierarchy*, were now insisted on to throw down those two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, and with them, in some Time after, the Bishops out of the House of Peers, and *Episcopacy* itself out of the Church. It was not a few of either House, but indeed all the great Patriots, that concurr'd at first to make Inquiry into the *Grievances* of this Reign: Sir *Edward Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*; the Lord *Digby*; the Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capel*; Mr. *Grimstone*, who was chosen afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons that brought in King *Charles II.* and was Master of the Rolls; Mr. *Holles*, since Lord *Holles*; all which suffer'd afterwards on the King's Side; and in general, most of those that took the King's Part in the succeeding War were the Men that appear'd with the greatest Zeal for the Redress of *Grievances*, and made the sharpest Speeches upon these Subjects. The Intentions of the Gentlemen were certainly noble and just, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People: But the Fate of *England* urged on its own Ruin Step by Step, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be closed again. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbishop *Laud*, had too great a Share in the Ministry, to escape being censured; and they were the first that felt the Effects of a Popular Hatred. They, with Duke *Hamilton*, first advised the King to call this Parliament; and all three fell by it, tho' not at the same Time.

As a farther Specimen of *Laud's* turbulent and inconsiderate Rashness in sacrificing a whole Nation to his boundless Ambition, it will not be amiss to insert his Advice to the King, when in Conference with the Earl of *Strafford* and the Lord *Cottington*.

* Mr. Secretary *Vane's* Notes about the Earl of *Strafford's* Advice to King *Charles*, to bring over an Army from *Ireland*, to subdue *England*.

The Title of them was,

*No Danger of War with Scotland,
If Offensive, not Defensive.*

King. How can we undertake offensive War, if we have no more Money?

Strafford. Borrow of the City a Hundred Thousand Pounds: Go on vigorously to levy Ship-Money. Your Majesty having tried the Affection of your People, you are absolved and loose from all Manner of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majesty having tried all Ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in *Ireland* that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience; for I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold out five Months.

Laud. You have tried all Ways, and have always been denied: It is now lawful to take it by Force.

Cottington. Levies abroad there may be made for Defence of the Kingdom. The lower House are weary of the King and Church. All Ways shall be just to raise Money by, in this inevitable Necessity, and are to be used, being lawful.

Laud. For an Offensive, not a Defensive War.

Strafford. The Town is full of Lords. Put the Commission of Array on Foot; and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.

To such Counsellors this unhappy Prince owed all his Misfortunes! I shall conclude this Head with observing, that as Archbishop *Laud* was nothing inferior to the Earl of *Strafford* in Parts, and much his superior in Learning; so it is as hard to determine which of the two made a nobler Defence at their Trial. *Laud's* Fate has been the same with that of most great Men, to be represented to Posterity in *Extremes*; for we have nothing writ of him, but what is either *Panegyric* or *Satire*, rather than History.

That he was brought to his Trial, and found guilty, during the Heat of a Civil War, and when all Things were tending to Confusion, was nothing strange: Nor was Serjeant *Wild's* Introduction at the Opening of his Charge any Thing but what might have been expected at such a Time, when he told the Lords, That *it might be said of the Great Cause of the Archbishop of Canterbury*, as it was in a like Case, *Repertum est hodierno die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec Histrio sonare, nec minus imitari potuerit*; but it was indeed strange, and none of the least of this great Man's Misfortunes, that three Years before he should be declared by the House of Commons a Traytor *nemine contradicente*, at a Time when there was not the least Misunderstanding between the King and Parliament, being within the first Month after they sat down: and which was yet stranger, that no body was more severe upon him, than some of those that afterwards took the King's Part against the Parliament, and were at last the chief Instruments of his Son's

Son's Restoration. Whoever reads Sir *Harbottle Grimstone's* Speech upon voting his Impeachment, or *Pym's* upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, that scarce any Age has produced a Man whose Actions and Conduct have been more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater Occasion for it.

There was one Thread that run through his whole Accusation, and upon which most of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd; and that was, his Inclination to Popery, and Design to introduce that Religion: Of which his immortal *Book* against *Fisher* the Jesuit sufficiently acquits him. And yet not Protestants only, but even *Roman Catholics* themselves were led into this Mistake; otherwise they would not have dared to offer one in his Post a *Cardinal's Cap*, as * he confesses they did twice. The introducing a great many pompous *Ceremonies* into the Church, the *licensing* some Books that spoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and refusing to *license* some others wrote against it, were the principal Causes of his being thus misrepresented: And indeed his Behaviour in these Matters, as likewise in the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission Court*, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his *Theatrical* Manner of consecrating *Katherine Creed Church*. I shall close all, agreeing with the † *Historian*, that notwithstanding all these Faults, and in Spite of Malice, 'He was a Man of great Parts, and very exemplary Virtues, allay'd and discredited by some unpopular natural Infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hafty, sharp Way of expressing himself) that he believed Innocence of Heart and Integrity of Manners, was a Guard strong enough to secure any Man in his Voyage through this World, in what Company soever he travel'd, and thro' what Ways soever he was to pass: And sure never any Man was better supplied with that Provision. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, and who, according to their usual Maxim and Practice, call every Man they do not love *Papist*; and, under this senseless Appellation, they created many Troubles and Vexations. He was certainly at Heart passionately concern'd for the Church: He had usually about him an uncourtly Quickness, if not Sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what Men said or thought of him; by which Means a more than ordinary Prejudice and Uncharitableness was always contracted against him.'

Thus, Sir, have I laid before you three considerable Instances of the Clergy's being the original Cause of the Disturbances in this Nation, and I hope I shall escape free from the Imputation of Partiality, since I have been equally just to their Virtues and their Vices.

Without any Reflection, let any Man but soberly consider the Behaviour of *Thomas a Becket* to King *Henry*, and though there was *Faults on both Sides*, yet I am certain *Becket's* unparallel'd Insolence will meet with no one's Approbation.

And as to Archbishop *Laud*, I dare appeal to the most strenuous of his Defenders, that I have done him strict Justice. I must own, that I think we may properly compare the Use of the Clergy to the Elements of *Fire* and *Water*, viz. *That they are good Servants, but bad Masters*; and the Precedents of these two Gentlemen are not very tempting for Futurity to proceed upon, since both of them sacrificed their Lives to the Caprice of their Ambition.

* Vide Bishop *Laud's* Diary.

† *Clarendon's Hist.* vol. I. p. 90, &c.

I shall now examine the Conduct of that factious Crew of *Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing*, who under a Pretence of *Religion* destroy'd that very Authority by which it was supported; and, under Disguise, thought they might escape the Censure of being reckon'd Enemies to the Church by siding with Bishop *Abbot*, whose Misfortunes were drawn upon him, by not discerning their Hypocrisy; and in King *Charles* the First's Time, notwithstanding their continual Clamour and Outcry for the Preservation of their *Religion*, and serving of the *Lord*, they had no other Designs in View but to usurp themselves into an Establishment; and to whom may be justly applied that Remark of the judicious Mr. *Bayle*, 'These Men desired at first a mere *Toleration*, but in a little Time they pretended to share with us all Employments and Places of Trust; at first they thought themselves very happy in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Lives and Fortunes; afterwards, when they had got to some Head, they were very unhappy if they had fewer Privileges than the establish'd Church; and then again miserable, if they were not the prevailing Party. During a certain Time they were like *Cæsar*, who would have no Master; and at last they copied *Pompey's* Example, who would have no Partner.' To which Degree they did at length arrive, and how they behaved themselves under their short-lived and tyrannical Usurpation, shall be my next Business to examine.

As a Specimen of their Christian *Moderation* and *Temper*, I shall first produce a severe Edict against *Toleration*, and without any other Reflection leave them to chew upon the Cud of their own Understanding, and soberly to weigh and determine if they can think themselves now misused, since I here make their own Actions both Judge and Jury in the Case.

A LETTER of the Ministers of the City of LONDON, presented the First of JANUARY, 1645, to the Reverend Assembly of Divines sitting at WESTMINSTER, by Authority of Parliament, against TOLERATION.

To our Reverend, Learned, and Religious Brethren, the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Divines assembled, now sitting at Westminster, by Authority of Parliament, these present.

Reverend and Beloved Brethren,

WE are exceeding apprehensive of the Desireableness of the Church's Peace, and of the Pleasantness of Brethrens Unity, knowing that when Peace is set upon its proper Basis, *viz.* Righteousness and Truth, it is one of the best Possessions, both delectable and profitable; like *Aaron's* Ointment, and the Dew of *Hermon*. It is true, by reason of different Lights, and different Sights among Brethren, there may be dissenting in Opinion; yet, why should there be any separating from Church Communion?

The

The Church's Coat may be of divers Colours; yet, why should there be any Rent in it? Have we not a Touchstone of Truth, the good Word of God? And when all Things are examined by this Word, then that which is best may be held fast; but first, they must be known, and then examined afterwards. If our dissenting Brethren, after so many importunate Intreaties, would have been persuaded (either in Zeal to the Truth, or in sincere Love to the Church's Peace and Unity among Brethren, or in Respect to their own Reputation, by fair and ingenuous Dealing, or in Conscience to their Promise made to the *Ministers of London*, now five Years since, or any such-like reasonable Consideration) at last, to have given us a full Narrative of their Opinions, and Grounds of their Separation; we are persuaded, they would not have stood at such a Distance from us, as they now do: But they chose rather to walk by their own private Lights, than to unbosom themselves to us, their most affectionate Brethren, and to set themselves in an untrodden Way of their own, rather than to wait what our covenanted Reformation, according to the Word of God, and Examples of the best reform'd Churches, would bring forth. But the Offence doth not end here; it is much that our Brethren should separate from the Church, but that they should endeavour to get a Warrant to authorize their *Separation* from it, and to have Liberty (by drawing Members out of it) to weaken and diminish it, till (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to nothing, this we think to be plainly unlawful; yet this, we understand, is their present Design and Endeavour. Wherefore (*Reverend Brethren*) having had such large Experience of your Zeal of God's Glory, your Care of his afflicted Church, your earnest Endeavours to promote the compleat Reformation of it, and of your ready Concurrence with us in the Improvement of any Means that might be found conducive to this End; we are bold to hint unto you these our ensuing Reasons, against the *Toleration* of Independency in this Church.

I. The Desires and Endeavours of a *Toleration* for *Independency* are, at this Time, extremely unseasonable and preposterous; for,

1. The Reformation of Religion is not yet perfected and settled among us, according to our Covenant. And why may not the Reformation be raised up, at last, to such Purity and Perfection, that *truly tender Consciences* may receive abundant Satisfaction, for aught that yet appears?

2. It is not yet known, what the Government of the *Independents* is, neither would they ever yet vouchsafe to let the World know what they hold in that Point, though some of their Party have been too forward to challenge the *London* Petitioners, as *led with blind Obedience, and pinning their Souls upon the Priest's Sleeve*, for desiring an Establishment of the Government of Christ, before there was any Model of it extant.

3. We can hardly be persuaded, that the *Independents* themselves (after all the Stirs they have made amongst us) are, as yet, fully resolved about their own Way, wherewith they would be concluded, seeing they publish not their Model, (though they are nimble enough in publishing other Things) and profess Reserves, and new Lights, for which they will (no Doubt) expect the like *Toleration*,

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ration, and so in infinitum. It were more seasonable to move for *Toleration*, when once they are positively determined how far they mean to go, and where they mean to stay.

II. Their Desires and Endeavours are unreasonable and unequal, in divers Regards.

1. Partly, because no such *Toleration* hath hitherto been establish'd (as far as we know) in any Christian State, by the Civil Magistrate.

2. Partly, because some of them have solemnly profess'd, that they cannot suffer *Presbytery*: And answerable hereunto is their Practice, in those Places where *Independency* prevails.

3. And, partly, because to grant to them, and not to other *Seſtaries*, who are free-born as well as they, and have done as good Service as they, to the Publick (as they used to plead) will be counted Injustice and great Partiality; but to grant it unto all will scarce be clear'd from great Impiety.

III. *Independency* is a *Schism*; for,

1. *Independents* do depart from our Churches, being true Churches, and so acknowledged by themselves.

2. They draw and seduce our Members from our Congregations.

3. They erect separate Congregations, under a separate and undiscover'd Government.

4. They refuse Communion with our Churches, in the Sacraments.

5. Their Ministers refuse to preach among us as Officers.

6. Their Members, if at any Time they join with us, in hearing the Word and Prayer, yet they do it not as with the ministerial Word and Prayer, nor as Acts of Church Communion.

Now we judge that no *Schism* is to be tolerated in the Church; * *σχίσματα*, 1 Cor. i. 10. 1 Cor. xii. 25. † *διχοστασίας*, Rom. vi. 17. with 1 Cor. iii. 3. Gal. v. 20.

IV. Many Mischiefs will inevitably follow upon this *Toleration*, and that both to Church and Commonwealth.

First, To the Church; as,

1. Causeless and unjust Revolts from our Ministry and Congregations.

2. Our People's Minds will be troubled, and in Danger to be subverted, as Acts xv. 24.

3. Bitter Heart-burnings among Brethren will be fomented and perpetuated to Posterity.

4. The godly, painful and orthodox Ministry, will be discouraged and despised.

5. The

* *Schism.*

† *Divisions.*

5. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten out by frivolous Disputes and vain Janglings.

6. The whole Course of Religion, in private Families, will be interrupted and undermined.

7. Reciprocal Duties, between Persons of nearest and dearest Relations, will be extremely violated.

8. The whole Work of Reformation, especially in Discipline and Government, will be retarded, disturbed, and in Danger of being made utterly frustrate and void, whilst every Person shall have Liberty, upon every trivial Discontent at *Presbyterial* Government and Churches, to revolt from us, and list themselves in separated Congregations.

9. All other *Seets* and *Heresies* in the Kingdom will be encouraged to endeavour the like *Toleration*.

10. All other *Seets* and *Heresies* in the Kingdom will safe-guard and shelter themselves under the Wings of *Independency*; and some of the *Independents*, in their Books, have openly avow'd, that they plead for *Liberty of Conscience* as well for others as themselves.

11. And the whole Church of *England*, in short time, will be swallow'd up with Distraction and Confusion: And, *God is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace*, 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

Secondly, To the Commonwealth. For,

1. All these Mischiefs in the Church will have their proportionable Influence upon the Commonwealth.

2. The Kingdom will be woefully weaken'd by Scandals and Divisions; so that the Enemies of it, both domestical and foreign, will be encouraged to plot and practise against it.

3. It is much to be doubted, lest the Power of the Magistrate should not only be weaken'd, but even utterly overthrown, considering the Principles and Practices of *Independents*, together with their Compliance with other *Seetaries*, sufficiently known to be Anti-Magistratical.

V. Such a *Toleration* is utterly repugnant and inconsistent with that *Solemn League and Covenant*, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, which not only both Houses of Parliament, but also Persons of all Sorts in both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, have subscribed, and with Hands lifted up to the most high God, have sworn: Which Covenant, likewise, both you and we, and those that most earnestly pursue the Establishment of this *Toleration*, have made (or should have made) in *Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed*. For,

1. This is opposite to the Reformation of Religion, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best reform'd Churches, *Article 1*.

2. It is destructive to the three Kingdoms nearest Conjunction, and Uniformity in Religion and Government, which might lead us and our Posterity after us, as Brethren, to live in Faith and Love, *Art. 1*.

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3. It is plainly contrary to that Extirpation of *Schism*, and *whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness*, which we have sworn *sincerely, really, and constantly to endeavour, without Respect of Persons*, Art. 2.

4. Hereby we shall be involved in the Guilt of other Men's Sins, and thereby be endanger'd to receive of their Plagues, Art. 2.

5. It seems utterly impossible (if such *Toleration* should be granted) that *the Lord should be one, and his Name one, in the three Kingdoms*, Art. 2.

6. This will palpably *hinder the Reformation of Religion*; inevitably *divide one Kingdom from another*; and unhappily *make Factions and Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant*: Of which evil Offices, whosoever shall be found guilty, are reputed, in the Words of the Covenant, *Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, to be discover'd, that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Punishment*, Art. 4. and 5.

These are some of the many Considerations, which make deep Impression upon our Spirits against that great *Diana of Independents*, and all the *Seſtaries*, so much cry'd up by them, in these distracted Times; viz. *A Toleration, a Toleration*. And, however, none should have more rejoiced than ourselves, in the *Establishment of a brotherly, peaceable, and Christian Accommodation*; yet, this being utterly rejected by them, we cannot dissemble, how, upon the foremention'd Grounds, we detest and abhor the much endeavour'd *Toleration*. Our Bowels, our Bowels are stir'd within us; and we could even drown ourselves in Tears, when we call to mind, how long and sharp a Travel this Kingdom hath been in, for many Years together, to bring forth that blessed Fruit of a pure and perfect Reformation: And now, at last, after all our Pangs, Dolours, and Expectations, this real and thorough Reformation is in Danger of being strangled in the Birth, by a lawless *Toleration*, that strives to be brought forth before it.

Wherefore (*Reverend and Beloved Brethren*) we could not satisfy ourselves, till we had made some Discovery of our Thoughts unto you about this Matter; not that we can harbour the least Jealousy of your Zeal, Fidelity or Industry, in the opposing and extirpating of such a Root of Gall and Bitterness, as *Toleration* is, and will be, both in present and future Ages; but that we may, what lies in us, endeavour mutually to strengthen one another's Resolutions against the present growing Evils; and that our Consciences may not smite us another Day for sinful Silence, or sluggish Deficiency in any Point of Duty tending to the Glory of Christ, Honour of the Truth, Peace of the Church, Perfection of Reformation, Performance of our Covenant, and Benefit of present and succeeding Generations.

Subscribed by us,

From Sion-College,
London, Dec. 18,
1645.

Your affectionate Brethren, and Fellow-Labourers in the
Work of the Ministry, to whom Truth and Peace is very
precious.

The foregoing *Manifesto*, Sir, is a sufficient Demonstration of the Behaviour of those *Seſtaries*, who ever, when in Power, put in Practice the very Reverse of

of what they before inculcated : And notwithstanding all their specious Pretences are no other than as the *Vipers* in our Constitution ; for which Reason no Eye can be too watchful, or Law too strict, that shall be made against them, since it is much safer Dealing with an open Enemy than a Hypocrite. Those few among them, whose Consciences are *truly scrupulous*, ought in all Reason to enjoy the Benefit of her Majesty's most gracious *Indulgence*, but for the *Body* of them, the *Church of England* should guide themselves by this unerring Maxim, *That in having once treacherously undermined and subverted the establish'd Government of this Kingdom*, the Blame justly lies against them ; but if we permit them to play the same Game over again, *the Sin is most certainly at our own Door* : And if it shall be thought proper in this Session to deprive them of what they always had Recourse to, some Years past, as an Asylum for whatever Villainies they have transacted (by reviving the *Occasional Bill*) no Arguments can be more fitly made Use of than the foregoing ones, brought by themselves against the *Independents*.

Thus does it plainly appear how prejudicial to the Nation, as well as fatal to themselves, it has ever been, when the Clergy have pretended to interfere in the *Political Administration*, that being a Province into which they have not the least Business to inquire ; and nothing would be more highly resented by them, than if the *Parliament* should undertake the Management and Regulation of their *Ecclesiastical Canons and Constitutions* ; but at the same Time nothing is more reasonable than this would be, for if they will not keep within their own *Sphere*, but be continually dictating to that *great Assembly* what Laws they shall make and what not, by the same Rule they ought from thence to be limited what Doctrines are most proper for them to preach.

As all Mankind must agree that Archbishop *Laud* was the greatest Divine in the Age he lived, at the same Time they must acknowledge him the worst Politician ; which Error drew as many Inconveniencies upon the Church, as *Abbot's* not being sufficiently qualified for so great a Post as he fill'd ; more especially in succeeding a Person of Dr. *Bancroft's* Abilities, and whose Death the * Historian declares could never be enough lamented. ' He understood the Church ' excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the Hands of the *Calvinian Party*, and very much subdued the unruly Spirit of Nonconformists, countenanced ' Men of the greatest Parts in Learning, and disposed the *Clergy* to a more solid ' Course of Study, than they had been accusom'd to ; and if he had lived, ' would have quickly extinguish'd all that Fire in *England* which had been ' kindled at *Geneva* ; and that Infection would easily have been kept out, which ' could not afterwards be so easily expell'd.'

Such are the Men who will be had in everlasting Remembrance, and whose Memories will ever smell sweet in the Nostrils of Posterity. And as an equal Parallel to Archbishop *Bancroft*, I think I may safely name that perfect Model of Apostolical Piety, the late learned, and never to be enough lamented Bishop *Beveridge*, who to those Souls committed to his Charge was continually, with the most Brotherly Affection, preaching, rebuking, and exhorting them to attain

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* *Clarendon*, vol. I. p. 88.

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that *Crown of Glory laid up for the Righteous*. Herein consists the true *Office* and *Authority* of the *Priesthood*; and the following of his Example is what I most earnestly recommend to the whole Body of our *Clergy*, and that laying aside all other Disputes than what affect the fundamental Principles and Doctrines of the *Christian Religion*, they should, in their pastoral Care, be continually watching over, and directing their Flocks to *follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*. Then with him shall they enter into the Joy of their Lord, be made Partakers of immortal Glory, and shine as Stars in the Firmament!

These are the Patterns highly worthy of Imitation! who invite us to practise the great Duties of Brotherly Love and Charity, far superior to the Treatment we now give one another, by stigmatizing ourselves with Appellations equally as false as odious; and as my Lord *Clarendon* has very justly observed in Archbishop *Laud's* Character, that the *Calvinian* Faction in his Time made use of that senseless Appellation, of traducing every well-meaning Person with the Name of *Papist*, who express'd a more than ordinary Zeal for the Church of *England*; so equally heinous is it on our Side, to asperse those who are call'd *Low-Church-Men* as being directly in the *Presbyterian* Interest, when nothing is more certain than that they have not only the least Tendency to, but on the contrary have the justest Abhorrence of any such Principles.

'Tis now Time to hasten to a Conclusion, which I shall do after having made a short Application to Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, who, I understand, is chosen *Prolocutor* of the Convocation. If that venerable Assembly meets, I hope they will answer the Ends of their Institution, and do something in reality for the Good of the Church, by not only discountenancing all irreligious Tenets, but punishing the Authors of them: Which will be much more commendable than their former Behaviour, in continually quarrelling one with another, the *Lower-House* asserting their Power and Privilege against the *Upper*, and by continual Replies and Defences on *both Sides* spun out a long useless Controversy, which, instead of being of the least Service to Religion, was wholly destructive of it; of this the Dean of *Carlisle* knows himself to have been but too guilty. It would, Sir, be the greatest Piece of Service you could do, to persuade him to apply those extraordinary Talents, with which he is endow'd, to more solid Studies than he has hitherto been accusom'd; and to convince him, that turning *Examiner*, and writing *Epigrams* upon *Flavia's* Fan, do not at all suit with the Dignity of the *Sacerdotal Function*. As to the ungenteel Treatment Mr. *Hoadley* has lately met with from him, by Slander and Calumny under an *Anonymous* Covert, I shall not take the least Notice, Mr. *Hoadley* being best able to defend himself; which indeed he has so well done, that I dare believe there never will be any Reply; but if there should, Mr. *Dean* may depend upon having all his *Siftings*, Windings, and Evasions, fully laid open and represented in their true Light.

To conclude, I will not enter into any Detail of the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*. I am sorry to see our Disputes run so high upon those Points; it is most evident, that the Assertors of an *Unlimited Obedience* are always forced to give Ground; and that the Patrons of *Resistance*, by inculcating their Doctrine with so great a Vehemency, do a real Mischief to the Publick, by creating

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creating Uneasinesses in the Minds of the People : For as a late * Author has judiciously remark'd, 'The Impression of Self-Preservation is so strong upon Human Nature, as not only to supercede all other Provision, but to render it insignificant: 'Tis no Case in the Conduct of Human Life, that can be improved by any Reasoning, what a Man is to do when he is driven by a Sword to the Wall.'

Upon the whole, since Dr. *Sacheverell* and Mr. *Hoadley* are the Marks at which all our present Controversies are level'd, I must freely declare my Sentiments, that I think the one has rail'd scurrilously, and the other writ judiciously in Defence of the Church of *England*.

I shall close all with the excellent Judgment of the † Archbishop of *York* in these Matters (being entirely of his Opinion) which plainly demonstrates that the Clergy ought not to concern themselves with political Affairs. 'As the Laws of the Land are the Measures of our Active Obedience, so are also the same Laws the Measures of our Submission; and as we are not bound to obey, but where the Laws and Constitution require our Obedience, so neither are we bound to submit, but as the Laws and Constitution do require our Submission. If a Preacher in the Pulpit should presume to give his Judgment about the Management of Publick Affairs, or to lay down Doctrines as from *Christ* about the Forms and Models of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, or to adjust the Limits of the Prerogative of the Prince, or of the Liberties of the Subject in our present Government: I say, if a Divine should meddle with such Matters as these in his Sermons, I do not know how he can be excused from the just Censure of meddling with Things that nothing concern him. This is indeed a practising in State Matters; and is usurping an Office that belongs to another Profession, and to Men of another Character; and I should account it every whit as indecent in a Clergy-Man to take upon him to deal in these Points, as it would be for him to determine Titles of Land in the Pulpit, which are in Dispute in *Westminster-Hall*.'

Now, *SIR*, heartily wishing that what I have said may have the desired Effect for which it was sincerely intended, by contributing in some Measure towards the Healing our present Animosities, I subscribe myself,

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant, &c.

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* The Vindication and Advancement of our National Constitution, &c. p. 19.

† Vide his 30th of Jan. Sermon before the Lords, Anno 1700. p. 20.

A VINDICATION of the *Faults on both Sides*, from the Reflections of the *Medley*, the *Specimen-Maker*, and a Pamphlet entitled *Most Faults on one Side*. With a DISSERTATION on the Nature and Use of Money and Paper-Credit in Trade, and the true Value of Joint-Stocks, maintaining the Assertions of the Author, in Relation to those Matters. By the Author of the *Faults on both Sides*. 1710.

— — — *Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.*

I Cannot but acknowledge my great Satisfaction, to observe that my Endeavours in the abovemention'd Essay have met with so general an Acceptance; and the more, since it may be discover'd from such a Disposition in the People to entertain a Discourse of that Nature, with a more general Liking than the partial Writings of either Side, that there is not indeed so great a Bigotry and Adherence to the Factions among us, but that the great Disturbances and Agitations which appear at this Time to be wrought up to a formidable Height through the Nation, will be appeased, and the Angry People on both Sides will return to their Duty, and acquiesce in the Wisdom of their Superiors, when they shall see (what good Men confidently hope, whatever less confiding Men may fear) that those great Men, to whom her Majesty has committed the Conduct of her Affairs, will apply their utmost Care and Diligence to promote the publick Good in every Part of their Administration, and to carry so even an Hand between the opposite Parties, as not to gratify the Expectations of the Violent Men on one Side, nor to abridge the other of any Rights, Privileges, or Favours which they now enjoy: Nor is it a less happy Presage, that so popular a Book has past hitherto without any Thing that bears the Appearance of a fair Answer to it, 'Tis true, indeed, that a Party-Paper call'd the *Medley* has been meddling with it, and another Gentleman has been pleased to employ himself to find Faults in the *Fault Finder*.

But the First is, indeed, more a Medler than a Maker; he is not a fair Antagonist, he trafficks all in Quotations without Argument or Conclusion; one knows not what he would be at, the Spirit of his Paper is all *High Whig*, and yet when I say what is commendable of the *Whigs*, and censure the *Tories*, he still cites both with an Air of Dislike; he is a Dab at the Understanding of our Bu-siness and Credit, but I believe I shall shew that he knows nothing of the Matter, when

when I come to speak of those Things to more worthy Inquirers ; he is admirable at his short Turns of sheer Wit, and has all Manner of Misrepresentation at Command ; in short, 'tis worth no serious Man's while to trace him in his Mazes ; he abounds in Stories, and tells them pretty enough to tickle such as can't distinguish in his Allusions to Persons and Things, between a faint Resemblance in some Circumstances, and no Manner of Similitude in the original Motives and Consequence of the Action ; for the same Fact may be highly commendable in one, which is wicked in another, according to their different Design in the End ; but general Characters may be made to fit any Body in some Particulars, and perhaps his Story of *Galigai*, in the worst Instances, may be more agreeably applied to another (*Quondam*) great Favourite-Lady than to the Person he means ; all People won't hold Pace with him in all his strain'd Applications either of Malice or Flattery : But I am gone out of my Way to touch at these Things, and I must take Care of engaging myself too far with a Person of this Gentleman's great Accomplishments, for though he mistakes me for some great Man, yet the World may know him to be a Man of the *Belles Lettres*, a Wit, a Declaimer, a Mythologist, a Poet, and a learned Historian : I pretend to none of these excellent Talents, I see and acknowledge him to be above my Match, so I will leave him, and content myself to deal in plain Truths, and undeniable Facts, and treat of such Matters as may conduce to the Good of my Country, which yet may be remembered to Posterity when the Vapours of hot Brains are dissolved into Air. However, at my parting with this Gentleman, I'll presume to entertain my Readers with one Story too, which (barring all Reflection) may perhaps seem as opposite as some of his. 'Tis not full an Hundred Years ago, when a certain grave Divine, who enjoy'd a Benefice in *Hertfordshire*, had bred up a Son to the Church ; the young Man coming home from the University had a Mind to shew his Accomplishments in his Father's Pulpit, but he was so full of his Scholastick Conceits, and scatter'd his flashy Wit at such a Rate, that the good old Man, being no longer able to bear him, call'd out aloud, *come down Coxcomb, come down* ; and ascending the Pulpit himself, preached an edifying Sermon to his Parishioners.

I shall also have something to say in Answer to the other Author, but I will beg that Gentleman's Patience till I have first applied myself to give Satisfaction to some worthy Persons, Men of Trade and Business, who have in Conversation express'd their Dislike of my Notions concerning Money, Paper-Credit, and Stocks ; and if those Gentlemen will bear with me to observe to them that busy Men are more apt to form their Judgment of such Matters from the immediate Use and Convenience which they find thereby, than give themselves Leisure to examine into the true Nature and Effect thereof, I hope I shall be able to convince them that they may be no less deceived in their differing Sentiments now, than most People were formerly in the Opinion that the Denomination of the Species of our Coin ought to have been rais'd above the old Foot. I shall endeavour therefore, in the following Dissertation, to explain those Matters in such a Way as may rectify their Judgments, and reform the erroneous and superficial Ideas which People have long entertain'd thereof. Let it then be consider'd.

That

That even Money in Specie (much less Paper-Credit) is not the Subject of, but an Incident and an Attendant on Trade; for Trade may be carried on, if not so conveniently, yet effectually, by Barter: And as all Trade terminates in the ultimate Vent and Consumption of Commodities, if the Expence of a Country will be sufficiently supply'd where there is no Money to be had, 'tis evident that Trade is not lessen'd in Respect of that Country through the Want of Money; and we have a notorious Instance of this in the Trade of our own *American Colonies and Plantations*, where formerly in all, and in some to this Day, Payments are made in the Product of the Country: And even in Countries where Money is plenty, all Trading is but as it were a general Barter for Commodities, for he that sells to one is continually buying of another, and if Men knew their mutual Debts and Credits (which, as I have said, are best discover'd by the Use of Banks) it would appear that a far less Sum is requisite to circulate the Gross of Trade than People have generally imagin'd; and this is evident, beyond Contradiction, by the Management of the *Dutch*, who lock up the great Bulk of their Money in the Bank of *Amsterdam*, and make their Payments by transferring from one Man's Account to another in the Bank Books, so that in Proportion to their vast Dealing, there is no-where so small an Appearance of Money in Specie, as in the greatest Trading Country in the World; our own Experience also, that the Trade of the Nation was effectually carried on while the Money was in recoinage, is a farther Confirmation of this Notion.

But this Argument will yet be set in a clearer Light, by observing that the primary Design, and proper End of Silver and Gold, is Treasure, and 'tis from thence that they acquire their universal Value and Esteem, so that Men will part with all other Commodities in Exchange for them, with this View, that besides that they will enable them to purchase whatsoever they stand in need of, what they can save to lay up will always be ready to serve their future Occasions. 'Tis true that Men soon found out Ways of improving and increasing their Treasure by purchasing Lands, lending at Interest, and employing it in Trade, but how oft soever these Ways of Cultivation are iterated, still the acquiring of Treasure is proposed as the ultimate End.

Money then is no more than Silver and Gold, stamp'd by the publick Authority, to warrant the Weight and Fineness of the several Species, and it was because of the universal Consent in the Worth and Esteem of these fine Metals, that Money became the Medium and Instrument of Commerce through all Civilized Nations; but its Operation is no other but a short Way of accounting the Goods deliver'd, the Money paid, the Account is ended; and the Money takes the same Turn in the Receiver's Hand, he parts with it in the same Manner to even his Account for the next Commodity he buys or stands indebted for; and thus the whole Trade of a Nation is managed, the Merchants buy of the Gentlemen, Farmers, Miners, and Manufacturers all the Product of the Country which they can find Vent for in Foreign Markets; the Gentlemen, Farmers, Miners and Manufacturers, buy (through the Hands of the Shopkeepers) and consume the Commodities which the Merchants import; if then we could suppose that the whole Body of Merchants should trade in a joint Company, and the whole Body of Shopkeepers should do the same, there would need no more Money

Money to move this whole Engine of Trade than what would suffice to ballance the Account between them. Nor will it be from our Purpose to add this farther Observation, That if the Commodities which a Country sends into foreign Parts shall produce a greater Value than what will purchase all the foreign Commodities which that Country requires for its Home Expence, the Over-Ballance must of Consequence be brought Home in Money or Bullion, which will then become so far an Increase of the national Treasure, distributed into the Hands of such of the Subjects as have best exerted their Skill and Industry to gain it; it will then also follow, that those who gain most will be able to gain the largest Share of the national Trade, though not to increase it, because as is noted before, nothing but the Increase of Consumption can truly increase Trade; for though Men that have Money may buy up Commodities to keep them for a Market, and thereby secure the future Profit thereof to themselves, yet those Commodities must lie dead in their Hands till Expence calls them out.

It must yet be acknowledged, that there is a more immediate Use and Necessity for Money in the minute Parts of Dealing, for though the Reason of this Argument will hold as to that too, yet the Assignment of small Payments is not practicable, wherefore People must always keep themselves provided with Shillings and Pence to pay for daily Labour, and for Family Expences; and it is in this Way that what we call Plenty or Scarcity of Money is chiefly perceived, and yet it will easily be admitted that a small Portion of the Money of a Nation will suffice to circulate this Sort of Dealing.

Furthermore, let it be consider'd that the Trade of a Nation is principally acquired and carry'd on by the Industry of the Inhabitants, to procure Variety and Quantities of vendible Commodities from the Product of the Lands, Manufacturies, Fisheries, Shipping, and navigable Commerce, and whosoever abound in these are enabled to carry on a greater Trade than they that abound in Money without them; and this will appear plainly by a Comparison between the two Republicks of *Hamburgh* and *Genoa*, the former has a small Territory, and not more than a Competency of Money, and yet enjoys a great Trade; the latter has a much larger Dominion, is immensely rich in Money, and yet it drives but a small Trade, because it affords but a few Commodities.

It is indeed but too true, that there is a sensible Diminution of the Trade of this Kingdom, but to imagine that this happens through a Scarcity of Money, or because so much is employ'd in Stocks or in Loans to the Government, is but a vulgar Error, for our Manufacturers have always continued to make as much Goods as they could vend, and our Merchants have never ceased to export as many Commodities as foreign Markets would take off; but the true Reason is the Stop of the *Spanish* Trade, together with the great Obstruction of Trade in general, through the long Continuance of the Wars, and other publick Calamities, in our own and foreign Nations: People are reduced to Necessities, whereby the Expence of Commodities is much lessen'd; and when the Merchant finds a slow Vent abroad he stops his Hand in buying, and then the Manufacturer slackens in his making, and thus the Circulation of Money among the common People is obstructed, and this causes the Complaints of the Scarcity of Money,

when there may be vastly more than enough to carry on Trade to the highest Pitch, if there were but Encouragement to draw it out.

Let us next examine the Paper-Credit, by which we mean no more than the Bills or Notes of Banks or Bankers which they give out to pay at Demand, and we shall find these to be no other than Attendants upon Money, and as they pass from Hand to Hand, every Man takes them upon Confidence that the Money lies always as ready at his Command as if it were in his own Chest, and whenever he finds himself disappointed therein, the Banker loses his Credit, and for the future his Bills will signify no more than waste Paper. It is plain therefore that Banks and Bankers are obliged both in Prudence and Justice to be very cautious in their Dealing, and whenever they adventure to lend other Men's Money, that they do it upon the most valid Securities, and with a certain Prospect that they can command it at a short Warning, and by such a Management this Kind of Business may become beneficial to themselves and a Convenience to Trade; but whenever they run out and engage themselves beyond the Power of their Stock, and Traders give in to it so far as to produce a precarious Credit, this is so far from a Convenience, that it becomes a Mischief; and as in the Time of our clip'd Money, People were less scrupulous to receive it whilst they could as easily pay it away again, and pleased themselves in the Opinion that Money was very plenty; (though if the Government had not been so indulgent to make up the Loss at the publick Charge, they would have repented their Imprudence in not refusing it at first) so Paper-Credit was lately very plenty among us, Payments were made easy, and all Things went smooth and pleasing, till People entertain'd Suspicions and Jealousies, and then the wary Men call'd for their Money to secure it in their own Chests, and this has caused so much Uneasiness among Traders: The national Stock of Money is not lessen'd, neither is Paper-Credit, nor ever will be, provided always that it be such as People like, but they are afraid of a precarious Credit, and they have Reason, it is a Vice in Trade fit to be discouraged, and it is good to have it shock'd sometimes, that Bankers may be warn'd to keep within Compass, and Traders may have a Care of being too credulous, they know Business may be done very well without it; *Bristol, Exeter*, and other considerable trading Places in this Kingdom know little or nothing of it, and we never hear any such Noise of the destroying of Credit from them; and if the *London* Traders should think it beneath them to take Example from Places of so much less Figure than themselves, surely they need not think themselves too wise to be instructed by the *Dutch* in their nicest Managements of Trade, but among them they will find no such Precedent.

I have asserted, *That Banks and Paper-Credit add nothing to the Increase or Diminishing of Trade, and that there is neither more or less Money employ'd in it than would be if the same Sums had been actually paid from Hand to Hand.* Now against this I have heard it argued that daily Experience seems to evince the contrary; for, said they, 'If four Men lodge each a thousand Pounds in a Banker's Hands, he is thereby enabled to supply a Merchant that has an immediate Occasion for one thousand Pounds, and hopes to have it repaid him again before the four should draw out three thousand Pounds of their Money, and for this
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‘very Loan he only gives out a Note of his Hand, so that by this Means the Merchant is enabled to carry on his Trade to the Value of one thousand Pounds more than his own Stock, and this Banker’s Bill, without the Payment of one Penny, does in all Respects answer the End of so much Money, and consequently this Sort of Paper-Money must certainly conduce much to the Increase of Trade.’ I have put the Objection as far as I think it can be carry’d, and yet I believe the Argument will appear very slight and superficial when it comes to be consider’d.

1. That if the Banker has no proper Stock of his own in the World to make good the thousand Pounds to his Principals in Case of Loss, he is a Knave to adventure upon the lending of other Men’s Money.

2. If he takes not what he believes to be valuable and sufficient Security from the Borrower, he is a Fool.

3. I never said that it was not very helpful to Trade to borrow Money at Interest, and this is in Reality the same Thing, with this Difference (if it may be so call’d) that the Persons who lodge the Money lose, and the Banker gets the Interest; and if there were no Bankers, this Occasion in Trade would be supply’d as well, for all People who can give undoubted Security will find Men enough to lend them Money for a gainful Premium, as we see by Experience in such Places where there are no Banks.

They will perhaps continue to object, ‘That the Bankers give out their Bills for more Money than is in their Possession, and then they have the same Operation as an Increase of the Species.’ I answer to this, That they must either have it in Specie, or the Money is in being, and they know where to command it (which is the same Thing in our Argument) or else they run into a precarious Credit, which is a Cheat in the Bottom, and ought to be avoided as much as the passing of clip’d Money: But further, Men seldom or never borrow in this Way but for a very short Time, and that only to answer some present Necessity, but not to depend upon for the carrying on their Trade, and so the Bulk of Trade is not (in their Notion) increased by it.

Again, they instance ‘The Government’s issuing out Exchequer-Bills to a much greater Value than the Provision made to change them, and thus they supply the Place of Money, and do in Effect increase it.’ Now here it is to be noted, that the Dealing of the Publick is in a quite different Way from the Management of Trade by buying and selling, theirs is in Effect borrowing Money of the Subjects at Interest or other advantageous Terms, to support the National Charge, and it is true that Exchequer-Bills have been serviceable to the Government; yet neither will their Argument hold in this Instance, for, with respect to the People, they never did, nor ever will operate any otherwise, but (like other Paper-Credit) according to the Opinion the World entertains of them; they began with Difficulty and Discount, but when it was found that those which had passed through the Exchequer were exchanged for ready Money to all that desired it, every Body was satisfied, and they grew into so general an Esteem that they came to be circulated with a small Proportion of

ready Money, and it is much fitter to admit of such an Advantage, or to give Way to an implicit Credit that may redound to the Benefit of the Publick, than to allow the same to the Subjects; but though such Expedients may with prudent Management become helpful for a Time, yet it will be a Fault for any Ministry to depend upon them for the Support of the Government, for when the People shall come to consider them as precarious, and that they do not certainly command ready Money, they will disesteem them, as we see in the present Exchequer-Bills, which are fallen to a Discount of three *per Cent.* so that to explain the Matter rightly, it is now no other but that those that buy them know they gain an Interest of nine *per Cent.* for lending their Money upon the Funds appropriated to them. After all, the true Way, in my humble Opinion, to make them useful to the Government, and their Credit lasting among the People, would be, to issue them to no greater Value than the Taxes payable within the Year, and no more than half a Million to bear Date on the same Day, charging them with daily Interest till paid, and when the first half Million is brought into the Exchequer from the Taxes, to make Publication that those who are possess'd of the Bills of the first Date shall fetch their Money, the Interest ceasing from that Day; thus when one or two Payments are punctually made, it is not to be doubted but those that bear Interest will be esteem'd better than Money, because of the daily Increase, and those that become Specie will pass currently through many Hands before the Money is called for, by which means such a Credit will grow up in the Exchequer, as that probably at the Year's End a Stock may remain in Hand sufficient to circulate two or three Editions of the next Year's Bills to be issued in the same Manner.

I now hope that the foregoing Reasoning may be sufficient to induce judicious Men to agree with me in the following Conclusions.

That Vendible Commodities, and not Money, are the Foundation of Trade.

That Trade cannot be increased by any other Means than Industry to procure, and Markets to take off vendible Commodities.

That a little Money well managed will be sufficient to carry on a great Trade, and this Kingdom has abundantly enough to answer that Purpose.

That Paper-Credit is really useful to Trade, and that those Banks or Bankers who always keep Money enough by them, or within Command, to answer all their Bills, will never lose their Credit nor injure their Creditors; but those that do not, run into a precarious Credit, which ought to be looked upon as a common Cheat, and to be discouraged to the utmost. And consequently,

That I have sufficiently maintain'd my Assertion, that neither Banks nor Paper-Credit add any thing to the Increase of Trade, and that there is not more or less employ'd in Trade by that means, than would be if the Money were actually paid from Hand to Hand.

I am further cavil'd at for saying, 'That neither Bank nor Bankers give out their Bills till the Money is actually lodged in their Hands.' Unwary I, that had not the Foresight to add, *or Money's Worth*, that sure had taken away all Occasion from such cunning Objectors; but let's come to Demonstration, if they will tell us where the Bank or Bankers grow that will lend their
Bills

Bills without any Security, I'll send them Customers enough. But Mr. Medler thinks I mean that *the Banks of Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, &c. keep every Farthing of Money in Bank that their Bills of Credit amount to.* Perhaps I may be better informed in the various Managements of Banks than he is, I know that some neither receive in nor pay out either Money or Bills; some receive in Money but pay out none; some do both receive in and pay out, and also give out Bills, as the Bank of *England* and the *London Bankers*, but whether these keep every Farthing in Readiness to pay off their Bills, I shall not take upon me to assure him, but refer him to make the Inquiry of themselves; but I am sure they ought always to be provided of the full Value of Money, or what will command it at a short Warning, or else they do not deal fairly by those that trust their Money in their Hands; and I can assure him that the Constitution of the Bank of *Amsterdam* (and divers others) is such as that they can never defraud their Creditors in this Way; that Bank subsists upon a Principal Stock of Money and Bullion deposited by the Proprietors at its Establishment, and no Man is permitted to pay in one Penny more to it; and this Capital is only transfer'd from one Proprietor's Account to another in the Bank Books, as they have Occasion to give Order from Time to Time, and this is what is there called paying Money in Bank, but they never pay out any Money in Specie, unless any Proprietor demands out his whole Stock, but this is not to be expected whilst the Money in that Bank is always current for more than the Specie; thus they can never lend out or make Use of one Penny of the Money intrusted to their keeping, and know no such Thing as the giving out Bills of Credit, and consequently the full Value of all that has been deposited there is believed to remain intire to this Day: I know that it has been surmised as if the States had made bold with a Part of this Treasure to supply the publick Occasions, but as there has never been the least Proof, or real Ground for such a Suggestion, it ill becomes any Man to be the Promoter of so vile an Aspersion upon a Sovereign Magistracy.

Again, they urge as a pregnant Instance of the Mischiefs brought upon Trade by the late Staggering of Paper-Credit, 'That the Want of Money immediately appeared so excessive, that People were forced to give at the Rate of twelve *per Cent. per Ann.* to discount the best accepted Bills of Exchange. To this I reply, that though Men who run their Affairs to such an Extreme, as to be under a Necessity of discounting their Bills before they become due, discover themselves to be but in bad Circumstances, yet we will admit that sometimes Men of the best Reputation may have an immediate Occasion to discount their Bills, when they may see a present Opportunity to lay out their ready Money to some great Advantage, such as lately happen'd, to buy *Bank Stock* at 95 *per Cent.* in such a Case then it is no very great Matter for a Man to give fifteen Shillings extraordinary (which is the utmost of this Discount, reckoning six Weeks before the Bill is due) for the Loan of an hundred Pounds, which he knows how to dispose of so as to gain five Pounds by it. If sudden Frights run People into Extravagancies for the present, yet these are not lasting, they will soon come to themselves, and Things will return to their former State; but when through their own Imprudence they have suffered such Enormities to creep into their
Nego.

Negotiations, they must be content to bear with the Disorder that will first attend the reforming of an Evil that was become general, and it will be a sufficient Recompence for a short Inconvenience, if the present Experience teaches all that are concerned to reduce their Affairs into a better Regulation for the future.

As to the falling of Stocks, there is nothing strange nor unreasonable in it, they were run up to an imaginary Value much above their real Worth; and when the Managers themselves had taken an unaccountable Course to publish to the World a Diffidence of their own Affairs, this must naturally induce wary People to reflect upon what was the real and intrinsic Value, and they shewed themselves the wisest Men who were the forwardest in selling as long as they found they could get much more for it than its true Worth; but when Bank Stock came to fall to ninety-five, they that parted with it (if they were under no Necessity) shewed the greatest Imprudence, for I believe I am rightly informed that one hundred Pounds has been actually paid into that Stock, and whosoever will proclaim a Sale of Sterling Plate for under 5s. *per* Ounce shall never want Buyers; the World will quickly fall into the true Account of Things, and we see how soon it came up to its true Standard Value again; nor is it to be doubted but that as Mens Minds come to be settled, it will go rising higher, for there will always be found People of Wealth and Abundance, that will be glad to employ their Money under so careful and secure a Management without Trouble to themselves, though they should gain no more than five *per Cent.* by it; so that, if it may not be said that one hundred Pounds Stock is really worth one hundred and twenty, yet it may not be irrational for such to give so much for it, and this (as long as it can divide no more than six *per Cent. per Annum*) I should think to be the utmost Advance that it can with any Appearance of Reason, even in Times of profound Peace, be brought to, considering withal, that their Parliamentary Privileges are determinable in a few Years, and when that shall happen, such Purchasers will be sure to lose Twenty Pounds out of the Profits which they shall have received: But if in Defiance of such evident Demonstration, Men should again suffer themselves to be drawn into the Cheats of Stock-Jobbers, and will part with their Money to buy Stocks at an Over-value, when they find themselves bitten again, let them never more lay the Blame upon the Change of Court-Ministers (if ever such a Thing should happen) but e'en desire the *Tatler* to build a bigger *Bedlam* for them than any he has yet projected. The same may be said of the other Stocks, People ought never to value them by the Rates they may go at in *Exchange-Alley*, but to inform themselves truly of the certain Sum that has been paid into the Stock, and of the Dividend that is constantly made, together with the probable Success of the Management, and then they may make a rational Judgment when to lay out and when to keep their Money: But for the Loss which the Dealers in this tricking Trade have lately suffered, it ought not to bear any more Regard than we had for such who formerly bought Guineas at Thirty Shillings, and kept them up in hopes that they would yet rise to a higher Price; it is plain they have lost no more but what they had imprudently given above the real Worth (reckoning according to the present Price) for now they continue to be sold for more than

than the Money paid in : How little then do such deserve the Name of honest Men? Or rather, what Punishment do they merit who have published to the World in an insolent Manner so vile a Falshood, as that her Majesty's late Change of her Ministers had occasioned the Loss of many Millions to the Subjects?

I have been the larger in this Dissertation, because I think the Nature and Use of Money, Credit and Stocks, have been treated in too superficial a Way by others, and therefore I was willing to publish my Thoughts thereof, for an Inducement to ingenious Men to investigate these Notions with more Attention, and if they will give themselves the Trouble to read a Book entituled *A Vindication of the Bank of England*, they will find therein Essays upon Banks, upon Credit, and upon the Plenty and Scarcity of Money, which perhaps may give them some further Satisfaction in those Matters, and shew them also that the large Credit that is practised among us in the buying and selling of Goods, tends not to the Promotion, but to the Detriment of Trade : And I could wish, that those who have of late written so much about these Things would either take the Pains to maintain their different Sentiments with more Reason (in which Case they shall find no Man more ready than myself to yield to the Conviction) or that they would for the future forbear to disturb People's Minds with needless Fears and Jealousies, that the national Affairs are in a much worse Condition than really they are.

I turn me now to the Gentleman who busies himself in the spying out Errors where none are; not that I would assume the Confidence to say, that I have committed none (though I am sure none knowingly) but I mean that I am not convinced that he has detected any : And therefore, pray good Sir, if you think, *p. 4.* that *our Sea Armament was not neglected* when we were so shamefully beaten, first at *Bantry-Bay*, and afterwards off the Coast of *Suffex*; that we were sufficiently provided against the Attempts of our Enemies by Sea, when Monsieur *Tourville* came up our Channel, and we had no Fleet to hinder him from landing an Army upon us, had not Providence saved us by a strong Easterly Wind continuing for several Weeks till our Ships could be gotten ready; *ibid.* that *it was impossible for us to do more by Sea than was done*; that *the French Privateers were so numerous and powerful as that we should not have been able to protect our Merchant Ships any better than we did, though we had kept out as numerous a Fleet as the Nation was able to maintain* : Again, if it be your Opinion that it is better for this Island to wage War in foreign Parts (and where the Enemy's greatest Strength lies) with great Land Armies, than to keep up a superior naval Strength wherewith to infest our Enemies Coasts, and perplex and divert their Forces by powerful Invasions, which has been usually practised with good Success by all Nations that have found themselves strongest by Sea, and if ourselves have miscarry'd in ill-concerted, ill-provided, and ill-managed Attempts of this Kind in King *William's* Time, we have yet an ample Specimen (to use his own Word) of what great Things might have been done in that Way if we had heartily set about it, in that glorious Expedition of the Earl of *Peterborough* : I say, Sir, if you hold these Opinions, so contrary to the general Sense of the Nation, I think the Error may with much more Justice

tice be reflected on yourself, for applying your weak Endeavours to excuse, than upon me for blaming a Ministry that had given into a Course of Management which has proved so ruinous to this Kingdom.

P. 5. You next take upon you to become an Advocate for a certain Admiral, but I believe he has more Reason to thank you for your Good-will than for your Performance. Would you have the World believe that if a great Man has Interest enough with his Party to get himself thank'd by a *House of Commons*, and to save him from being censured by the *House of Lords*, that he is therefore fairly acquitted of all that has been charged against him? Have you never known in such a Case that some Suspicion might yet remain? I have refer'd to an authentic Record, and said, that those who will examine it will find Reason to suspect; I have seen a Copy of those Minutes of the *House of Lords*, but I presume you have not, how do you know then but all impartial People would be as ready to suspect as I was? I still believe it was no Error in me to think so. Nor do you mend the Matter when you undertake to vindicate the Article of the Victualling, by persuading us that a Man bred up in the Navy was so ignorant in his own Business as not to know that the Officers required proper Vouchers for all Accounts pass'd with them. You think, *ibid.* *this matter has been sufficiently clear'd by the Examination thereof in the House of Lords, which has been printed*; but I know it is not impossible for the most venerable Assembly to be imposed upon in Matters wherein they cannot be supposed to be experimentally acquainted, and the less, at a Time when the Majority shall appear disposed to favour the Accused: The Way of lumping Accounts at so much *per Head per Diem* may be very fallacious; how do you know what Stock of old Provisions might be left when that Account was pretended to commence, what Fraud might be insinuated in Point of Time, or how many thousand Mouths might be charged on the Account, more than were really fed? But still I have committed no Error in saying, that an honest Commissioner of the Victualling had accused him of defrauding the Publick in that Account which he got pass'd by Privy-Seal, for this is known Fact; and I should have been of Mr. *Papillon's* Mind, to have persisted in my Objections to an Account wherein I had seen any Thing charged at double to what I could prove it cost, and this would have fix'd me in an Opinion that the Alltumul Account of $6d. \frac{3}{4}$ *per Man per Diem* was trick'd up to deceive; but if you think, *ibid.* *that such a Profit ought to be allow'd him because of the distant Pay*, I doubt not but your own Conscience would permit you to take Part in such a Plunder if you could come at it. But, Sir, you know that great Men have long Arms, and are able enough to right themselves if they think they are wrong'd; you see your meddling with it makes the Matter but the worse, and perhaps I am better provided to maintain any Thing I have said, than you are aware; but though it was incumbent upon me in my former Undertaking to give some Instances of the Faults I was complaining of, yet I still retain as much Respect as possible for the Persons of all those great Men I may be thought to hint at, and had much rather contribute to the healing of old Faults, than to promote further Inquiries into them.

Hitherto I think you have discover'd no Errors of mine, but I have a swinging one to charge you with, p. 7. for saying that *Tallies never bore any great*

great Discount till the latter End of the Year 1696, when all the World knows that they were running up to an excessive Height, till the Bank of *England* reduced them to a reasonable Discount. It is true indeed, that they mounted to the highest at the Time you speak of; but what I thought worthy of Blame in the Ministers, was their whole Management in this Way from first to last: I say, they should never have paid the People any thing in distant Tallies, but prudently have thought on such Duties and Excises as would have raised the Supplies within the Year at once, as it is evident they have come to it by Degrees, when they have withal contracted so great a Debt upon the Nation, that one half of the Taxes goes to pay Interests to the Subjects. But you tell us that all this is well done, and *p. 12. It is but reasonable that great Debts should be entail'd upon our Posterity, that they may be made to bear their Part in the Expence of this long War, as they are like to enjoy the Benefit of the future Peace.* How are you sure that they also shall not be engaged in War before the Debt is paid, and what will they then have left to live upon, and to carry it on effectually? Well, Sir, let us put the Case; suppose you should advise a Gentleman of a plentiful Estate, but engaged in a Law-Suit, to give his Lawyers double Fees, and mortgage his Estate at high Interest to carry it on at a most extravagant Expence, it is not a Farthing Matter what he spends, so he makes it last for his Time, let his Heir take what is left and clear it as well as he can, why should not he be made to contribute towards his Father's Excess and Folly? I am sure no wise Man would take your Advice, and you would gain the Reputation of a pitiful Counsellor by this Sort of Reasoning.

P. 9 and 10. You entertain us with a History in what Manner our Deficiencies grew upon us, which to our Sorrow we knew but too well before, and then set us to *judge if the Ministry occasion'd it*; let me answer you by a Question, Whose Business was it else to take Care to prevent it? The *House of Commons* were (for the most Part) govern'd by them, and did nothing but what they would have them. You insinuate, *P. 11.* That 'one Half of our Money was clip'd before King *William* came here,' but that's another great Error of your's; I remember well, that before that Ministry the clip'd Money was inconsiderable, and I dare say not *Five per Cent.* in Proportion to the Whole, whereas they let it run to above (as I take it) *30 per Cent.* and the much greatest Part of the Mischief was done in the last two Years before the recoinage, and by the Account you give, it appears that the clip'd Money brought in wanted near one half, which vast Loss might easily have been prevented, if these Ministers had at first but obliged those who were under their Command to do their Duty: You shew no Ingenuity in your studying Apologies for these gross Miscarriages, and your telling us, *ibid.* that 'the Ministry might with as much Justice be blamed for the Dearness of Corn in 1694, and the Sickness in 1693, as for suffering so great a Damage to fall upon the Publick by the clip'd Money,' will never wipe off the Blot; will not all serious People censure your Prophaneness in making an absurd Comparison between the irresistible Visitations of God's Providence, and the mere Negligence and Improvidence of Men, for which any other but such a managed Parliament as they then had, would have broken their Ministry, or reform'd their Administration? But how can you have the Confidence to say, *P. 12.*

That 'that Load of Taxation laid upon the Nation is so easy a Burthen, that our Ancestors never were so free in their Publick Payments (the Reign of King Charles the 2d excepted) remembering the Prerogatives of our former Kings, as our Posterity will be?' Don't you know that the single Excise on Beer and Ale was given to King Charles, in full Compensation for the Court of Wards and Liveries, &c. And have you never consider'd how manifold that has been exceeded by the additional Excises and Customs that have been since given? Your Assertion in this is so notoriously false, that it deserves a worse Name than an Error; but you make all this to be done in Tenderneſs to the People, and so let them think when they feel it.

You lay the Blame of the deficient Funds on Mr. Lowndes, who you say, *ibid.* was the one *Man that invented them all*; why, at this Rate you make him a greater Man than all the Lords of the Treasury, and all the *House of Commons* put together, but I'll leave you to answer for the abominable Reflection, that all these had no Brains, no Thought, no Care of the Nation's Business; but I can assure you that there were other Projectors, and you may reasonably imagine that all the Projects for raising Money were from Time to Time laid before the Treasury Board and consulted there, where this Gentleman's Station was no more than an honourable Servant, and his Duty obliged him to submit to the stronger Inclinations of his Superiors in some Things that might be less agreeable to his own Judgment: But what if he may have been sometimes mistaken in his private Opinion, is it fair for you to charge the whole Fault upon him alone? No, Sir, your invidious Reflection won't stick upon a Man of his known Worth; you yourself observe well that he is still employ'd by all Ministries; surely then there must be something very conspicuous in him: I believe 'tis because they have found his long Acquaintance and perfect Understanding in the Business, his unwearied Application, his never blemish'd Integrity, and his superior Capacity in most Kinds of useful Knowledge, to be Qualifications so eminent in him, that no Ministry will ever desire to be deprived of his Services; nor is there a civilized Government in the World that would not be fond of so useful a Man.

Ibid. You think 'the great Premios given for the Advance of Money deserves not to be complain'd of;' but I am still of the Mind that a wise and honest Ministry would have taken Measures in Time to have prevented such Extortion upon the Government.

P. 13. As to *private Advantages made of Publick Money, Misapplications, &c.* you see I had followed the Words used in an Address of the *House of Commons* to her Majesty, upon the Observations made by the Commissioners of Accounts; if there be any Dirt in them (as you are pleased to represent) you ought not to lay it at my Door; nor yet have you fix'd any Error upon me, whilst I have so good a Voucher to answer for what I have said: O! but you will be even with me here, you have the Answer of the *House of Lords* to this very Address, refuting every Tittle of it; it may be so in your Opinion, but you must give me Leave to enjoy my first Sentiments till I meet with more Conviction; I know how to make Allowance for prevalent Interests and Party Favours even in supreme

supreme Senates : You might have observed with me, that this was only an Answer, trim'd up to be sure to the utmost Advantage, not publish'd (as I remember) till the latter End of the Session, or perhaps after the Houses were up ; there had been no joining Issue, or putting the different Allegations upon Proof, nor any Manner of Replication from a *House of Commons* to this Day ; from whence we may conclude (not that they were unable to make good their Charge, but) that those who have been ever since in Power were willing to let these Matters lie cover'd up ; and therefore, as I told you before, you do the great Men of your Party no Service by drawing such Things into Controversy, which, if there should ever come a severe Retrospect, may make some of their Hearts ache. But let us take a little Taste of your Ingenuity in the Answer you here produce. You insinuate then, *ibid.* that all the Parliamentary Aids given to the Crown, and not by them appropriated to particular Services, are to be consider'd as given to the Uses of the Civil List, *p.* 14. and 15. and so you make the great Revenue settled in King *Charles* and in King *James's* Time to enable him to maintain so large an Army (and which amounted to much more than you think fit to allow in your pretty Way of disposing it) to be but just so much Civil List Money ; and that when King *William* succeeded to it, it was all his own, and not applicable to the War ; and so you represent the *Two Millions and a Half* which you say that King gave out of his Revenue towards the Support of the two first Years of the War, as if it were so much generously given out of his own Purse. I am even ashamed to trouble my Reader with the Repetition of such paltry Argument (much more may you be for offering it.) You do not know then that the Ministers are answerable for all Moneys given by Parliament, if they think fit to call them to Account for it, and that the Way of Appropriation to particular Services is but of late Practice, and was intended as a Kind of Restraint upon the Ministers, that they might not too much deviate from the design'd Services, by suppressing one to support another, as had been done sometimes ; but it is often omitted, and yet then the not Performing the intended Services is subject to a Parliamentary Inquiry whether the Money has been well or ill apply'd ; and surely if the two Millions and a Half you speak of had been diverted to other Uses at that Time, and not employ'd in carrying on the War, some People might have been made to answer for it, for they knew that the Parliament design'd it for that proper Service, and gave no larger Supplies than what might make it up to a Sufficiency. After this, Sir, I believe I may presume to affirm, that if any *House of Commons* should not approve of the Disposal of the 124,222*l.* 8*s.* arising by the Duties on *French* Goods and *India* Silks, and by Seizures, they will never acquiesce in that Opinion of the *House of Lords*, that it was the King's own Money, and not accountable, because not appropriated : I do not yet say, that any Sums placed under the Article of the Civil List will be disallow'd, if they shall appear to be rightly disposed in that Service ; but whatsoever shall be found otherwise, will certainly come under the Charge of Misapplication.

Sir, you may take the topical Reflection back to yourself ; nothing being more common for Bigots of your Size, than to upbraid any one who dare speak a Word of any Miscarriages in King *William's* Reign, with your common Topic,

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p. 15. that they are Enemies to that King, and are *disposed to bring Obloquy upon his Ministers*; but I can assure you that I have no such Disposition against any Men, as they are or have been Ministers; I love my Friend *Peter*, and I love my Friend *Paul* very well, but I love Truth and the Good of my Country better, and my endeavouring to expose the Faults of such who have shewn themselves no good Friends to either, which ever Side they have pretended to, has been to no other End, but that the good People of *Britain* may be rescued from their Deceits.

Your five Sides of Computation shew no more but your own Weakness to think that you serve your Friends, by exposing in one View the vast Sums which the Nation has lost through their Improvidence and Ill-Managements.

You come now to pin the Basket, and tell us, p. 23. 'It is a surprising Master-Piece of good Management in the Ministry, that the Land and Malt Taxes are the only extraordinary Payments the common People have been subject to by reason of the War, although those Taxes don't provide above a fourth Part of the necessary Expence (*prodigious! then you compute our whole Expence at about ten Millions per Annum*) how skilful (*say you, p. 24.*) and how just must that Ministry be, that shall be able to draw above two Millions *per Annum* in voluntary Contributions out of the Pockets of the Wealthy?' And so you reckon up above *sixteen Millions* raised by what you are pleased to call Contributions: Now, when you can persuade all these wealthy Contributors to forgive us their Interests and Annuities, we will erect a Statue of Praise for yourself, and not only heartily thank them, but record their Names to all Posterity, as the noblest Contributors that ever the Earth produced; but till you shall obtain that small Favour from them, the poor common People are like to have but little Enjoyment of your Fool's Paradise, and must be contented, tho' they don't disburse a great deal to the Land and Malt Tax, to pay Abundance in Excises, as long as ever the Contributors have any Thing to demand for their Rents.

Sir, I have just done with you, only give me Leave to drop two Words of Advice at parting, that you will never write again till you have espoused a better Cause, or know better how to manage it, but above all Things go no more out of your own Way of Trade to deal in *Specimens*.

The foregoing having lain several Weeks for the Perusal of some Persons, whose Opinion I was willing to have upon the Arguments handled in the Dissertation; there is since come out a Pamphlet call'd *Most Faults on one Side*, of which I thought it behoved me to take some Notice, tho' I think it a Performance of so little Worth, that a very short Answer will be as much as it deserves.

My Undertaking was to shew, that the original *Tories* set themselves to promote the evil Designs of the Court in every Thing, and that by advancing the Power of the Crown above the legal Constitution, they had brought the Nation to the Brink of Ruin, and consequently that they espoused the wrong Side, and engaged in pernicious Designs, and upon ill Principles in the Beginning: On the other hand I maintain, that the old *Whigs* endeavour'd to preserve the Rights and Liberties of the People, by keeping up to the Constitution, and opposing

posing all illegal Innovations and Usurpations, and that therefore they had engaged upon a right Principle: Now this Author seems to acquiesce in this, by acknowledging in p. 9. that *the Properties of Whig and Tory are quite alter'd since those Days*, and that *the Tories acted imprudently* (a soft Word) *in King James's Time*. Do I not sufficiently blame the modern Leaders of the *Whigs* for deserting their Principle since they came into Power, and say that they acted like the old *Tories*? And do not I acknowledge, of later Years, many of those Gentlemen who are still call'd *Tories* have opposed the Court Managements in such Cases where they saw the publick Good neglected, and so have acted on the *Whig* Principle? Thus I have consider'd, not the Men, or the Parties, but their Actions, and have impartially commended or blamed, as the Facts deserved. I need not therefore trouble myself to trace this Party-Writer in his many Prevarications, sophistical Perversions, and scurrilous Reflections, which will sufficiently appear to every judicious Reader, as well as his Malice and Disingenuity in condemning all that are call'd *Whigs* by Wholesale, though many who are reckon'd of that Party have always approved themselves to be Men of better Principles, both with respect to the Church and the State, than this Pamphlet has manifested its Author to be. I shall therefore bestow no more Pains upon him, than just to point at some of the most remarkable of his Falsities, his trifling and unfair Way of arguing his Pedantry, and some few Passages which I thought to deserve answering, leaving many more to the Reader's own Observation.

P. 5. 'The Letter-Writer's Project and Aim is at a Coalition, that if the *Whigs can come in for a Share, they may worm every body else out*.' But it will appear to every impartial Reader, that the whole Design of my Writing was to favour neither Party in what they had done amiss, and equally to commend whatsoever was praise-worthy in either, and that I aim'd at no other Coalition, than that of the honestest Men of each, to unite against the Knaves of both Sides.

Ibid. 'In Spite of his distinguishing and explaining, he discovers much of the *Republican*, shews himself a zealous Friend to the Dissenters, and a bitter *Enemy to the Church and Clergy*.' I have sufficiently shewn my Esteem of the present Constitution of our limited Monarchy, which I look upon as much better adapted to the Genius of this Nation, than any other Kind of Government. I have indeed express'd a Dislike to the Prosecution of the Dissenters, but no Zeal for them. But I have never shewn the least Bitterness or Enmity to the Church of *England* or its Clergy; though I should be glad to see such of them reform'd in their Morals and their Politicks, who have given too much Occasion for Scandal in both.

P. 6. 'The main Design of the Treatise is to shew that there was scarce ever any such Thing as an honest Man in an Office.' I have never offer'd at any Thing like it, I blame only the ill-designing Men, who have made themselves the Heads of Parties, and have managed for their own private Interest to the Prejudice of the Publick.

P. 7. 'Who affirms all the Fault to be on one Side, and that too in the Crown.' Quite contrary, the whole Discourse is impartially to expose the Faults of the respective Factions: But would this Writer persuade us that none of our former Princes

Princes have ever affected a greater Power than the Constitution admits; and that the People have no ancient Rights and Privileges which they ought to contend for when they are violated?

P. 8. 'But this Gentleman roundly declares for an Alteration of the Constitution.' No Part of the Discourse shews the least Tendency to such a Design, it discovers indeed some Alterations that have happen'd in it, but proposes no more than such a Reform as may reduce it to the primitive Design of the Institution. The supposing me to be the Author of a Book call'd *The Divine Rights of the British Nation*, is altogether supposititious, for I never saw the Book.

P. 14. He says, 'I endeavour to wheedle a certain Lady of the Court, by telling her she is a good Whig.' *Bellarmin* — for that, my Words are, 'she has never engaged herself in either Faction.'

P. 15. That *I abuse King William*. I deny it, and the Sentence he quotes vindicates me.

The last Paragraph in the same Page, about occasional Conformity, abounds in Falsities. If a Man, who has been bred up among the Presbyterians (for this affects scarce any other Sort of Dissenters) finds so little, or no Difference between them and the establish'd Church in Doctrine, that he has no Scruple to communicate with them, only he is not willing to be debar'd the Liberty of sometimes hearing a Sermon, or even receiving the Sacrament among those also, from whom perhaps he received the first Notions of Religion; is this 'one of the greatest Faults that can well be committed?' is this detestable Hypocrisy, 'and a Prophanation of the Sacrament?' I think the obliging such who live in open Wickedness to receive it, and the administering to such, is a greater Prophanation. Cannot a Man 'endeavour at a Coalition in the Ministry, without at the same Time declaring for occasional Conformity;' when yet there are Multitudes of the *Whig* Party (and among them Men of the first Quality) who never dissented from the Church?

P. 18. 'With relation to our Constitution in Church and State, the *Whigs* are upon Principle dishonest.' How will those many Lords, spiritual and temporal, and thousands of worthy *English* Gentlemen, who have been always reckon'd of that Party, and yet never dissented from the Church, bear this false and scandalous Reflection?

P. 24. He says, 'It was always the *Tories* Principle to pursue moderate Measures.' How has it appear'd in their violent Persecutions of the Dissenters, in their acting in the ecclesiastical Commission, and many other Instances, when they have had Power? If it were their Principle, they have often made it appear that it was not in their Nature.

P. 28. Can there be a more impudent Falsity publish'd than to say, that the 'Doctor has contributed more to the quieting and cooling of the Nation than any Man in it, and that 'the Kingdom has not at any Time in our Memory been more unanimous than it is now.' When, on the contrary, all the World must acknowledge, that the whole Nation has been set in a Flame, and the Rage and Fury of one Party against another has been raised to a greater Height than we have ever seen it before? And can there be a more illusive Argument of

a Nation's Unanimity, than when it consists of nothing else but that either Faction is unanimous within itself to oppose the other with all its Might?

P. 29. He charges me with *denying the House of Hanover to have any hereditary Right*. But I have never deny'd the hereditary Right of that House; my Assertion is, that they have no Claim but by Act of Parliament; and this very inadvertent Writer presently confirms it himself by telling us, that 'the Act of Settlement having excluded all popish Successors, the House of *Hanover*, being next, succeeds in Course by hereditary Right.' I say so too, because an Act of Parliament has given them that Claim.

P. 37. 'All the Town knows that several Dissenters were actually aiding and assisting at the demolishing of the Meeting-Houses.' He that can in so notorious a Manner bid Defiance to Truth, deserves very little Credit in any Thing he says.

P. 42. 'The Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, *High-Church* and *Low Church*, are owing to the unreasonable Separation of the Dissenters.' This is manifestly untrue, for *Whig* and *Tory* are really Factions in the State; so that though we had no religious Dissenters, we might yet have *Whigs* and *Tories*: And *High-Church* and *Low-Church* are Distinctions between the more rigid or more moderate Professors of the Church of *England*; the one are for approaching nearer to the papal Hierarchy, the other are content with the legal Establishment they live under.

P. 12. He charges me with begging the Question for 'taking it for granted, that the *Whigs* (as such) are in the Right, and that the *Tories* (as such) are in the Wrong.' But it seems rather that himself had forgotten his Logic, for I have fairly distinguish'd by shewing wherein the *Whigs* were in the Right, and the *Tories* in the Wrong; he ought then to have deny'd that Part of the Argument wherein I had affirm'd the Right or the Wrong, for if I have sufficiently demonstrated that, the *petitio principii* lies at his Door: And in the same Paragraph he adds a plain Falstiy, when he affirms, that *my Party are apt to vilify and despise the Universities*. I absolutely deny that I am of any such Party (and it is as false to say so of any Party that I know) let him prove himself to be in the Truth if he can. He cannot help shewing his Pedantry also in criticising, whenever he thinks I am out in my Grammar, particularly in Page 14. he quotes my saying, *That this very Gentleman, if his Conduct should be impartially consider'd, it will be found, &c.* Now this Expression is however very intelligible, and I have observed more correct Writers, than I pretend to be, sometimes *loqui cum vulgo*; and as he might easily discern that I am not altogether ignorant of Letters (though I have none to boast of, as he seems to do of his) he might have pass'd this as a *lapsus pennæ*, since the small Word (*of*) placed between *that* and *this*, would have brought it within Rule; but he discovers the Meanness of his own Talent, and shews that he is but (what some call) a Haberdasher of Small-Wares, and such a Sharper at it, that he will let nothing slip him, for he has me again. P. 16. he quotes, The good Queen (may I say) submitted, and says, 'it is left in Doubt whether the softening Parenthesis (may I say) relates to the Word *good*, or to the Word *submitted*;' let him find me a Blockhead that can take it in the Sense he has put upon it. But I shall shew him a Slip of his own anon, let him then remember, *Turpe est Doctori, &c.* P.

P. 7. He quotes my Saying, that 'our Acts of Parliament would never call the late Civil War a Rebellion.' But to refute my Assertion, he says 'he has heard of a Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having put an End to the great Rebellion, &c. and he has been told that this Day of Thanksgiving was set a-part by Act of Parliament.' Let us see whether this Argument can run upon all four: The Parliament enacted a Day of Thanksgiving for the putting an End to the Troubles of the Kingdom, without making Mention of a Rebellion: But the Clergy composed a Form of Prayer, entitled *Thanksgiving to Almighty God for having put an End to the great Rebellion*: Therefore that Act of Parliament did call the Civil War the great Rebellion. If there are People that can swallow such Conclusions, much Good may it do them. But I have a much better Authority to confirm my Opinion, that that Parliament would not suffer the taking up Arms against King *Charles* the First to be call'd a Rebellion, and that is an Extract, out of the Journal of the *House of Commons*, the 12th of May, 1660, of a Reprehension given by the Speaker to one Mr. *Lenthall*, a Member of that House, for saying that *he who first drew his Sword against the King, committed as high an Offence as he that cut off the King's Head*, which I think very well worth the reciting *verbatim*.

'Mr. *Lenthall*,

'The House has taken very great Offence at some Words you have let fall upon Debate of the Bill of Indemnity, which in the Judgment of this House has as high a Reflection on the Justice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons in the late Parliament, in their Actings before 1648, as could be express'd; they apprehend there is much of Poison in the Words, and that they were spoken out of Design to set this House on Fire, they tending to render them that drew the Sword to *bring Delinquents to condign Punishment, and to vindicate their just Liberties*, into Ballance with them that cut off the King's Head, of which Act they express their Abhorrence and Detestation, appealing to God, and their Consciences bearing them Witness, that they had no Thoughts against his Person, much less against his Life. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these Words fallen out at any other Time but in this Parliament, or at any Time in this Parliament but when they had Considerations of Mercy, Pardon and Indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer Sentence than I am now to pronounce. But the Disposition of his Majesty is to Mercy, he has invited his People to accept it, and it is the Disposition of the Body of this House to be Healers of Breaches, and to hold forth Mercy to Men of all Conditions, so far as may stand with Justice and the Justification of themselves before God and Man; I am therefore commanded to let you know, That that being their Disposition, and the present Subject of this Day's Debate being Mercy, you shall therefore taste of Mercy, yet I am to give you a sharp Reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can (for so I am commanded) reprehend you.'

P. 16, 17. He charges me with Disrespect to her Majesty, for *pretending to know her Mind so perfectly well, and to be so perfectly acquainted with her royal Resolutions,*

ions in presuming to say, ' There is not the least Reason to doubt but that all those of the *Whig* Party who shall concur in the Promotion of the Publick Good, will be freely admitted into Employments, nothing being more desired than a Coalition of the honest Men of both Sides to ballance the over-grown Power of the Ministers.' Now where's the least Disrespect shewn to the Queen in all this, when besides, her Name is not so much as mention'd? Is it not usual for Princes to take the Advice of their Ministers in such Matters, and how does he know but that I have better Authority for what I have said than he has to contradict it? But how pitifully does he abuse the plain Meaning of my Expression, To ballance the over-grown Power of the Ministers? *These honestest Men of both Sides would then be Ministers themselves* (says he) *and then the Ministers must ballance the over-grown Power of the Ministers. an odd Ballance certainly: If the same Scale weighs against itself, which Side will preponderate?* A School-Boy would be whipt for so foolish a Perversion of common Sense, for my whole Discourse pointed at the over-grown Power of some Ministers then in Being, and when I first began to speak of them, I had sufficiently indicated whom I intended to be understood by that Expression all along.

P. 18. 19. He charges me home for saying ' I dare assure the Dissenters that her Majesty is as firmly resolved against all Extremes as they can wish; that such of the *Tories* (as People still call them) as shall be admitted into the Ministry, will be laid by, if they refuse to act in moderate Measures; that she will never suffer them to be made uneasy by an Occasional Conformity Bill; and that she will inviolably maintain the Toleration they now enjoy.' *For a little Scribler of a Party* (thank you, Sir, and in Return I will acknowledge you for a great one) *to pretend to be Partaker of royal Secrets*, is such Impudence as *Whigism* can hardly parallel. These Things I find trouble him much; but though I don't pretend to be one of the *Cabinet*, I can yet assure him that I have seen the Man who has seen the Queen, and I will refer him to her Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament to vouch for a good Part of what I have said; and if I should see his beloved Occasional Conformity Bill again brought into the House, I shall never believe it to be with her Majesty's Good-liking till I see it pass.

My Book shews abundantly that I am no Advocate for such of the *Whig* Party who have done those ill Things, which I censure as much as he can; and that I agree with him entirely, P. 20, 21. *[that the Way to put an End to Parties, is to promote none but Persons of true Principles, for then those who are otherwise, will soon cease to be a Party, or at least (have I caught you, Mr. Critic, how can they be less than ceasing to be?) will be a very insignificant one.* I shall never contend with him upon these Topicks. But then let it be observed how pitifully he begs the Question through four Pages together; he would have it taken for granted, P. 22, 23. that the ' *Whigs* are the Queen's Enemies; false Subjects; false Church-Men; have deny'd the Queen's Title; condemn'd the Doctrines of the Scriptures; according to their own Principles they can't be- have themselves well; their great fundamental Principle is Confusion, not only in Government both of Church and State, but also in reasoning and thinking,'

with more of the like Sort of thumping Arguments, which I cannot think will convince, or will be believed by any Man who is wise and honest.

He has offer'd nothing of Argument to refute the Characters I have given of the original *Whig* and *Tory* Parties, or of their different Principles, and his arguing from the Relation I have given of the Faults of their self-interested Heads and Leaders, to cast the Reflection upon the whole Body, and to condemn their Principle, is highly disingenuous, and mere Sophistry design'd to pervert the Truth and to deceive ignorant People. How unworthily soever some Men have acted under that Name, it must yet be acknowledged that the late happy Revolution was founded upon that Principle, and all true *Britons* will ever own the Justice of that Undertaking, for the maintaining the Rights and Liberties of the Nation against the Usurpations and destructive Designs of that misguided Prince; which was always known to be the true Principle of the *Whig* Party, and therefore I think I do but right to say that such of the other Party, who are well affected to the present Settlement, are not acted by the *Tory* but by the *Whig* Principle.

P. 22. And now behold this Author turning Panegyrist to an Incendiary, if it be not indeed the famous Dr. *Sacheverell* glorying in himself, for I am told that he has given the Book gilded and neatly cover'd to several Members of Parliament; a shrewd Sign that he is its worthy Author, or at least, that he still continues to be a Tool to the Party.

Well, but the Man understands the World no better than to think that the Doctor has *open'd People's Eyes, and given them a right Notion of Persons and Principles*. Alas, poor Creature, our Eyes were open before, to see and know Persons and Principles much better than he himself. I have shewn in my former Discourse, that the first Motive to the Change of the late Ministry was her Majesty's own Uneasiness; there had been also a general Dissatisfaction among the Nobility and Gentry through the Nation, to see themselves slighted and scorn'd by Men who had grown up from being their Inferiors to become their Lords and Governors, and the Employments of the Nation engross'd in the Hands of the corrupt Leaders of one Party, and their Creatures, to the Exclusion of many deserving Men on the other Side, who were as hearty to the Government as any of those that were in; they were likewise discontented to find the War drawn into Length, and managed in such a Way as that a General might keep up his Reputation by gaining Victories and Towns, and yet be far enough from forcing the Enemy to a Submission. The removing of Men that had gotten as it were the whole Power of the Nation into their Hands, and were become formidable, and even dangerous, was an arduous and difficult Undertaking; at such a Time then it may be thought no unusual Policy to animate the common People against the ruling Faction: The wrong Step that was made to try Dr. *Sacheverell* in Parliament (which might have been done perhaps to as much Effect, and with less Noise, in a Court of Law) offer'd a fit Handle, ignorant People were moved at they hardly knew what, and wiser Men gave into it, and encouraged it through the Nation; and thus the Extremes on one Side begat Extremes on the other, and hence came the Extravagant Addresses (some of which would perhaps at any other Time have been look'd upon as a striking at the Foundation of the Revolution and the present Settlement of the Crown)

Crown) to be countenanced; this also gave Occasion to the mighty Struggle at Elections, and carrying so great a Majority of one Side to be Members of the *House of Commons*, who since their coming together have yet sufficiently convinced the Nation that they have more at Heart the dispatching the Queen's and Nation's Business, than the gratifying the Expectations of hot Partizans. Now although divers Incidents have concur'd to bring about this great Turn, and some even unwarrantable Actions have been tolerated, in order to attain the End, yet we may hope seldom to see the like Occasions, and never to make Use of ill Precedents: And thus the *Paul's* Sermon, though in itself wicked and seditious, was yet drawn into a lucky Consequence, and made serviceable to the present Time.

Ibid. The Clergy (says he) behaved themselves, during the Trial of Dr. Sacheverell, with the Courage and Constancy of primitive Christians, &c. When yet neither their invective Sermons, nor yet their exploded Doctrine of Unlimited Passive Obedience, had any Thing of the Spirit of Christianity in them.

P. 29. But see with what Insolence he vapours. *If ever they dare to fall on a Clergyman of the Church of England, especially such an one as Dr. Sacheverell, if such another can be met with, &c.* The best Way to try the Experiment, will be for the Doctor his own self, when he has Liberty to open his Mouth, to dare preach such another Sermon, and see whether the Government will be afraid to punish him.

P. 30. He gives me hard Words for calling a profess'd Jacobite one of their Writers, and for coupling the Nonjurors and the High-Church Clergy. Now I would be rightly understood, that by the Term *High-Church* I never intend those who are zealous for the Church of England as limited and regulated by the Laws of the Land, the higher the more sincere in their Profession I think them; but I mean those who are not content with that Portion of Authority the Laws have allotted them, but do really aspire to (what they call) a *Jure Divino* Independence, and reckon themselves to be placed in a Sphere above the Laws of their Country; [Query, whether they would not have a visible Head too] and that there are such among those who have sworn to the Government, as well as among the Nonjurors, we find by their Writings; and these are the Men I suspect of Jacobitism, and surely with such Principles they can hardly be accounted good Subjects: As Mr. *Lesley* then has written as freely as any upon this Topic, *Quatenus* High-Church-man, I might well call him one of their Writers; and as I am not single in my Suspicion, that there may be some Jacobites among the conforming Clergy (and Dr. *Sacheverell* himself has much Wrong done him, if he has not been used to drink the Pretender's Health) why may not I reckon Mr. *Lesley*, their Writer too, *Quatenus* Jacobite.

Ibid. He asks whether for these twenty Years together there has been one Man of the Tories proved by any Action to be in the Jacobite Interest? Men of so audacious a Confidence render themselves unfit to be argued with; let me answer him by two Questions; Were not all the Nonjurors reckon'd of the Tory Party? Is there not among them all, one profess'd Jacobite? But to refresh his Memory I will name one Sir *John Friend* to him, and if he will put himself up-
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on Recollection, I believe he may call to mind a few more of them who have acted in the Jacobite Interest.

P. 31. He affirms there are *those who make it their Business to propagate the Principles of Resistance to Government, and deny the Queen's Hereditary Title.*

Can any Thing be more perverse and disingenuous than to insinuate, that, because many good Men have maintain'd the Justice of such a Resistance as was made Use of at the Revolution, and the Lawfulness of defending the Rights of a Nation against Tyranny and Oppression, therefore they propagate Principles of Resistance to Governors? I shall challenge him now to name any one *Whig* who ever denied it to be a damnable Sin to resist lawful and just Government and Governors, or that will not own the Queen's Hereditary as well as Parliamentary Title.

P. 32. His trifling about a new Name for our Form of Government, a more than needful Concern for the Monarchy and Church (which means no more but that they are safe enough without their Concern) declaring for an Alteration in the Government, &c. is so pitiful that it deserves no Answer.

P. 33. He shews himself (a true *Tory* indeed, but) either very ignorant, or no Friend to our Constitution, by his querying, *has not her Majesty's Right of making Peace and War been set aside by Votes and Resolutions about those Matters?* I tell him No, and whenever her Majesty's great Council think it for the Good of the Nation to give their Advice in those Matters by way of humble Address, it is their ancient Right to do so; but the Crown is not tied up by it, though the Ministers will think themselves concern'd to pursue it as far as they can. He goes on, *have we not received various Accounts from several Parts of the Kingdom, of Villains committed to a Goal for speaking Treason upon Account of Dissolving the Parliament?* May he not be called by as bad a Name who suggests such a Thing, when there is not one Word of Truth in it? But is it not a fine Way of proving the Appearance of Rebellion, &c. by arguing from this false Suggestion, *that little Villains are apt to blab out what they hear spoken by great ones?*

P. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40. The Account he gives of the Riots and Tumults raised on Dr. *Sacheverell's* Occasion, and his ingenious Way of turning them all upon the Dissenters, and representing them as the Demolishers of their own Meeting-Houses, may perhaps please some of the foolishness of his own Party, but must look very ridiculous to every body else. But I can tell him a true Story (in Opposition to his false ones) of the Manner how the attacking the Meeting-Houses began. Six young Men, well dress'd, came to an Ale-house just without *Temple-Bar*, they had not stay'd long before they heard the huzzaing of the Mob that attended Dr. *Sacheverell's* Coach returning from his Trial; immediately they left their Swords and Watches with the Man of the House, and went and joined the Mob, who presently after turn'd away to go to Mr. *Burges's* Meeting-House; in less than an Hour five out of the six came back again to fetch their Swords and Watches, but appeared very melancholly, saying their other Companion was mortally wounded by the Fall of a Window-Frame from the Meeting-House. Now to me it seems out of doubt that these young Fellows were employed on purpose to set the Mob upon the Meeting-

Meeting-Houses, but whether they were Dissenters or Dr. Sacheverell's Friends, I will leave the World to guess, since it is known that the young Man who was killed was an Apprentice in a very remarkable *Tory* Family. But I have done with this Matter, only I beg Leave to state the Case a little fairer than my Antagonist has done it, whether *the Doctor was not the Occasion of these Disturbances, and so the Fault ought to be laid at his Door?* Suppose then a turbulent Clergyman gathers the People together, and preaches an invective Sermon to them at *St. Paul's Cross*; some of the Hearers think his Discourse tended to Sedition and Rebellion, and therefore charge him with it, and carry him before a Court of Judicature; while the Matter is under Examination he calls out of the Window to the People, and tells them he is a true Son of the Church, but those who prosecute him are her Enemies; upon which the Mob take a Freak, and go and break the Prosecutors Windows. Now though he did not bid them do this Mischief, yet I think he may be very well said to be the Occasion of it; for as the Court afterwards pronounced him guilty of the Sedition, it was his seditious Sermon which first disturb'd the Minds of the ignorant People, and then disposed them to this Disorder, whereas, before that, they were quiet and harmless.

P. 40. If I have said that 'Our modern Flatterers of Royal Power have attributed to our Kings the same (I dont say all the) Powers which are taken 'by an absolute Monarch,' I add, and have magnified his Authority above the Laws, this is abundantly manifested from Multitudes of their Writings ever since Dr. *Manwaring's* Sermon down to our Time, and therefore as he falsely affirms, *a positive Falshood in Fact.*

P. 41. What I have spoken about spiritual Religion is well understood by serious practical Christians; to Men who live under the Forms of Religion without experiencing the Power of it, it may appear (as it does to this Writer) but mere Cant, for as the Apostle tells us [the natural Man receiveth not the Things of the Spirit of God, for they are Foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.] He owns that the Contest is not about the Faith of Christianity, but about Ceremonies, Discipline, and such like Things, and as to these, he lays the whole Fault upon the Dissenters, *Why dont they come into the Church?* Rarely argued, does he take it for granted that the Dissenters have nothing to say for their Separation? What if they think some of the Ceremonies have too much of the Remains of Popish Superstition, and that it would be sinful in them to comply in the Practice of Things which in Conscience they cannot consent to? The Church of *England* does not pretend to Infallibility, and owns the Ceremonies to be indifferent, will she abate nothing for the sake of weak Brethren? Is she so perfect as to need no Reformation in any the least Circumstance? Does there lie no Obligation on her Part to seek Peace, by condescending a little in Matters of Indifference? Well, if they are sure they are in the Right, let them keep so for me, I will not concern myself in the Contest; but this I'll tell them for a Truth which they will one Day be convinced of, that those of either Side who revile and persecute one another about these Matters, have not the Spirit of Christ, and will at last be found to be none of his.

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He that can entertain himself with Rant, Railing, Begging the Question, and miserable Trifling, instead of Argument, may find enough on it (*passim* indeed but principally) from Page 42. to the End; for my Part I am quite tired with it, and shall trouble myself no farther than just to touch two or three Places more.

P. 44, 45. Is it not possible for a Minister to preach with a decent and Christian Warmth and Sharpness against Rebellion, Hypocrisy, &c. but he must lash out into all the abusive, exasperating, insulting and virulent Expressions that he can rip up? If such a Treatment be not reviling and invective, there is no Notion of any such Things; the *Paul's* Sermon (with many other of the same Kind) is apparently such in a superlative Degree, and the Censure I have given in Scripture Quotations, is justly applicable to such Teachers, and will stick upon them for ever unless they repent, not because I have repeated, but because it is the Word of God.

P. 47. He need not make it a Question, whether the Clergy ought not to recommend Obedience to Princes and Magistrates; I challenge him to name any one Man of the *Whig* Side that ever deny'd it by Word or Writing, but they ought never to strain it to an Extreme that neither Reason nor Religion require.

P. 51. He remarks that I have said, that the Prince and People may enlarge or diminish the Exteriors of Religion, *but not a Word of the Sense or Authority of the Church itself*; very fine, does not the Word *People* then include both Clergy and Laity? And are not all good Christian Princes, Lords and Commons, as essential a Part of the Church of Christ as the Clergy themselves? We have standing Laws enough to convince him that *the political Church of this Kingdom has been pull'd down and set up, limited and reform'd*, by our Kings or Queens, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament assembled; and let the *High-Church* be as angry at it as they please, I will say, that it is fit *an End should be put to all ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction* that is not subject to that Authority: But for this Man to affirm in Print, That *the Consent and Authority of the Church itself* (which in his Sense means only the Clergy) *is by the Constitution of England essentially necessary to make any of our Laws*, is a Presumption that may be worthy the Animadversion of our Superiors.

The Gentleman is pleased to reckon me *a very bad Writer and a very bad Man, but yet no Fool*: I will repay his Courtesy in Kind as to the two former, but I am sure he has shewn himself no wise Man in undertaking a Business which he has perform'd so weakly: He allows me but *a very little Wit or good Sense, but somewhat of Cunning*; I cannot return him the Compliment in either, for a Fool could hardly have lain himself more open to be lash'd: I bear his Contempt with Patience, because it comes from one who I believe has render'd himself much more contemptible in the Eyes of all impartial Judges: He says I am *not to be treated like a Gentleman*, neither has he done it: *Villainous Designs* (in the Title Page) *Villainy in the Author* (p. 30.) and Abundance of unmannerly Epithets, shew himself to be of a coarse, ungentleman-like Temper, and I had no Mind to discover so much Want of good Breeding by imitating him. I boast
not

not of my Performance, but can truly say that I had no other Design in Writing but to do good, and I have the Satisfaction to see that it has been favourably received, and in great Measure answer'd my End. The faulty and bigotted *Whigs*, and the high-flying rancour'd *Tories* (for there are many good Men of that Side, who have reform'd that Extreme) are equally angry at it; but the more moderate and wise of either Party have been very well pleased with it.

The Author, after having abused the whole *Whig* Party in as gross a Manner as Words could do it, comes off at last (just like Dr. Sacheverell in his Exception of *Consciences truly scrupulous*) with a Salvo, that *he would not be understood to mean every Body that has had the Name of Whig put upon him, many honest and well-designing Persons, no Doubt, having some Time or other been call'd Whigs*. I verily believe it, and are so still. For his Part he speaks of Things, not of Words, so did I, and shew'd that the Thing call'd *Whig* Principle (for maintaining their just Rights against any Invasions) was, and still is right; and that the Thing call'd *Tory* Principle (for assisting the Regal Power in any Usurpations upon the Constitution, and for setting the Church above the State) was at first, and ever will be wrong; and he has said nothing to disprove it, his whole Labour has been in vain. By *Whigs* he means those who are guilty of the Practices, or espouse the Principles he has condemn'd. But if he has condemn'd some Principles and some Practices that the *Whigs* were never guilty of, we are not bound to stand to his Judgment; I have not been sparing to expose the Practices of those *Whigs* who have acted contrary to their Principles, and yet I maintain the Principle to be right, and those who keep to it, to be honest Men. In short, he condemns all those who approve of my Performance: And among them he condemns many Persons of the first Quality, and even of the Ministry, who are so wise as to see and avoid the Errors of all Parties that have gone before them.

The

The Speech of his Highness the Lord Protector, made to both Houses of Parliament at their first Meeting, on *Thursday*, the 27th of *January*, 1658.

The following two Tracts, which are the genuine Speech and Letter of Richard the Son of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, as they are very scarce, and the former serving to give us a perfect Idea of that new Protector; the Desire he had to continue his Father's Usurpation; the Contrivance of gaining the Affections of the People, by acknowledging the Excellency of a mixt Government, composed of a Parliament and Chief Magistrate, as you will find in his Speech, which, abstract from the Cant of his Education and the fulsome Encomiums of his deceased Father, is a good one; I here endeavour to preserve it as well as his Letter to the Parliament, when he found it resolved to restore the royal Family to the Throne of its Ancestors; which shews how far he was degenerated from the vigorous Resolutions of his Father, and how soon the greatest Tyrants are reduced to a State of Submission, when God pleases to release his People from their Bondage.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Believe there are scarce any of you here, who expected some Months since to have seen this great Assembly at this Time, in this Place, in Peace; considering the great and unexpected Change, which it hath pleased the all-disposing Hand of God to make in the midst of us: I can assure you, that if Things had been according to our own Fears, and the Hopes of our Enemies, it had not been thus with us: And, therefore, it will become both you and me; in the first Place, as to reverence and adore the great God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth, in whose Hands our Breath is, and whose are all our Ways, because of his Judgments; so to acknowledge him in his Goodness to these Lands, in that he hath not added Sorrow to Sorrow, and made the Period of his late Highness's Life, and that of the Nation's Peace, to have been in one Day.

Peace was one of the Blessings of my Father's Government; a Mercy after so long a civil War, and in the midst of so great Division which that War bred, is not usually afforded by God unto a People in so great a Measure.

The Cause of God, and these Nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the Parts of it, as you well know, with many Enemies and great Opposition; the Archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him, yet his Bow abode in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands were made strong by the Hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

As to himself, he died full of Days, spent in great and sore Travail; yet his Eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural Strength abated, as it was said of *Moses*, He was serviceable even to the last.

As

As to these Nations, he left them in great Honour abroad, and in full Peace at Home : All *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* dwelling safely, every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, from *Dan* even to *Beersheba*.

He is gone to Rest, and we are enter'd into his Labours ;* and if the Lord hath still a Blessing for these Lands (as I trust he hath) as our Peace hath been lengthen'd out to this Day, so shall we go on to reap the Fruit, and gather the Harvest of what his late Highness has sown, and laid the Foundation of.

For my own Part, being by the Providence of God, and the Disposition of the Law, my Father's Successor, and bearing that Place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the *public* Good to call a *Parliament* of the three Nations, now united, and conjoin'd together in one Commonwealth, under one Government.

It is agreeable not only to my *Trust*, but to my *Principles*, to govern these Nations by the Advice of my *two Houses of Parliament*. I find it asserted in the humble Petition and Advice (which is the corner Stone of this Building, and that which I shall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the chief Magistrate, in whose Advice both he and these Nations may be most safe and happy*. I can assure you I have that Esteem of them : And as I have made it the first Act of my Government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the Value I have of you, by the Answers that I shall return to the Advice that shall be given me by you, for the Good of these Nations.

You are come up from your several Countries, as the Heads of your Tribes, and with Hearts (I persuade myself) to consult together their Good : I can say I meet you with the same Desires, having nothing in my Design, but the Maintenance of the Peace, Laws, Liberties, both civil and Christian, of these Nations ; which I shall always make the Measure and Rule of my Government, and be ready to spend my Life for.†

We have summon'd you up at this Time to let you know the State of our Affairs, and to have your Advice in them ; and, I believe, a Parliament was never summon'd upon a more important Occasion.

It is true, as I have told you, we are, through the Goodness of God, at this Time in Peace ;‡ but it is not thus with us, because we have no Enemies : There are enough, both within us and without us, who would soon put an End to our Peace, were it in their Powers, or should it, at any Time, come into their Powers.

It will be becoming your Wisdoms to consider of the securing of our Peace against those who, we all know, are, and ever will be our implacable Enemies ;|| what the Means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

This I can assure you, That the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, are true and faithful to the Peace and good Interest of these Nations, and it will be found so, and that they are a consisting Body, and useful for any good Ends ; and, if they were not the best Army in the World, you would have heard of Inconveniencies, by reason of the great Arrear of Pay, which is now

* The Protectorship. † See his following Letter to the Parliament. ‡ Meaning the *Royalists*, who would re-instate the royal Family on the Throne. || Because of the Usurpation then renew'd in the Person of *Richard*.

due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great Necessities: But you shall have a particular Account of their Arrears, and I doubt not but Consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual Way. And, this being Matter of *Money*, I recommend it particularly to the *House of Commons*.

You have, you know, a War with *Spain*, carry'd on by the Advice of Parliament; he is an old Enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary, both for the Honour and Safety of these Nations, that That War be vigorously prosecuted.

Furthermore, the Constitution of Affairs in all our neighbour Countries, and round about us (as well Friends as Enemies) is very considerable, and calls upon us to be upon our Guard both at Land and Sea, and to be in a Posture able to maintain and conserve our own State and Interest.

Great and powerful Fleets are preparing to be set forth into these Seas, and considerable Armies of several Nations and Kings are now disputing for the Mastery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent Islands and Countries; among which is the *Roman* & Emperor, with other popish States; I need not tell you of what Consequence these Things are to this State.

We have already interposed in these Affairs, in such Manner as we found it necessary for the Interest of *England*; and Matters are yet in such a Condition in those Parts, that this State may, with the Assistance of God, provide that their Differences may not prejudice us.

The other Things that are to be said I shall refer to my Lord-Keeper *Fiennes*, and close up what I have to say with only adding two or three Particulars to what I have already said.

And, *first*, I recommend to your Care the People of God in these Nations, with their Concernments. The more they are divided among themselves, the greater Prudence should be used to cement them.

Secondly, The good and necessary Work of Reformation, both in Manners and in the Administration of Justice, that Profaneness may be discountenanced and suppress'd, and that Righteousness and Justice may be executed in the Land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the *Protestant* Cause abroad, which seems, at this Time, to be in some Danger, having great and powerful Enemies, and very few Friends; and I hope and believe, that the old *English* Zeal to that Cause is still among us.

Lastly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, That you will in all your Debates maintain and conserve Love and Unity among yourselves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the Nation, who have sent you up in Peace, and with their Prayers, that the Spirit of Wisdom and Peace may be among you; and this shall also be my Prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmost Endeavours for the making this an *happy Parliament*.*

§ Or *German*, * As it proved by restoring Monarchical Government.

His

His late Highness's Letter to the Parliament of *England*; shewing his Willingness to submit to this present Government: * Attested under his own Hand, and read in the House on *Wednesday* the 25th of *May*, 1659.

I H A V E perused the Resolve and Declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other Night; and for your Information, touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true State of my Debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this Paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that Part of the Resolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themselves how far I do acquiesce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament; I trust my past Carriage, hitherto, hath manifested my Acquiescence in the Will and Disposition of God, and that I love and value the Commonwealth much above my own Concernments; and I desire, that by this a Measure of my future Deportment may be taken, which, through the Assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the same Witness, having, I hope, in some Degree, learned rather to reverence and submit to the Hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out among us) however in respect of the particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of these Nations; yet, through the Goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in its being made, and do hold myself obliged, as (with other Men) I expect *Protection* from the present Government, so to demean myself, with all Peaceableness under it, and to procure to the uttermost of my Power, that all, in whom I have any Interest, do the same.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

* Intended Monarchical Government under King *Charles II.* then to be recalled by the States of the Nation.

A brief Relation, containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, against the Government of this Nation, by a King or a single Person; to convince Men of the Danger and Inconveniency thereof. Urged by him to many of the Army, at *St. Alban's*, *Windsor*, and *Whitehall*, a little before the King was beheaded, and at several other Places. Published for the Good and Information of Parliament, Army, and People. Printed, *January*, 1658.

To the Reader,

Reader,

OF what Opinion or Judgment soever you are, let not your Headiness, or prejudicate Opinion, hinder you from considering what is here declared, the Substance and Truth whereof is well known to some, in City, Army, and Country, for thine and thy Posterity's Good, Welfare, and Preservation. But beg of God Wisdom, and he will shew thee the Mystery of Iniquity, when it is going to be settled by a Law, and will cost thee hot Service, and Sorrow of Heart, to redeem thyself and Country, and it may be, when thou wouldst redeem it, it will be too hard for thee.

The Consideration of the Obstruction that probably this true Relation will meet with from all fawning Courtiers and deceived Englishmen, had almost prevented its Prosecution; but, remembring what Necessity there is of Awaking my dear slumbering Countrymen from that drowsy State, that, for some Days, they have seemed to lie in; which, if persisted in, will give too great an Opportunity to the common Enemy to effect his Will on us all, I was encouraged to proceed, trusting in the Lord, who has, and will deliver the Innocent from all the calumnious Aspersions of Court Parasites. And, therefore, without any other Apology, I shall proceed to the Arguments themselves, which I shall deliver, if not in the absolute Terms, yet in the genuine Sense.

IMprimis, Because it is possible, yea, and more than ordinarily probable, that a single Person, in a short Time, will work over his Council to his own Will, though illegal; either in Conferring Places of Honour and Profit on them and their Friends, or else terrifying them by Threats.

2. Because that a single Person, being raised to such a State, is subject to wax wanton and so forget; or, rather, neglect the Commonalty, in providing for a few that will be at his Beck, ready to fulfill his Pleasure.

3. Because that, notwithstanding for a Time he may carry Matters fair, and do some good Things, *Jehu* like, until he has gotten an Interest in the Affections

fections of the People; but then, forgetting, or, rather, slighting what he formerly pretended to, instead of countenancing of Justice, and endeavouring Reformation, it is possible he may become a Favourer of Iniquity; nay, said he, a Settler of a Court, or Nursery of Whores, Rogues, Bawds, and such like Persons, as was evidently seen in former Days at *Whitehall*.

4. Because, if he cannot accomplish his Design on his Council, but they discover his Wickednesses and Abominations, and oppose him, on the Behalf of their Country, he will be ready and apt secretly to confederate, and make Leagues with other Princes, and so let in a foreign Enemy, rather than be kept within the Bounds of Law and Justice, as we have seen in the (late) King, who has brought in *Irish* and *Scots*, and also sent Letters Patents, with Letters of Credence to three foreign Princes, inviting them to come into *England*.

5. Because, if the chief Governor, King, or single Person should become an Idiot, then nought but a continual Charge, upon the good People, could be expected, even robbing them of their Substance, until they are made so poor, as not to be able to oppose an Enemy; which, so soon as understood, will sufficiently encourage a foreign Enemy, to make an Invasion upon us.

6. Because the Government, by one single Person, is far more chargeable to the People, which, in the laying aside of, the People will soon become sensible by the Lessening of their Charge: For that Revenue (which was to uphold one Man, and spent in Voluptuousness by him) being brought into the publick Treasury, will help to defray much of the Charge that otherwise must fall on the People: Nay, said he, whosoever shall go about to settle the Government in one Person, will make themselves so odious, that the People will be ready to knock them on the Head; for, when once the Family of *Stuarts* is gone, if you establish one Man in the Government, in a little Time he will become Master of the Nation's Treasure, and, at his first coming to the Place, will most eagerly desire Monies, to buy this Bauble for one, and that Toy for another; and, after a little while, when he hath tasted the Sweetness and Delicousness thereof, will, to maintain the same, become a Purchaser of Lands with the People's Monies, until they are become so poor, that they shall be necessitated to be his Vassals, and, consequently, Slaves for ever; for, as the first doth, so a second, and a third will do after him, until the good People be utterly undone.

7. Because, the Government being placed in one Person, he will be subject to judge of himself as above Law, and without the Reach of any Law; and, by Violence, tyrannise over whom he pleases, commanding one Man to Prison, and Monies from another, and possibly, both Money and Liberty from a third, &c. the Refusing of which arbitrary Commands or Actions will expose Men to his Mercy, which will be no less than Cruelty.

8. Because that the Abominations and Wickedness of a Court have been, and, is justly feared, will be so great, that both the Person himself, and his Council about him, will always, for to uphold his Voluptuousness, be ready to erect new Monopolies, granting Patents to his Lords, &c. to get Money from the People, for to maintain their Pomp and Pride, and thereby keep the People in such Servitude, that, in a little Time, they will be out of a Capacity to gain Justice on any of the Courtiers: And then the Citizen must wait for

for his Money, when his Commodity is sold, and scarce dare ask, and not dare arrest a Courtier for what he oweth, for Fear of his Master. And the Countryman's Hedges will be broken down, his Corn trampled on, and spoiled, or eaten by the Game, and, to complain of which, will be accounted a Crime little less than Treason.

These and such are the Things you must expect, said he, if you set up one single Person, and who would be so mad, God having so signally witnessed against the King and House of Lords? The much Blood that hath been shed, and the vast Treasure that hath been expended, and the Controversy decided on our Parts, witnesses aloud against it. Further, said he, I am confident, that, whoever they be, that shall go about to settle a Court in this Nation, God will destroy and bring to nought, and Confusion will be to them and their Posterity; and, said he, if ever I should go about any such Thing, I desire God would never bless me, nor mine.

He farther declared, that God had borne Witness against the Parliament, for that they were intending to make Peace with the late King, and to settle him; telling some Members of the then Parliament and Army, when they spoke of Settling the Government in one single Person, that God would destroy them; some for going about to settle Iniquity by a Law, and others for not Protesting against them, and for not Declaring their Protest to the good People of *England*. And thus now, gentle Reader, thou hast the Substance of some of the Reasons urged by the late lord Protector against Monarchy, though suddenly he leaped into the same himself. But now it may be said, these Reasons are not sufficient to prove the same. Whether they are or not, I shall not now dispute; but, that it may appear to be probable, I present these ensuing Queries.

Upon the Whole, I query, whether any Man upon rational Grounds can expect, that the present Protector, or single Person pretending to Government, shall be more honest, righteous, and just, than his deceased Father was?

But more particularly upon the Arguments.

1. **I** Would query, first, Whether the late Protector did not work over his Council to some Things illegal?

2. Whether Kings formerly, and the Protector lately, did not wax wanton, and, providing for some few of their Creatures, neglect the Commonalty?

3. Whether our late Experience of a single Person cannot testify, that, though for a small Time he seemed to favour honest Men and Things, yet, when he thought himself seated, Whether, I say, he did not then slight both them and it, and become a Favourer of the Contrary? And whether our late Court did not shew more Growth and Increase of Rogues, Bawds, and Whores, than all the Time of our Government by a Commonwealth?

4. Whether a Confederacy has not been made abroad, with our secret Enemies at Home, that so a single Person might the better suppress those that see the Wickedness of his Designs?

5. Whether

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5. Whether the single Person now pretending to Government, though the Son of a subtle Man, be a wise Man, fit to dispose of Commonwealth Treasure?

6. Whether the good People of this Nation be not very sensible of the Expensiveness extraordinary of a single Person, more than of a Commonwealth? And whether they do not find a Want of that vast Treasure expended upon Bubles, Toys, and Geugaws? Such as we of late have had too much Cause to speak of. And whether the Cause of the People's Poverty has not been by Means of purchasing Lands to the Family of the late Protector, as well as *Higb-Spaniola* Business?

7. Whether the late Person set up did not judge himself above Law? And whether he did not tyrannise over Men's Persons, restraining both them and their Liberty? And whether the Mercy he has pretended to, in the Execution thereof, has not been very Cruelty?

8. Whether the late single Person, to uphold his and his Courtiers Voluptuousness, has not been ready to uphold what Monopolies he found on Foot, and likewise to devise new Ways to the same Purpose? And whether the Citizen has not had Experience of Court-payment, and the Countryman, though sad, of the Spoiling of his Fences, and Destroying of his Crop, by them that belong to the Court? And that they please to call their Game. And, if these be the Beginnings, What will the End be? And therefore, for a Closure, I must say, What shall we say, or do, more than the King Protector has said and done?

Now to conclude: I humbly present to Consideration, Whether, upon a diligent, serious Weighing of the present Action, and past Management of State-affairs, of some, being Lawyers, &c. raised from a low Estate to sit in Council, and become great Favourites at Court, it may not be found, and clearly seen, that they have a Design to bring in *Charles Stuart*? For, if they first bring in a single Person, and grant that, the next Dispute will be, Whether the one Family, or the other, has most Right? And who has most Interest, *Charles*, or *Richard*, I think, asketh no long Time to answer. Farther, I would add, Whether it be not more likely to attain to the Practice of that golden Rule, *do as you would be done to*, under the Government of a Commonwealth, in which Law-makers are liable to be judged by the Law made, rather than under a Monarchical Government, where or in which One, if settled, is above Law, and accountable to none? Who, though never so wicked and unjust, cannot be removed, but by an extraordinary Providence, as was the Case of the late King and Protector.

Now, whereas it is endeavoured, by some Court Parasites, to insinuate into the People, That that, which the Commonwealth Party aims at, is an Involving of the Nations in Blood and Confusion, I would meekly tender, Whether their Deportment and Behaviour, under the almost insupportable Burden of the Tyranny of late Times, in which their Rights and Liberties have lain bleeding, hath given any just Cause of such Suspicion? Or rather, Whether their Patience has not manifested, their Hope hath been and still is in God, from whom, by the Means of a lawful free Parliament, they only expect Deliverance? Which is a Vindication sufficient, not only from what is now suggested against them, but

but also from that old Brand, that the late Protector, in a Letter to the late King, while at *Hampton-Court*, gave them, *viz.* *Levellers*; and that their Work would be to kill the King, and levy all Men's Estates, by which Means he effected his End, *viz.* an Incensing of the People and the other Part of the Army against them; Which when he had done, he easily carried on his wicked Designs, which since have come to publick View; for a Deliverance from which are the Prayers of all true *Englishmen*.

A LETTER written by the Emperor to the late King *James*, setting forth the true Occasion of his Fall, and the Treachery and Cruelty of the *French*.

This Letter, written by the Emperor of Germany to King James the Second, after his Abdication, setting forth the Causes of his Majesty's Desertion by his Subjects, is a proper Caveat to such Princes, always to preserve their Subjects in their just Rights, both in Church and State, as the best Means to deserve their Affection, and to secure the Throne to themselves, and their Posterity.

LEOPOLD, &c.

WE have received your Majesty's Letters, dated from *St. Germain's*, the Sixth of *February* last, by the Earl of *Carlingford*, your Envoy in our Court: By them we have understood the Condition your Majesty is reduced to; and that you, being deserted after the landing of the Prince of *Orange*, by your Army, and even by your domestic Servants, and by those you most confided in, and almost by all your Subjects, you have been forced, by a sudden Flight, to provide for your own Safety, and to seek Shelter and Protection in *France*: Lastly, that you desire Assistance from us, for the recovering your Kingdoms. We do assure your Majesty, that, as soon as we heard of this severe Turn of Affairs, We were moved at it, not only with the common Sense of Humanity, but with much deeper Impressions, suitable to the sincere Affection which We have always borne to you. And We were heartily sorry, that, at last, that was come to pass, which (though we hoped for better Things) yet our own sad Thoughts had suggested to us would ensue. If your Majesty had rather given Credit to the friendly Remonstrances that were made You, by Our late Envoy, the Count de *Kaunitz*, in Our Name, than the deceitful Insinuations of the *French*, whose chief Aim was, by fomenting continual Divisions between You and Your People, to gain thereby an Opportunity to insult the more securely over the rest of Christendom: And if your Majesty had put a Stop, by Your Force and Authority, to their many Infractions of the Peace, of which, by the Treaty of *Nimegen*, you are made the Guarantee, and to that End enter'd into Consultations with Us, and such others, as have the like just Sentiments in this Matter: We are verily persuaded, that, by this Means, you should have, in a great Measure, quieted

the Minds of Your People, which were so much already exasperated through their Aversion to our Religion,* and the publick Peace had been preserved, as well in Your Kingdoms, as here, in the *Roman* Empire. But now we refer it even to Your Majesty, to judge what Condition We can be in to afford you any Assistance, We being not only engaged in a War with the *Turks*, but finding Ourselves at the same Time unjustly and barbarously attack'd by the *French*, contrary to, and against the Faith of Treaties, they *then* reckoning themselves secure of *England*.† And this ought not to be conceal'd; that the greatest Injuries, which have been done to our Religion,‡ have flow'd from no other, than the *French* themselves; who not only esteem it lawful for them, to make perfidious Leagues with || the sworn Enemies of the Holy Cross, ++ tending to the Destruction both of Us, and the whole Christian World, in order to the checking our Endeavours, which were undertaken for the Glory of God, and to stop those Successes, which it hath pleased Almighty God to give us hitherto; but further, have heap'd one Treachery on another, even within the Empire itself. § The Cities of the Empire, which were surrender'd upon Articles, sign'd by the *Dauphin* himself, have been exhausted by excessive Impositions; and after their being exhausted, have been plunder'd; and after plundering, have been burnt and razed. The Palaces of Princes, which in all Times, and even the most destructive Wars, have been preserved, are now burnt down to the Ground. The Churches are rob'd, and such, as submitted themselves to them, are, in a most barbarous Manner, carry'd away as Slaves. In short, it is become a Diversion to them, to commit all Manner of Insolences and Cruelties in many Places, but chiefly in Catholick Countries, exceeding the Cruelties of the *Turks* themselves: Which, having imposed an absolute Necessity upon us to secure Ourselves, and the *Holy Roman* Empire, by the best Means we can think on, and that no less against them, than against the *Turks*; We promise Ourselves, from Your Justice, ready Assent to this, that it ought not to be imputed to Us, if We endeavour to procure, by a just War, that Security to Ourselves, which We could not hitherto obtain by so many Treaties; and that, in order to the obtaining thereof, We take Measures for our mutual Defence and Preservation, with all those who are equally concern'd in the same Design with Us. It remains, that We beg of God, that He would direct all Things to His Glory, and that he would grant Your Majesty true and solid Comforts under this your great Calamity. We embrace You with the tender Affections of a Brother.

At Vienna, the 9th of April, 1689.

* Which made use of so many unjust and cruel Means to gain its Establishment.
† Under a Prince, that, to accomplish the Slavery of his Subjects, was making himself Tributary and Vassal of *France*. ‡ Popery. || The *Turks*. ++ Viz. All Christians.
§ How justly does this represent the present and late Actions of the *French* in *Germany*.

The Causes and Manner of the deposing of a *Popish* King
in *Sweden* truly described. Printed 1688.

Gustavus Ericson King of *Sweden*, having settled the Reformed Religion in *Sweden*, and reigned thirty-eight Years, left his Kingdom to his Son *Erick*, who, for his Cruelty and ill Government, was deposed, and his whole Line exhereditated, to make Way for *John* Duke of *Finland*, his younger Brother.

John had a Son, called *Sigismund*, who being secretly bred up in the *Romish* Religion by his Mother, who was of the *Sagellonian* Royal Family of *Poland*, was in his Father's Time elected King of *Poland*.

The said King *John* had also a younger Brother, called *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, *Nericia*, &c. and a younger Son of his own Name, called, Duke of *Ostrogothia*.

King *John* died in the Year 1592, in the Absence of King *Sigismund*, his eldest Son; during which, *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermania*, his Uncle, at the Desire of the States, took upon him the Government: But sent to invite his Nephew *Sigismund*, to come and take Possession of his Native Kingdom, as soon as might be: Promising in the mean Time, to keep all quiet, and intimating, that he hoped his Majesty, when in Possession, would maintain all in the true Religion and divine Worship, and preserve the Laws of *Sweden*.

At the End of the Year he arrived in *Sweden*, having in his Company *Francesco Malespina* the Pope's Legate, who hindered him long from consenting to any Security, either for Religion or Property; but finding the Coronation would be obstructed without that, he gave Way, as having yet, as the Historian says, one Starting-hole remaining, which was, that Faith was not to be kept towards Hereticks. In the mean Time, he himself would have crowned the King in the Cathedral at *Upsal*, but was opposed by the Archbishop of *Upsal*, whose Right it was, even if that Kingdom had been *Popish*.

The Coronation being over, which had been delayed above a Year, during which Time, several secret Attempts had been made upon *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermania*, to make him away, King *Sigismund*, contrary to his Coronation Oath, erected a *Popish* Church in the Capital City, and made a great Man of his Religion, Governor of the Castle of *Stockholm*, in which the Records of the Chancery, and the Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom were kept, and in the Port were the best Part of the Royal Navy, under Command of the Castle.

A certain Jesuit, called *Adam Steinball*, obtained the *Arcentian* Temple, and the Queen's Island, with the *Vastbeman* Monastery, which was presently filled with *Romish* Priests.

Sigismund also, by his Followers and Attendants, continually affronted the Established Religion, and was sending into *Poland* for a Body of Forces, able
to

to subdue the Kingdom; upon which, Discontentments grew so high, that he hastily withdrew thither himself.

He left *Sweden* in Confusion, having only for Form's Sake writ to his Uncle *Charles*, to assume the Administration jointly with the Senate: But, at the same Time, leaving others with greater Power, both in *Sweden* and *Finland*, as appeared when he was gone.

Charles, Duke of *Sudermania*, to avoid Discord and Confusion, called a Convention at *Sudertopia*, which was opened with an Oath of Allegiance to King *Sigismund*, and did likewise assert the Kingdom's Right, to have the Coronation Oath performed; which having been violated in the tender Point of Religion, they redressed the Grievance and suppressed the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion, banishing all Priests and Preachers of the same, and the ancient Incumbents of the *Vastbeman* Monastery were restored.

Then they desired the Duke *Charles* to accept of the Administration, for the Good of the Kingdom, which he did. Then began a Treaty between *Sigismund*, and the Convention, with Duke *Charles* at the Head of it, which was by *Sigismund* spun out, and obstructed with much Artifice; at length the Convention made several Decrees for Security of Religion and Property, and entered into an Association for the Defence of them, which they desired the King to confirm, and gave six Weeks Time to all that dissented, to submit, on Pain of being declared Enemies to the publick Peace.

They invited him Home, to return in a peaceable Manner, and settle the other Affairs of his Native Kingdom; but instead of that, he invaded them with an Army of Eight-thousand Horse and Foot, and a hundred Sail, to which several *Swedes* join'd themselves, whom he had gained with Money.

An Agreement was endeavoured, and after much Intercourse of Negotiation, both Armies being near one another, it was consented to on both Sides, that twelve of the Nobility of each Side should meet and decide the whole Controversy. But by the Persuasion of the Jesuits, the Royal Army in the Night, conducted by *Weyerus*, set upon the Ducal Camp; in which Onset, several Thousands were slain, but at last the King and all his Army had been cut off, had they not called out for Peace, which the Duke yet hearkened to.

An Agreement followed, in which the King demanded to be supplied with a Navy to go to *Stockholm*, promising there to call an Assembly of the States; but he no sooner had the Shipping, but he sailed away for *Calmar*, in which Place he left a Garrison of Foreigners, and then continued his Voyage to *Dantzick*.

The King being gone, an Assembly of the States met at *Stockholm*, where they declared King *Sigismund* fallen from the Crown and Government, and were so inclined to continue the Succession, that they offered to receive his Son, Prince *Vladislaus*, provided he might be sent Home, bred up a Protestant, and committed to the Guardianship of Duke *Charles*, but *Sigismund* refused it.

Afterwards another Parliament met at *Lincopia*, and there they did expressly renounce King *Sigismund*, and his Government, as also his Laws.

Then they acknowledged Duke *Charles* of *Sudermania* for their lawful King, and after him settled the Crown upon his Son *Gustavus Adolphus*, and his Heirs Male.

Duke *John* concurred with the Parliament, and renounced his Pretence to the Crown, and was content to come in after the Line of Duke *Charles*.

The Daughter and Sister of *Sigismund* were also rejected.

Then followed the Coronation of King *Charles*, in the Year 1607, by the Name of *Charles the Ninth*.

These were the Proceedings in *Sweden*, upon which I shall only make these few short Reflections.

I. That the *Swedes* were desirous, to the last Degree, to preserve the Succession, according to one Part of the Laws of the Kingdom, provided that might be done, without overturning all the rest; they were wise enough to preserve Laws, while Laws preserved the Nation, which is the true End of all Laws, but no longer.

II. That King *Sigismund*, according to the Spirit of his Religion, where-ever it is grown up to Bigotry, broke through his Oaths, and all Rules of Justice and Morality, when they crossed the insatiable Ambition of his Priests.

III. That though the *Swedes*, when they found that they could not keep their King, his direct Heirs, their Religion and Liberties, all together, resolved to part with the former, they were forced to be very cautious, and endeavour to gain Time by Treaties, to unite themselves against *Sigismund*, who had *Poland* and several Allies to back him; without which Considerations, the Prudence, they shewed on this Affair, may assure us, they would not have suffered the Government in so loose a Posture, so long as they did.

IV. That the *Swedes* knowing, that it is impossible on any Occasion, that all Men should be of the same Mind, wisely ordained, that the Minor Part should submit to the Major, or be declared Enemies to the publick Peace. And sure this Example will be followed, where-ever reasonable and disinterested Men meet on the like Occasions; for sure no Body can deny, but that it is better for any Nation, that some Laws should be made, and others broken, against the Opinion of the Minor Part, than that all Laws, Morality, and Good-nature, should give Place to Passion, Injustice and Cruelty, through their Obstinacy.

Now may God Almighty open the Eyes of all *Englishmen* to see, and their Hearts to embrace this Truth.

The

The SPEECH of King *JAMES the First*, in the
Upper House of Parliament, on *Monday*, the 26th of
March, 1621.

My Lords,

THE last Time I came hither, my Errand was to inform you (as well as my Memory could serve me, of Things so long pass'd) of the Verity of my Proceedings, and the Cautions used by me in the passing of those Patents, which are now in Question before you; to the Effect, that they might not be abused in the Execution; and this I did by way of Declaration. But now I am come (understanding the Time of your Censure to draw near) to express my Readiness to put in Execution (which is the Life of the Law) those Things, which ye are to sentence (for even the Law itself is a dead Letter without Execution) for which Office God hath appointed me in these Kingdoms. And though I assure myself, that my former Behaviour, in all the Course of my Life, hath made me well known for a just King; yet in this special Case I thought fit to express my own Intentions, out of my own Mouth, for Punishment of Things complain'd of. The first Proof whereof I have given, by the diligent Search I caused to be made after the Person of Sir *Giles Mompesson*, who, though he were fled, yet my Proclamation pursued him instantly; and as I was earnest in that, so I will be to see your Sentence against him put in Execution.

Two Reasons move me to be earnest in the Execution of what ye are to sentence at this Time: First, that Duty I owe to God, who hath made me a King, and tied me to the Care of Government, by that politick Marriage between me and my People; for I do assure you in the Heart of an honest Man, and by the Faith of a Christian King (which both ye and all the World know me to be) had these Things been complain'd of to me before the Parliament, I would have done the Office of a just King, and out of Parliament have punish'd them as severely, and peradventure more, than ye now intend to do.

But now that they are discover'd to me in Parliament, I shall be as ready in this Way as I should have been in the other. For (I confess) I am ashamed (these Things proving so, as they are generally reported to be) that it was not my good Fortune to be the only Author of the Reformation and Punishment of them, by some ordinary Courts of Justice. Nevertheless, since these Things are now discover'd by Parliament, which before I knew not of, nor could so well be discover'd otherwise, in Regard of that representative Body of the Kingdom, which comes from all Parts of the Country: I will be never a whit the slower to do my Part for the Execution. For, as many of you that are here have heard me often say, so I will still say; so precious unto me is the publick Good, that no private Person whatsoever, were he never so dear unto me, shall be so respected by me, by many Degrees, as the publick Good, not only of the whole Commonwealth, but even of any particular Corporation that is a Mem-
ber

ber of it: and I hope, that ye, my Lords, will do me that Right, to publish to my People this my Heart and Purpose.

The second Reason is, that I intend not to derogate or infringe any of the Liberties or Privileges of this House, but rather to fortify and strengthen them; for never any King hath done so much for the Nobility of *England*, as I have done, and will ever be ready to do. And whatsoever I shall now say or deliver unto you as my Thought, yet when I have said what I think, I will afterwards freely leave the Judgment wholly to your House. I know ye will do nothing, but what the like hath been done before; and I pray you be not jealous, that I will abridge you in any Thing that hath been used. For whatsoever the Precedents in Times of good Government can warrant, I will allow. For I acknowledge this to be the supreme Court of Justice, wherein I am ever present by Representation: And in this ye may be the better satisfy'd by my own Presence, coming divers Times amongst you; neither can I give you any greater Assurance, or better Pledge of this my Purpose, than that I have done you the Honour to set my only Son amongst you, and hope that ye with him shall have the Means to make this the happiest Parliament that ever was in *England*.

This I profess, and take Comfort in, that the House of Commons at this Time have shew'd greater Love, and used me with more Respect in all their Proceedings, than ever any House of Commons have heretofore done to me, or (I think) to any of my Predecessors. As for this House of yours, I have always found it respective to me, and accordingly do I, and ever did favour you, as ye well deserved. And I hope, it will be accounted a Happiness for you, that my Son doth now sit amongst you, who, when it shall please God to set him in my Place, will then remember, that he was once a Member of your House, and so be bound to maintain all your lawful Privileges, and like the better of you all the Days of his Life. But because the World at this Time talks so much of Bribes, I have just Cause to fear, the whole Body of this House hath bribed him to be a good Instrument for you upon all Occasions; he doth so good Offices in all his Reports to me, both for the House in general, and every one of you in particular.

And the like I may say of one that sits there (*Buckingham*) he hath been so ready upon all Occasions to do good Offices, both for the House in general, and every Member thereof in particular; one Proof thereof, I hope my Lord of *Arun-*
del hath already witness'd unto you, in his Report made unto you of my Answer, touching the Privileges of the Nobility, how earnestly he spake unto me in that Matter.

Now, my Lords, the Time draws near of your Recess; whether Formality will leave you Time for proceeding now to sentence against all, or any of the Persons now in Question, I know not; but for my Part, since both Houses have dealt so lovingly and freely with me, in giving me, as a free Gift, two Subsidies, in a more loving Manner, than hath been given to any King before, and so accepted by me; and since I cannot yet retribute by a general Pardon, which hath by Form usually been reserved to the End of a Parliament, the least I can do (which I can forbear no longer) is to do something in present, for the Ease and Good of my People.

Three Patents at this Time have been complain'd of, and thought great Grievances:

1. That of the Inns and Hosteries.
2. That of the Alehouses.
3. That of Gold and Silver Thread.

My Purpose is to strike them all dead, and (that Time may not be lost) I will have it done presently.

That concerning the Alehouses, I would have to be left to the Managing of the Justices of Peace, as before.

That of Gold and Silver Thread was most vilely executed, both for Wrongs done to Mens Persons, as also for Abuse in the Stuff; for it was a Kind of false Coin. I have already freed the Persons that were in Prison: I will now also damn the Patent; and this may seem instead of a Pardon. All these three I will have recall'd by Proclamation, and wish you to advise of the fittest Form for that Purpose.

I hear also, that there is another Bill amongst you against Informers: I desire you, my Lords, that as you tender my Honour, and the Good of my People, ye will put that Bill to an End so soon as you can, and at your next Meeting to make it one of your first Works. For I have already shew'd my Dislike of that Kind of People openly in Star-Chamber, and it will be the greatest Ease both to me, and all those that are near about me at Court, that may be. For I remember, that since the Beginning of this Parliament, *Buckingham* hath told me, he never found such Quiet and Rest as in this Time of Parliament, from Projectors and Informers, who at other Times miserably vex'd him at all Hours.

And now I confess, that when I look'd before upon the Face of the Government, I thought (as every Man would have done) that the People were never so happy as in my Time. For even as at divers Times I have look'd upon many of my Coppices, riding about them, and they appear'd on the Out-side very thick and well grown unto me; but when I enter'd into the midst of them, I found them all bitten within, and full of Plains and bare Spots, like an Apple or Pear, fair and smooth without, but when ye cleave it asunder ye find it rotten at the Heart; even so this Kingdom, the external Government being as good as ever it was, and I am sure as learned Judges as ever it had (and, I hope, as honest) administering Justice within it; and for Peace, both at home and abroad, I may truly say, more settled, and longer lasting, than ever any before, together with as great Plenty as ever; so as it was to be thought, that every Man might sit in Safety under his own Vine, and his own Fig-tree: Yet I am ashamed, and it makes my Hair stand upright, to consider, how in this Time my People have been vex'd and poll'd by the vile Execution of Projects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and such like, which, besides the Trouble of my People, have more exhausted their Purses, than Subsidies would have done.

Now, my Lords, before I go hence, since God hath made me the great Judge of this Land under him, and that I must answer for the Justice of the same: I will therefore (according to my Place) remember you of some Things, though I would not teach you; for no Man's Knowledge can be so good, but their Memories

Memories will be the better to be refresh'd. And now because ye are coming to give Judgment, all which moves from the King, that you may the better proceed, take into your Care two Things: First, to do *Bonum*; secondly, next to do it *Bene*. I call *Bonum*, when all is well proved whereupon ye judge, for then ye build upon a sure Foundation; and by *Bene* I understand, that ye proceed with all Formality and Legality; wherein you have fit Occasion to advise with the Judges, who are to assist you with their Opinions in Cases of that Nature, and Woe be to them if they advise you not well: So the Ground being good, and the Form orderly, it will prove a Course fitting this high Court of Parliament.

In Sentence ye are to observe two Parts: First to recollect that which is worthy of judging and censuring; and secondly, to proceed against these, as against such like Crimes, properly. We doubt there will be many Matters before you, some complain'd of out of Passion, and some out of just Cause of Grievance. Weigh both; but be not carry'd away with the impertinent Discourses of them that name as well innocent Men as guilty. Let your Judgments only take hold of the Guilty; proceed judicially, and spare none where ye find just Cause to punish. But let your Proceedings be according to Law; and remember that Laws have not their Eyes in their Necks, but in their Foreheads; for the moral Reason of the Punishment of Vices in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths is, because of the Breach of Laws standing in Force, for none can be punish'd for Breach of Laws by Predestination, before they be made.

There is yet one Particular which I am to remember you of. I hear that Sir Henry Yelverton (who is now in the Tower, upon a Sentence given in the Star-Chamber against him, for deceiving my Trust) is touch'd concerning a Warrant dormant, which he made while he was my Attorney; the which my Lord Treasurer here refused to set his Hand to, like an honest Man, when it was brought unto him. I protest I never heard of this Warrant dormant before, and I hold it as odious a Matter as any is before you: and if, for Respect to me, ye have forborne to meddle with him in Examination, because he is my Prisoner, I do now here freely remit him unto you, and put him into your Hands.

And this is all I have to say unto you at this Time; wishing you to proceed justly and nobly, according to the Orders of your House; and I pray God to bless you, and ye may assure yourselves of my Assistance, wishing that what I have said this Day amongst you may be enter'd into the Records of this House.

Secret Transactions during the hundred Days Mr. William Gregg lay in Newgate, under Sentence of Death for High-Treason, from the Day of his Sentence, to the Day of his Execution. Printed 1711.

P U B L I S H E D,

FOR the better Information of such as have been deluded, misinformed, or impos'd on by the dishonest Abettors of a late Set of Men, whose Power and Prevalency occasion'd many to take up with such Reports, as Malice and Interest dictated. While (through their Suppression of the Truth) Abundance of others remain'd wholly ignorant, or have imbib'd nothing but the partial Suggestions of the Party they side with.

This Impartial Account

Is Dedicated to all honest Men, who will (doubtlessly) consider, and be convinc'd hereby,

How truly bright and spotless the Right Honourable Mr. *Robert Harley's* Reputation must be, which the Subtilty, Lies, Venom, and unprecedented Malignancy of the late Mighty Party (he has overturn'd) could no Ways blast.

A P O L O G Y.

There is a Satisfaction, which none but good and honest Men can feel, in vindicating *Virtue, Merit, and Innocence*, from the most abandon'd Imputations of inveterate and unjust Men; especially when it is done for no other Cause, but for the Love, and for the Sake of *Justice and Humanity*; the only Principle, and sole Motive of my *Present Undertaking*.

I was Abroad at the Time of Mr. *William Gregg's* Tryal, insomuch, that till very lately, (tho' it made so much Noise in the World) I had neither a just Account of it, nor seen his Dying Speech, only by the common Vogue, the great Esteem People had of the Duke of *Marlborough*, on Account of his Glorious Successes Abroad, occasion'd them to think very hardly of the Right Honourable Mr. *ROBERT HARLEY*, then one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, when (as was reported) they heard his Grace would have laid down, unless the Other was remov'd.

And this Report, indeed, was the heaviest Pressure, Mr. *Harley's* Reputation lay under, to have so much Merit oppos'd to his own, which notwithstanding, has at length redounded to *his Honour*.

Hearing some People very lately reflect on Mr. *Harley*, on *Gregg's* Account, even since his being made a PEER, and Lord High TREASURER; I thought myself obliged, by *Truth* and *Justice*, to remove their Prejudices, which I did effectually, by giving them the following Account, as I received it from Mr. *Lorrain* himself; who, as I told them, had the best Opportunity in the World, to know the very Bottom of *Gregg's* Heart; and whom all that know him, will attest to be a very good, pious, honest Man.

I have myself known him a long Time, and have neither ever heard, or had Reason to think his Conduct, in the least, blameable; which is a Character none ever maintain'd in his Station, (or especially of late.) And very few Clergymen have discharg'd the Duty of their *Function* so well, in Stations more agreeable and beneficial, *beyond Compare*.

Mr. *Lorrain* did in a most solemn and ready Manner, declare to me, not only his being fully convinced of Mr. *Harley's* Innocence, but told me of so many Endeavours to corrupt *Gregg's* Conscience, not only with repeated Offers of Life, but of great Preferments and Advantages; that indeed on his Relation of it to me, I felt as much Uneasiness, lest he should betray his Master, as if it had been then *my own Case*.

'Tis apparent from hence, that some Persons stabb'd as directly and villainously at Mr. *Harley's* Life then, as *Guiscard* did since.

As a Proof of what I have said, I have printed, and caus'd to be published, a True Copy of a Letter written to me by Mr. *Lorrain* himself, (which I keep by me) of what relates to Mr. *William Gregg*, while he was under Mr. *Lorrain's* Care of his Soul.

As Mr. *Lorrain's* Letter is full of Piety, Moderation, and honest Truth, without any Mixture of Bitterness, or Prejudice, 'tis a sufficient Evidence that it is IMPARTIAL and TRUE.

So that I only desire the Reader thoroughly to peruse and consider it, with *Gregg's* own *Dying Speech*, reprinted Word for Word, and subjoin'd to it, and refer it to every honest Man's Conscience, to be the Guide of his *Belief*, *Discourse*, and *Conduct*, in Relation to Persons and Parties, for the future, being herein

To Our Queen,

A most Faithful and Dutiful Subject;

And of my Native Country,

An Affectionate Lover and Servant;

Francis Hoffman.

A True

*A True Copy of the Ordinary of Newgate, the Reverend
Mr. Paul Lorrain's Letter, to Francis Hoffman.*

My good Friend,

‘ **W**HEN you were with me Yesterday, you know I was in haste to
‘ go to St. *Andrews*, and could not for that Reason, give you the
‘ Account you then desired; but promised it you against this Morning.

‘ That I may be as good as my Word, I have (being now engaged in
‘ Business from Home) left this to refresh your Memory, in what I once,
‘ and more than once, told you, about Mr. *William Gregg*.

‘ When that unfortunate Person was under Sentence of Death for High-
‘ Treason, I (according to the Duty of my Place) constantly visited him,
‘ pray’d with him, examin’d him, and apply’d such Directions and Exhor-
‘ tations to him, as I thought most suitable for the well-disposing him, and
‘ preparing him for **A N O T H E R W O R L D**.

‘ I found him to be a Man of Parts, and very sensible of his heinous
‘ Crime, which he readily confest, and for which, he express’d great
‘ *Horror, Sorrow, and Repentance*.

‘ I often press’d him to discover who (if any) were concern’d with him,
‘ in that *Treasonable Fact*.

‘ And press’d him also, (in an especial Manner, upon his Eternal Salva-
‘ tion, and as he should answer it at the Great Tribunal of God) freely to
‘ tell me, whether Mr. *Harley*, did know any Thing of it, or was any ways
‘ concern’d, or to be concern’d in it.

‘ To which he answer’d me, with the greatest and solemnest Asseveration
‘ and Protestation imaginable, (he being all the while upon his Knees, and
‘ calling the Great God to Witness) That that Honourable Gentleman,

Mr. R O B E R T H A R L E Y,

‘ knew nothing of it, neither was to know, nor to be concern’d in it.

‘ Which he having said, and often repeated to me, I then grew jealous of
‘ those People that frequently came to him, who (as he told me) were so far
‘ from offering him any Thing to quiet his Conscience, that, on the contrary,
‘ they gave a great Disturbance to it.

‘ It seems, that among the rest, some Friends of that Honourable Gentle-
‘ man’s coming to see this Prisoner, I then express’d some Dislike of his
‘ being so much disturb’d, by Persons that resorted to him, even at those
‘ Hours, when myself was to be at Prayer with him; but I knew not who
‘ those Persons were, that thus came to him, and my endeavouring to keep
‘ them from him, was with no other Design, than for the Good of that
‘ poor Man’s Soul, who did all along express to me his great Desire of
‘ being in the Chapel, and privately in his Room, with me, as much as
‘ possible.

‘ And as he also told me, that he was proffer’d his Life, and a great Reward,
 ‘ if he would accuse his Master; so I must own to you, I was very uneasy
 ‘ at his frequent Visitors, especially when I considered how they disturb’d his
 ‘ Mind, and how much they took up of his precious Moments, and hindred
 ‘ him from his Devotions, and my Assistances to him therein.

‘ I urged him, many and many Times and Ways, to clear his Conscience,
 ‘ and not violate it for the whole World, telling him, that it was infinitely
 ‘ better to dye with a good Conscience, than make Shipwreck of it, and
 ‘ save his Life here; yea, and gain the whole World; by laying a false
 ‘ Accusation on that Honourable Person, or any other he knew to be
 ‘ Innocent, for that would certainly make him miserable, both here and
 ‘ ever, &c.

‘ With such-like Expressions and Admonitions (God’s Grace intervening)
 ‘ I fix’d his (then unsettled) Conscience, wean’d him from the vain Hopes and
 ‘ Desires of this Life, and directed his Thoughts and Affections to far better
 ‘ Things, which I told him, it was possible for him to obtain, if he earnestly
 ‘ and entirely labour’d after them.

‘ He thank’d me for my good Advice, and the great Concern I shew’d
 ‘ for his Eternal Welfare, and said, he would now give the deaf Ear to the
 ‘ World, and so hoped God’s Ear would be open to his Prayers, &c.

‘ At the Place of Execution, he thank’d me publickly for all my Pains
 ‘ with him, which had prov’d so happy to his Soul, praying God to bless
 ‘ me, and my Family.

‘ Then he deliver’d a Paper into my Hand, for me to publish; in which
 ‘ Paper, he (among other Things) acknowledges God’s Mercy to him, in
 ‘ preventing him from prostituting his Conscience, to save his Life.

‘ Now the Reason why I did not presently publish that Paper, was this,
 ‘ That it was commanded, and kept from me by the then present Sheriffs,
 ‘ Sir Benjamin Green, (to whom I was then Chaplain) and Sir Charles Piers,
 ‘ even from the Time of its Delivery, which was the 28th of April 1708,
 ‘ to the 6th of May, then next ensuing, at which Time, having receiv’d it
 ‘ again, I waited with it on the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland,
 ‘ then one of her Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, who immediately
 ‘ gave me Leave to publish it.

‘ Telling me withal, that I was the properest Person to authorize such
 ‘ Papers, as were thus delivered to me.

‘ Upon this, I forthwith sent it to the Press, and it then appear’d under
 ‘ my Name, as you may see by the printed Copy here enclos’d.

*I am,
 Dear SIR,*

*Christ’s Hospital,
 Tuesday Morning,
 June 13, 1711.*

*Your very humble Servant, and
 Affectionate Servant,*

PAUL LORRAIN.

A Copy

A Copy of William Gregg's Paper, delivered by him to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, Sir Benjamin Green, and Sir Charles Piers, and Paul Lorrain, Ordinary of Newgate, at Tyburn, the Place where he was executed for High-Treason, on Wednesday the 28th of April, 1708. Printed from the Original, and publish'd by Authority.

‘ **T**H E Crime, I am now justly to suffer for, having made a great Noise
 ‘ in the World, a Paper of a more than ordinary Length will be ex-
 ‘ pected from the Criminal; who, therefore takes this last Opportunity to
 ‘ profess his utter Abhorrence, and sincere Repentance of all his Sins against
 ‘ God, and of the Heinous Crime committed against the QUEEN, whose
 ‘ Forgiveness I most humbly implore, as I shall heartily pray for HER
 ‘ MAJESTY's long Life and happy Reign over her United People, and
 ‘ Success against her Enemies, with my parting Breath.

‘ This being all the Satisfaction I can make Injur'd Majesty.

‘ I declare, in the next Place, the Reparation I would make (were it in
 ‘ my Power) to those of her Majesty's Subjects, I have wrong'd in any
 ‘ Kind.

‘ And particularly, the Right Honourable ROBERT HARLEY, Esq;
 ‘ whose Pardon I heartily beg for basely betraying my Trust. Which
 ‘ Declaration, tho' of itself sufficient to clear the said Gentleman, yet for the
 ‘ Sake of those whom it was my Misfortune, not to be able to satisfy in my
 ‘ Life-Time, I do sacredly protest, That as I shall answer it before the
 ‘ Judgment Seat of CHRIST, the Gentleman, aforesaid, was not privy
 ‘ to my writing to *France*, Directly nor Indirectly.

‘ Neither I, his unworthy Clerk, any ways accessory to the Miscarriage
 ‘ before *Tboulon*, nor the Losses by Sea; all which happen'd before the first
 ‘ of my Letters, which was written the 24th of *October*, 1707.

‘ As for my Creditors, as I am in no Condition to satisfy them, so I
 ‘ earnestly beg they would forgive me, and I pray God to make up their
 ‘ Losses to them Seven-fold.

‘ For my own Part, I do freely forgive all Men, and dye in perfect
 ‘ Charity with them, not without humble Hopes of finding Forgiveness,
 ‘ thro' the Merits of *Jesus Christ*, with GOD, who in Mercy touch'd my
 ‘ Conscience, so powerfully from the Beginning, as to prevent my prosti-
 ‘ tuting the same to save my Life; for which Instance of his Love, (to be
 ‘ preferr'd before Life itself) I bless and magnify his Holy Name, with
 ‘ unspeakable Joy and Comfort, at my Death, nothing near so ignominious,
 ‘ as would have been such a Life.

‘ After this Confession, the Duty of a dying Man, leads me to profess
 ‘ the Religion in which I was brought up, and do now dye, which is *the*
 ‘ *Protestant*.

‘ The

‘ The Scandal given whereunto, by my enormous Practices, cannot be better taken away, than by my publishing to the World my hearty Sorrow for those sensual Pleasures which have prov’d my Bane.

‘ Wherefore, let all that shall read this poor Paper, take Warning by me, to shun the like Youthful Lusts, to which, whoever gives up himself, cannot tell how far they may (when indulged) carry him, even to the committing of such Crimes, as he thought himself incapable of, some time a Day.

‘ Of which sad Truth, I (to my woful Experience) am a melancholy Instance; but at the same Time, I appeal to the Great God, before whom I am now going to appear, that, notwithstanding all the Pains taken to make me out an old Offender, by fastening on me the Crime of counterfeiting the Coin; this is the first Fault that ever I ventured upon, which was not out of Zeal for the Pretender, whom I not only disown at my Death, but solemnly declare, that in all my Life, I never thought he had any Right to these Realms, how foolishly soever I may have rendred myself obnoxious in this Particular.

‘ But the only Motive of my mad Undertaking, was Money, of which I never received any, on Account of the Ship Pass, though I have met with the more just Reward of such secret Services, intended by

W. GREGG.

All that the Sessions Paper says of his Tryal, is, that, *William Gregg*, of the Parish of *St. Martins in the Fields*, Gent. was indicted for High-Treason against the Queen and Government, in corresponding with Her Majesty’s Enemies.

The Proceedings of which will be printed by itself, and publish’d in a few Days.

But the Proceedings at his Tryal were never printed.

Here it is evident, that he lay in *Newgate* after Sentence of Death pass’d on him for High-Treason, in corresponding with Her Majesty’s Enemies, from the Nineteenth Day of *January* 1707-8, to *April* the 28th 1708, which was the Day of his Execution, as a Traytor at *Tyburn*.

So that in the whole, he lay’d under Sentence of Death, from the Time of his Sentence, to the Day of his Execution, *One Hundred Days*.

All which Time, Mr. *Lorrain* labour’d very diligently, and devoutly with him, by good Admonitions, and frequent Prayers to God for him, and with him, that he might not violate his Conscience, nor betray his Master.

While on the other Side, *Gregg* often declar’d to Mr. *Lorrain*, no Manner of Solicitations, or Offers of Life, Preferment, and great Advantages were wanting to induce him to bring Mr. *Harley*’s innocent Blood on his Head.

So long a Respite from Death, as one Hundred Days, was enough to make any Man so unwilling to dye, as to make him to do any Thing to save his Life,

Life, right or wrong, and Mr. *Lorrain* said *Gregg* so often wavered in his Mind about it, being put so much, and so often, in hopes of living with Splendor by certain Persons, that he almost resolved to say and do any Thing Mr. *Harley's* Enemies would have him.

Against which, Mr. *Lorrain* fortified his Mind with all Manner of upright Industry, and at length with final Success. So that *Gregg* gave a deaf Ear to all their farther Attempts.

Here was One Hundred Days hard Struggle between Life and Death, Innocence and Party-Malice.

Who those Persons were that offer'd *Gregg* his Life, with great Preferments and Advantages (if he would but accuse his Master) may not uneasily be guess'd at; for most of the Time he was lock'd up, none but People of Note were permitted to come near him, who made him strange Promises, and often repeated them. However, it is not improbable, but we may see them taken in the very same Net they so inhumanly spread for the Life of another, and deservedly fall into their own Mischiefs.

And here it would be worth while to examine, how, and why, a certain Person got out of *Newgate*, who was justly confin'd there for Life, by Act of Parliament.

But cunning as they were, all their Councils were of none Effect; all their Attempts against Mr. *Harley's* Life, were baffled.

Neither One Hundred Days Time to contrive something specious against him.

Not all their Tamperings with the Conscience of a Man of an ill Life, under the Fear of Death, and horrible Dread of Something worse.

Nor the Assistance of so many long-headed Iniquity-mongers, could prevail against Mr. *Harley's* single Innocence.

This seems astonishing, to see so mighty, so rich a Party, come off so poorly.

Reduc'd to their last Shifts, little Tricks, like the After-Drops of a Shower.

Submitting to stop *Gregg's* dying Speech for eight Days only.

And then, when it was publish'd by another Hand, for the two Sheriffs of *London*, to send Mr. *Lorrain* to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to ask Leave to print a dying Speech, they had commanded, and kept from him, till to keep it any longer, or indeed so long, was a burning Shame to them, but of no Manner of farther Service.

From hence you may conclude, how generous it was to say to Mr. *Lorrain*,

You are the proper Person to give Authority to this Paper, and I will give you my Word, you shall come to no Trouble for the printing and publishing it.

This, I say, was a generous Liberty indeed, when they had conceal'd as long as they could, a Truth, which trumpeted out their own Injustice and Dishonour, at the same Time, as it gave an unextinguishable Lustre to the Innocence and Loyalty of the Man, whose Life they fought.

The COMMITTEE of Lords appointed to examine Gregg, were,

Devonshire,	} Dukes.	Earl of Wharton,
Somerset,		Lord Visc. Townshend,
Bolton,		Lord Sommers,
		Lord Halifax.

More Secret Transactions relating to the Case of Mr. William Gregg. By the Author of the former Part. Printed in the Year 1711.

To the AUTHOR of the Letter to the Seven Lords.

WERE ever Seven Lords so blest, so honoured, in a Letter before, as by yours, Intituled, *A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg*? In which you tell them with unusual Confidence and Self-Conceit, that the publick Writers treat them as Rogues, Rascals, Cheats, Villains, Enemies of the Nation, Affronters of the Queen, Subverters of the Constitution, &c.

I am amazed at your Assurance, in applying these Terms to them; none but yourself would have been so mad as to do it.

Neither could I any ways think otherwise, but that you was hired by some implacable Enemies of their Lordships, to render their Honours as odious to Mankind as possible, by publishing to the whole Nation, that when any eminent Writers treat of ill-designing Men, you can apply it to none but themselves, in a Parenthesis; thus, i. e. *Your Seven Lordships*.

No other Enemy of their Lordships, but your self, would so insolently presume to point at them, and cry, they mean, i. e. *Your Lordships certainly*.

But as to your being hired; tho' it may be possible for their Lordships to have Enemies as viperous as yourself, I cannot think any rational Creature could be so void of common Sense and Prudence, as to hire so vain, so wretched a Scribler, as your Performance shews you to be.

I find you would fain have the *Examiner* condescend to take Notice of you, but no such Honour will fall to your Share.

I am sorry to find you so disturbed in your Mind, on Account of my Paper of *Secret Transactions*, during the hundred Days Gregg lay in *Newgate* after Sentence of Death, which you say cannot well be afforded at so cheap a Rate as a Penny, as the Lord-Booksellers informed you. I find they can very easily impose on you, and I doubt not but they made you pay through the Nose for printing your Three-penny Letter, to which a Penny Answer

is more than sufficient, which is a plain Proof, that we, who write on the Behalf of the manifestly clear and untainted Honesty of Mr. *H—*, take Example by the present Ministry, and do not put the Publick to three Times more Charge than is necessary, as you have done in your Three-penny Letter, and as your Party have often, but most notoriously done, for no other Cause, but out of strange Extravagance, Vanity and Pride; instead of erecting new Temples in Honour of the Most High.

In Honour of whom, and by whose Grace, Men preserve a good Conscience, the happy Effects of which are a chearful Countenance, and an inward Satisfaction, which it is not in the Power of Man to take away: This is what our Saviour alluded to, when he thus expressed himself to his Disciples.

And your Joy no Man taketh from you.

Among other Discourses which we had in Company of some Strangers at Mr. *Lorrain's*, just on the publishing of my Paper of *Secret Transactions*, &c. Mrs. *Lorrain* gave us the following Relation of what she observed in a particular Manner of *Gregg*, viz.

‘ That during the Time *Gregg* had Offers made him of his Life, and he continued in Suspence, whether he should bring Mr. *Harley's* innocent Blood on his Head, or no, he laboured under very strange and violent Agonies of Mind; which Violence had so great an Effect on his Countenance, and Bodily Health, that he not only looked like Death itself, but wasted away beyond Expression; as his Soul was full of inutterable Trouble between the Desires of Life and Fear of Death, the Struggles of his Conscience in Behalf of Innocence, and the strong Temptations not only to save his Life, but of living with Splendor, that he might justly be said to be most exquisitely tortured on the very Rack of Nature itself.

‘ So in this extream Perplexity, Mr. *Lorrain* did all that a sincere and pious Minister could do; as first, he set before him the Impossibility of being ever happy here or hereafter, after so black Crimes, and so heinous a Murder, as that of his Master, and the Multitude of enormous Perjuries by which he must bring it to pass, with a thousand other Evils at the Heels of it; and lastly, added, That as the best of Men could not be depended on in any Measure like a good God, so the Promises of the Persons who offered him his Life, were infinitely less to be depended on; since without regard to Heaven, Conscience, or the Innocence of the Person whose Life they sought, they tempted him to so foul a Deed. On these Considerations, Mr. *Gregg* took a firm Resolution to die with a good Conscience; and from that Time, his Countenance and bodily Health returned to their former Chearfulness and Vigour faster than they declined before.’

You do, and must allow (because Malice itself can do no otherwise) Mr. *H—* to be untainted and manifestly innocent; and yet you will not have

it to be a proper Expression, to say, Betray no innocent Person, tho' *Judas* betrayed his Master, who was a Person the most innocent.

However, your Exception or Criticism on the Word *Betray*, betrays who set you at Work, if you are not that very Person (as I have Reason to think you are) who told me in positive Terms, nobody made *Gregg* any Offers but Mr. *H*—— himself; tho' you affirm in your Letter, Mr. *H*—— was manifestly clear and untainted; but you can say and unsay as you please, with your own peculiar Air.

As to my Uneasiness (lest Innocence should be betrayed) seeming to you ill-timed. Now Mr. *H*—— is safe and great, if you had read the *Secret Transactions* (while in those Lord-guiding Hands of yours, as you were pleased to acquaint their Lordships) you would have found, that I, having been in foreign Parts, from the Time of *Gregg's* Trial till very lately, could not have tim'd it sooner, nor more seasonably, than at a Time when Mr. *H*——'s Conduct began to be applauded, even by his Enemies, or rather those honest Men who had sided with them in behalf of Liberty of Conscience, Liberty of the Subject, &c. for which the ruined Party seemed so zealous.

I appeal to yourself, whether what I published was not seasonable (though you and your Party have Cause to think it ill timed on your own Accounts) at a critical Juncture, when honest Men began to suspect your Party's Treacheries, and to be sensible that Mr. *H*—— was really that Lover of his Country, whom the best of your Friends could only pretend to be, who had suppressed *Gregg's* Dying Speech, and imposed inveterate and malicious Accounts thereof on the Publick, instead of the Truth you have confessed and published in your Letter.

Now I appeal to you again, whether or no I could have timed any Truth better, or more seasonably, than at a Juncture when Truth and Humanity began once more to find a fair and sincere Reception among the higher Powers, and from their great Examples, among all the inferior Ranks of the People.

But nothing can be more mortifying to you, and your greatest Ministers of State, as you term them, than to behold all those honest Men, whom by your Artifices you had deluded and misinformed, leaving you, and flying from your Snares of Disloyalty and Hypocrisy, and entertaining a just Affection and Veneration for the Man, whom you cannot but affirm to be innocent; though your Party, by suppressing *Gregg's* Dying Speech, did all they could to leave ill Impressions in Peoples Minds against him.

The *Examiner* may well call yours a ruined Party; since you (like desperate People) take all Opportunities to rush headlong to your final Ruin.

You fell headlong in your Attempt to make the Resistance of your Sovereign lawful, in her Reign, who deserved all Manner of Obedience and Gratitude at your Hands.

You fell headlong in your Attempts against the Life of the loyal Favourite she delights to honour.

And

And you are now falling headlong from the Esteem of all good and honest Men, down to the lowest Degree of Ignominy and Confusion.

And all truly conscientious *Dissenters* begin to be sensible, That in the present Lord High Treasurer they have a true Friend, in Relation to Liberty, Property, and Conscience, who does not like your Friends to make an Outcry in Behalf of the Liberty of the Subject, and at the same Time engross almost all the Places of Profit into his own Family or Hands, to the Exclusion of the Rights of his Sovereign, as well as the very Rights of their Fellow Subjects; of which they pretend to be such Patrons.

But the most infamous Piece of Ingratitude of which your Party are guilty, is their endeavouring to tax their Sovereign with Want of Sense, for no other Cause but her Munificence, Patience and Indulgence towards them; of whom her late She-Favourite cannot but own her Delight was to be *always the same*.

*Kindly her Domesticks using,
Loving all beneath her Care;
When accus'd, their Faults excusing;
These her private Pleasures are.*

*Never to a Change inclining,
Till she found the Case so plain;
(Mercy in her Justice shining)
Other Methods were in vain.*

Your taxing so good a Queen with want of Sense, is the horrible Gulf, down which your Party are tumbling headlong, finally and irrecoverably for ever; the Eyes of all *Europe* see you, every loyal and honest Heart condemns you, and your Ingratitude renders it impossible to preserve the least Pity or Compassion for you.

In the upper Part of your 20th Page, you question, Whether your Sovereign will make any Observations at all; at the Bottom of the same Page, you say, Your Sovereign will not recal her old Servants, whose Looks you affirm your Sovereign cannot bear: (What strange Looks must they have) because, as you say, wrongfully suspected, and for fear of her being taxed with Inconstancy; and then sum up the whole in the most treasonable and traiterous Manner you can express it.

In your 21st Page, beginning Line the third, only putting She instead of He: For you must allow me to point out one Meaning of yours, who have pointed out so many for other People, you affirm meaning the Queen. She will much less think of discarding her new Choice upon finding her Mistakes, viz. *That she wrongfully suspected them*.

Which is not only calling her Sense of Right and Wrong in question, but is a barefaced Insinuation, that she has no Disposition in her, either to Justice or Humanity.

And here I will appeal, in your own Words, to the *French* King and his Counsellors, to the Pretender, and all the rest of your Friends his Abettors, whether is greater, *Your Folly or your Impudence?*

And I am sure the King of *France* would have hanged you up immediately, had you been his Subject, as you are his Votary, for saying half so much against him, notwithstanding you have done what you call the fairest thing in the World, (*i. e.* your appealing to him and the Pretender) in giving them Precedence before your lawful Sovereign, and all the other Princes of *Europe*, in your grand Appeal.

I shall conclude the whole with this final Remark on you in your own Phrases.

That no Sovereign had ever so base, so audacious a Wretch of a Subject, nor did seven noble Lords ever receive a Letter from such a Hedge-writer as yourself, and so *unskilful a Sycophant.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

July 22, 1711.

SIR *Charles Piers* told me, Mr. *William Gregg* desired him to give his Dying Speech into the Queen's own Hands; but it being a Matter of High Treason, he thought it not proper to deliver it to her Majesty any otherwise than by the Hands of the then Principal Secretaries of State; but he has quite forgotten, as he says, to which of them.

Sir *Charles* readily owned, that *Gregg's* Dying Speech, printed by Mr. *Lorrain*, was according to his and Mr. *Lorrain's* Copy, which agreed with his, and that there was a third Copy, which *Gregg* told him he had delivered to another Hand, who published it several Days before Mr. *Lorrain's* came out.

And Sir *Charles Piers's* Lady said, Sir *Charles* read the Copy *Gregg* gave him of his Dying Speech to her, which she remembered so well, that she could safely give her Oath as to the Truth of what was published.

This Confirmation of the Dying Speech of Mr. *William Gregg*, published by Mr. *Lorrain*, by two such eminent Persons, will, I hope, satisfy some certain Persons, who seemed to me very unwilling to be convinced, That Mr. *William Gregg* did in his Dying Speech fairly, freely, publickly and solemnly, clear and justify the Right Honourable Mr. *Robert Harley* from any Manner of Concern with him in his Treason.

Sir *Charles Piers* does not deny, but that he received Mr. *Lorrain's* Copy, and kept it in his Hands several Days, during which the other was published, and might, on Business, be from Home once or twice when Mr. *Lorrain* came for it, and does not know but Mr. *Lorrain* might have had it the next Day if he would; but the whole being a trifling

trifling Concern, has quite forgot whether it was so or no. All which Forgetfulness of Sir *Charles* proceeded, as I suppose, from his little thinking at that Time Mr. *Harley* would ever have been so great as now: As indeed, who would ever have thought, much less have believed, that, as Matters were then carried, the most excellent Queen herself could ever have given so particular a Proof of her Wisdom and Power, as in advancing the present Lord High Treasurer; or with so much Glory to herself, have vindicated the Dread and Awefulness of her Sacred Majesty, by casting down the audacious *Phaetons*, to the Surprize and Astonishment of all *Europe*?

Sir *Charles Piers* said, tho' Mr. *Lorrain* had kept Minutes of *Gregg's* Affairs, and he had not, he would keep very severe and exact Minutes, when he came to be Lord Mayor; and that Persons had best take care what they spoke of him; was angry with Mr. *Lorrain* for mentioning his Name without conferring with him first; and then informed me, That his Word, as a Christian, would go as far as Mr. *Lorrain's Verbum Sacerdotis*, for all he was a Priest; and said, he told Mr. *Lorrain* as much before the present Lord Mayor and the Judges this last Sessions at the *Old Bailey*.

Francis Hoffman.

Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet, entitled, A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee, appointed to examine Gregg. By the Author of the Examiner. Printed in the Year 1711.

THOSE who have given themselves the Trouble to write against me, either in single Papers or Pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in discovering a violent Rage, and at the same Time affecting an Air of Contempt toward their Adversary; which, in my humble Opinion, are not very consistent; and therefore it is plain, that their Fury is real and hearty, their Contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this Matter, and would caution Writers of their Standard, never to engage in that difficult Attempt of despising, which is a Work to be done in cold Blood, and only by a superior Genius to one at some Distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere Contempt for many of those who have drawn their Pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap Way of discovering it by Silence and Neglect, than be at the Pains of new Terms to express it: I have known a Lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful Look, which very few understood, and Nobody alive regarded. Those Common-place Terms of *infamous Scribbler*, *prostitute Libeller*, and the like, thrown Abroad without Propriety or Provocation, do ill personate the true Spirit of Contempt; because they are such as the meanest Writer,

Writer, whenever he pleases, may use, towards the best. I remember indeed a Parish Fool, who, with a great deal of Deformity, carried the most disdainful Look I ever observed in any Countenance ; and it was the most prominent Part of his Folly ; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these Writers are not : For there is another Thing I would observe, that my Antagonists are most of them *so*, in a literal Sense ; breathe *real* Vengeance, and extend their Threats to my Person, if they knew where to find it ; wherein they are so far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much Honour. The Author of *the Letter to the Seven Lords*, takes upon him the three Characters of a *Despiser*, a *Threatner*, and a *Railer* ; and succeeds so well in the two last, that it has made him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise Proceeding which the Writers of that Side have taken up, to scatter their Menaces in ever Paper they publish ; it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous and impudent, in People at Mercy to assume such a Style ; but the Design is right, to endeavour persuading the World that it is *they* who are the injured Party, that *they* are the Sufferers, and have a Right to be angry.

However, there is one Point wherein these Gentlemen seem to stretch this wise Expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several Months undertook to examine into the late Management of Persons and Things, was content sometimes to give only a few Hints of certain Matters, which I had Charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in Oblivion, if the Confidence of these People had not forced them from me. One Instance whereof, among many, is the Business of *Gregg*, the Subject of a Letter I am now considering. If this Piece hath been written by Direction, as I should be apt to suspect, yet I am confident they would not have us think so ; because it is a Sort of Challenge, to let the World into the whole Secret of *Gregg's* Affair. But I suppose they are confident it is what I am not Master of, wherein it is Odds but they may be mistaken ; for I believe, the Memorials of that Transaction are better preserved than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one Day appear.

This Writer is offended, because I have said so many severe Things with Application to particular Persons. The *Medley* has been often in the same Story : If they condemn it as a Crime in general, I shall not much object, at least I will allow it should be done with Truth and Caution ; but by what Argument will they undertake to prove, that it is pardonable on one Side, and not on the other ? Since the late Change of M——y, I have observed many of that Party take up a new Style, and tell us, That *this Way of personal Reflections ought not to be endured ; they could not approve of it ; it was against Charity and good Manners*. When the *Whigs* were in Power, they took special care to keep their *Adversaries* silent ; then all kind of Falshood and Scurrility was *doing good Service to the Cause, and detecting of evil Principles*. Now, that the Face of Things is changed, and we have Liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down Fire from Heaven upon us ; tho', by a Sort of Indulgence which they were Strangers to, we allow them
equal

equal Liberty of the Press with ourselves; and they even now make greater Use of it against Persons in highest Power and Credit, than we do against those who have been discarded for the most infamous Abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the *Observer* and *Review* for many Years together, in charging the whole Body of the Clergy with the most odious Crimes and Opinions? In declaring all who took Oaths to the Government, and called themselves *Tories*, to be worse than *Papists* and *Nonjurors*? In exposing the Universities, as Seminaries of the most pernicious Principles in Church and State? In defending the Rebellion, and the Murder of King *Charles I.* which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late Revolution? Is there a great Man now in Power, or in any Credit with the Queen, whom those unworthy Undertakers have not treated by Name in the most ignominious Manner? Even since this great Change of Affairs, with what amazing Licentiousness hath the Writer of the *Medley* attacked every Person of the present Ministry, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the whole Senate? He has turned into Ridicule the Results of the Council and the Parliament, as well as the just and generous Endeavours of the latter to pay the Debts, and restore the Credit of the Nation, almost ruined by the Corruption and Management of his own Party.

And are these the People who complain of personal Reflections? Who so confidently invoke the Men in Power, whom they have so highly obliged, to punish, or silence me, for reflecting on their exploded Heroes? Is there no Difference between Men chosen by the Prince, revered by the People for their Virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest Demerits? Shall the *Medley* and his Brothers fly out with Impunity against those who preside at the Helm? And am I to be torn in Pieces, because I censure others, who, for endeavouring to split the Vessel against a Rock, are put under the *Hatches*?

I now proceed to the Pamphlet which I intend to consider; it is a Letter, written to seven great Men, who were appointed to examine *Gregg* in *Newgate*. The Writer tells their L—ps, that the *Examiner* hath charged them for endeavouring, by *Bribery and Subornation of that Criminal, to take away Mr. H—'s Life*. If there be any thing among the Papers I have writ, which may be applied to these Persons, it would have become this Author to have cleared them fully from the Accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a Liar and Misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a Syllable: The Weight of his Charge lies here; that such an Author as the *Examiner* should presume, by certain Innuendo's, to accuse any Persons of such a Crime. My Business in those Papers was to represent Facts, and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular Persons; but the Mischief is, that the Readers have always found Names to tally with those Facts; and I know no Remedy for this. As for Instance, in the Case here before us. An Under Clerk in the Secretary's Office, of 50 *l.* a Year, is discovered to hold Correspondence with *France*, and apprehended by his Master's Order, before he could have Opportunity to make his

his Escape, by the private Warning of a certain Person, a profest Enemy to the Secretary. The Criminal is condemned to dye. 'Tis found, upon his Trial, that he was a poor, profligate Fellow; the Secretary at that Time was under the mortal Hatred of a violent prevailing Party, who dreaded him for his great Abilities, and his avowed Design to break their destructive Measures. It was very well known, that a Secretary of State hath little or no Intercourse with the lower Clerks, but with the Under-Secretaries, who are the more immediate Masters of those Clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, Gentlemen of Worth: However, it would pass well enough in the World, that *Gregg* was employed in Mr. Secretary *H—*'s Office, and was consequently one of his Clerks, which would be Ground to build upon it what Suggestions they pleased. Then for the Criminal, he was needy and vicious: He owed his Death to the Secretary's watchful Pursuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any Offers that would save his Life, gratify his Revenge, and make him easy in his Fortune: So that if a Work of Darknes were to be done, it must be confest here were proper Motives, and a proper Instrument. But ought we to suspect any Persons of such a diabolical Practice? Can all Faith, and Honour, and Justice be thus violated by Men? Questions proper for a Pulpit, or well becoming a Philosopher; but if it were *Regnandi causa*; (and that perhaps in a literal Sense) is this an Age of the World to think Crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is: But what shall we say to some of those Circumstances which attended this Fact? Who gave Rise to this Report against Mr. *H—*? Will any of his Enemies confess in cold Blood, that they did either believe, suspect, or imagine, the Secretary, and one of the Under Clerks to be joined in corresponding with *France*? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a Correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The Nature of *Gregg*'s Crime was such, as to be best performed without any Accomplices at all: It was to be a Spy here for the *French*, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears by his Letters, that he never had it in his Power to let them into any Thing of Importance. The Copy of the *Q—*'s Letter to the Emperor, which he sent to the Enemy, and hath made such a Noise, was only to desire, that Prince *Eugene* might be employed to command in *Spain*, which for six Weeks before had been mentioned in all the *Gazettes* of *Europe*. It was evident from the Matter of his Letters, that no Man of Consequence could have any Share in them. The whole Affair had been examined in the *Cabinet* two Months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the Person of *Gregg*, who, to supply his Vices and his Wants, was tempted to engage in that Correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that Examination should be resumed after such a Distance of Time, with any fair or honourable Intention. Why were not *Gregg*'s Examination published, which were sign'd by his own Hand, and had been taken in the *Cabinet* two Months before the Committee of the House was appointed to re-examine him? Why was he pressed so close, as to cry out with Horror, *Good God, would you have me accuse*

use Mr. Harley, when he is wholly innocent? Why were all the Answers returned to the Queries sent him immediately burned? I cannot in my Conscience but think, that the Party was bound in Honour to procure Gregg a Pardon, which was openly promised him, upon Condition of making an *ingenuous* Confession, unless they had some other Notions of what is *ingenuous*, than is commonly meant by that Word. A Confession may be never the less *ingenuous*, for not answering the Hopes or Designs of those who take it; but tho' the Word was publickly used, the Definition of it was reserved to *private Interpretation*, and by a capricious humour of Fortune, a most flagitious, tho' repenting Villain, was hanged for his Virtue. It could not indeed consist with any kind of Prudence then in Fashion, to spare his Life, and thereby leave it in his Power at any Time to detect their Practices, which he might afterwards do at any Time, with so much Honour to himself.

But I have the Luck to be accused by this Author in very good Company; the two Houses of Parliament in general, and the Speaker of the House of Commons in particular; whom he taxes with *Falshood* and *Absurdity*, as well as myself, tho' in a more respectful Manner, and by a Sort of Irony. The whole Kingdom had given the same Interpretation that I had done, to some certain Passages in the Address from both Houses, upon the Attempt of *Guiscard*; Friends and Enemies agreed in applying the Word *Faction*. But the Speaker, is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another Place) of *SOME unparallel'd Attempts*, and uses other Terms that come pretty home to the Point. As to what the Parliament affirms, this Author makes it first as absurd and impracticable as he can, and then pretends to yield, as *pressed by so great an Authority*, and explains their Meaning into Nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his Party. Then for the *Speaker*, this Writer says, *he is but a single Man*, and because his Speech was in Words too direct to avoid, he advises him to *save his Honour and Virtue, by owning a Solecism in Speech*, and to *write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously*. What an Expedient this Advocate hath found to remove the Load of an Accusation! He answers, the Crime is horrible, that great Men ought not to be thus insolently charged: We reply, that the Parliament and Speaker appear, in many Points, to be of the same Opinion: He rejoins, that *he is pressed by too great an Authority*; that perhaps those wise Assemblies, and that honourable Gentleman (who besides *is but a single Man*) may probably speak Nonsense; they must either deliver a Solecism, or be malicious, and in good Manners he rather thinks it may be the former.

The Writer of the Letter having thus dispatched the *Examiner*, falls next upon a Paper called *Secret Transactions*, &c. written, as he tell us, by one *Francis Hoffman*, and the Ordinary of *Newgate*, Persons whom I have not the Honour to be known to, whatever my *Betters* may be, nor have yet seen their Productions; but by what is cited from them in the Letter, it should seem, they have made some untoward Observations; however, the same Answer still serves not a Word to controul what they say, only they are a Couple of daring, insolent Wretches, to *reflect upon the greatest and best*

Men in England; and there's an End. I have no Sort of Regard for that same *Hoffman*, to whose Character I am a perfect Stranger; but methinks the Ordinary of *Newgate* should be treated with more Respect, considering what *Company* he has kept, and what *Visitors* he may have had. However I shall not enter into a Point of Controversy whether *the L—ds were acquainted with the Ordinary*, or the *Ordinary with the L—ds*, since this Author leaves it undecided. Only one Thing I take to be a little hard; it is now confessed on all Hands, that Mr. *H—* was most unjustly suspected of joining with an Under Clerk in corresponding with *France*: The Suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable Grounds, wise Men began to consider what violent Enemies that Gentleman had; they found the Report most industriously spread, the *Whigs* in common Discourse discovering their Wishes, that he might be found guilty; the Management of the whole Affair was put into the Hands of such, as it is supposed would at least not be sorry to find more than they expected; The Criminal's Dying Speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted to *save his Life by falsely accusing his Master*, with more to the same Purpose: From all this put together, it was no very unnatural Conjecture, that there might have been some tampering. Now, I say, it is a little hard that Mr. *H—*'s Friends must not be allowed to have their Suspicions, as well as his Enemies. And this Author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one Paragraph in railing at those who had the Impudence and Villainy to suspect Mr. *H—*, and then proceed in due Method to defend his Committee of *Examiners*: But that Gentleman being, as this Author says of the Speaker, *but a single Man*, I suppose his Reputation and Life were esteemed but of little Consequence.

There is one State of the Case in this Letter, which I cannot well omit, because the Author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr. *H—*, without exposing the Writer to any Danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know I take his Meaning, and discover his Inclinations. His parallel Case is this; *Supposing Guiscard had been intimate with some great Officer of State, and had been suspected to communicate his most secret Affairs with that Minister*; then he asks, *whether it would have been Subornation, or seeking the Life and Blood of that Officer, in these great L—ds of the Council, if they had narrowly examined this Affair, inquired with all Exactness what he knew of this great Officer, what Secrets he had imported to him, and whether he were privy to his corresponding? &c.* In this Parallel, Guiscard's Case is supposed to be the same with Gregg's; and that of the great Officer with Mr. *H—*'s; so that here he lays down as a Thing granted, that Gregg was intimate with Mr. *H—*, and suspected to communicate his most Secret Affairs to him. Now did ever any rational Man suspect, that Mr. *H—*, first Principal Secretary of State, was intimate with an Under Clerk, or upon the Foot of having most secret Affairs communicated to him from such a Counsellor, from one in so inferior a Station, whom perhaps he hardly

ly knew by Sight? Why was that Report raised, but for the Uses which were afterwards made of it? Or, why should we wonder that they, who were so wicked to be Authors of it, would be scrupulous in applying it to the only Purpose for which it could be raised?

Having thus considered the main Design of this Letter, I shall make a few Remarks upon some particular Passages in it.

First, Tho' it be of no Consequence to this Dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident Falshood, which he repeats three or four Times in his Letter, that *I make the World believe I am set on Work by great People*. I remember myself to have several Times affirmed the direct contrary, and so I do still; and if I durst tell him my Name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a Temper to think no Man great enough to set me on Work; nay, I am content to own all the scurrilous Titles he gives me, if he be able to find one *Inuendo* through all those Papers, that can any way favour this Calumny: The Malice of which is not intended against *Me*, but the present M——y, to make the World believe, that what I have published, is the utmost Effort of all they can say or think against the last; whereas, it is nothing more than the common Observations of a private Man, deducing Consequences and Effects from very natural and visible Causes.

He tells, with great Propriety of Speech, That the Seven L——ds and their Friends are treated as *Subverters of the Constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to destroy both Church and State*. This puts me in Mind of one, who first murdered a Man, and afterwards endeavoured to kill him: And therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been *Subverters of the Constitution*: But that *some People* did their best Endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells *Me* particularly, that I *acquit Guiscard, by a Blunder, of a Design against Mr. H——'s Life*. I declare he injures me, for I look upon *Guiscard* to be full as guilty of the Design, as even those were who tampered in the Business of *Gregg*; and both (to avoid all cavelling) as guilty as ever any Man was that suffered Death by Law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr. H—— a *fore Blow*, but I suppose he means his *Recovery*; that indeed was a *fore Blow* to the *Interests* of his Party: But I take the Business of *Gregg* to have been a much *softer Blow* to their *Reputation*.

This Writer wonders how I *should know their L——ps Hearts, because he hardly knows his own*. I do not well see the Consequence of this: Perhaps he never examines into his own Heart; perhaps it keeps no Correspondence with his Tongue or his Pen: I hope at least, it is a Stranger to those foul Terms he has strewed throughout his Letter; otherwise, I fear I *know it too well*: For *out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh*. But however, Actions are pretty good Discoveries of the Heart, though Words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take my Life, if he has still the same, or rather much greater Cause, whether it be a just one or no, and has

never shewn the least Sign of Remorse ; I may venture, without being a Conjuror, to know so much of his Heart, as to believe he would repeat his Attempt, if it were in his Power. I must needs quote some following Lines in the same Page, which are of an extraordinary Kind, and seem to describe the blessed Age we should live in, under the Return of the late Administration. *It is very well (saith he) that People's Heads are to stand on their Shoulders as long as the Laws will let them ; if it depended upon any Thing besides, it may be your L——ps seven Heads might be as soon cut off, as that one Gentleman's, were you in Power.* Then he concludes the Paragraph with this charitable Prayer, in the true Moderation-Style, and in Italick Letters, *May the Head that has done the Kingdom the greatest Mischief, fall first, let it be whose it will.* The plain Meaning of which is this : If the late M——y were in Power, they would act just as the present M——y would, if there were no Law, which perhaps may be true : But I know not any M——y upon Earth, that I durst confide in without Law ; and if at their coming in again, they design to make their Power the Law, they may as easily cut off seven Heads as one. As for the Head that has done the greatest Mischief to the Kingdom, I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the Meaning of the Word *Mischief*. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old Fashion of whipping off Heads by a Prayer ; it began from what some of us think an ill Precedent. Then that unlimited Clause, *let it be whose it will*, perplexes me not a little : I wish, in Compliance with an old Form, he had excepted *my Lord Mayor* : Otherwise, if it were to be determined by their Vote, *whose Head it was that had done the greatest Mischief* ; which way can we tell how far their Predecessors Principles may have influenced them ? God preserve the Qu—— and her M——rs from such undistinguishing Disposers of Heads.

His Remarks upon what the Ordinary told Hoffman, are singular enough. The Ordinary's Words are, that *so many Endeavours were used to corrupt Gregg's Conscience, &c. that he felt as much Uneasiness lest Gregg should betray his Master, as if it had been his own Case.* The Author of the Letter says to this, that for ought the Ordinary knew, he might confess what was exactly true of his Master ; and that therefore, an indifferent Person might as well be uneasy, for fear Gregg should discover something of his Master, that would touch his Life, and yet might have been true. But if these were really the Ordinary's Thoughts at that Time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a Person of Mr. H——y's Character and Station should make use of such a Confederate in Treason : If he had suspected his Loyalty, he could not have suspected his Understanding ; and knowing how much Mr. H——y was feared and hated by the Men in Power, and observing that Resort to Gregg at unseasonable Hours, and that strange Promises were often made him by Men of Note ; all this put together, might naturally incline the Ordinary to think, the Design could be nothing else, but that Mr. H——y should be accused in spite of his Innocence.

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This Charge of *Subornation* is, it seems, so extraordinary a Crime, that the Author *challenges all the Books in the new L——d's Library (because he hears it is the largest) to furnish us with an Instance like it.* What if this Charge should be true? Then I, in my Turn, would challenge all the Books in *another L——d's Library*, which is ten Times larger (though perhaps not so often disturbed) to furnish us with an Instance like this. If it be so monstrous a Thing to accuse others of *Subornation*, what Epithet is left to bestow upon those who are really guilty of the Crime itself? I think it beyond Controversy, that *Subornation* was practised in the Business of *Gregg*: This manifestly appears from those few Facts I have mention'd: Let the *Whigs* agree among them where to fix it. Nay, 'tis plain, by the great Endeavours made to stifle his last Speech, that they would have suborned the poor Man even after he was dead: And is this a Matter now to be call'd in Question, much less to be denied?

He compares the Examination of *Guiscard* with that of *Gregg*, talks of several great Persons who examin'd the former in Prison, and promised him the Queen's Pardon if he would make a full Discovery. Then the Author puts the Case, *How wicked it would be to charge these honourable Counsellors with suborning Guiscard by Promises of Life, &c. to accuse the Innocent, and betray his Friends.* Does it any where appear that those Noble Persons who examined *Guiscard*, put *leading Questions* to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an Accusation? Did they name *some mortal Enemy* of their own, and then drop Words of Pardon and Reward, if he would accuse him? Did *Guiscard* leave any Paper behind him, to justify the Innocence of *some great Person* whom he was tempted to accuse? Yet perhaps I could think of certain People, who were much more likely to act in Concert with *Guiscard*, than ever Mr. H—— was to be Confederate with *Gregg*. I can imagine several who wish'd the Pen-knife in Mr. H——'s Heart, though *Guiscard* alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those, that by their Discourses, as well as Countenances, discover'd their Joy when the Blow was struck? Who were those that went out, or stood silent, when the *Address* and *Congratulation* were voted? And who were those that refin'd so far as to make Mr. H—— Confederate with his own *Assassin*?

There is one Point which this Author affirms more than once or twice in a transient Way, as if he would have us suppose it a Thing granted; but is of such a Weight, that it wants nothing but Truth to make the late Change of Mi——y a very useless and dangerous Proceeding: For so it must be allow'd, if, as he affirms, *Affairs are still under the like Management, and must be so, because there is no better; that this Set of Men must take the same Courses in their Ministration with their Predecessors, or ten Times worse; that the new Servants go on in the old Methods, and give the same Counsel and Advice, on the like Occasions, with the old ones; with more to the same Purpose.* A Man may affirm, without being of the Cabinet, that every Syllable of this is absolutely false; unless he means, that Money is still raised by Parliament, and borrow'd upon new Funds; that the D. of M. still commands
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the Army; that we have a Treasurer, Keeper, President, and Secretaries, as we had before; and that because the Council meets much about the same Times and Places as formerly, therefore they *give the same Advice*, and *pursue the same Measures*. What does he think of finding Funds to pay the old unprovided-for Debt of the Navy, and erecting a Company for the *South-Sea Trade*? What does he think of Mr. *Hill's Expedition* to preserve our Trade in the *West-Indies*? What of the Methods taken to make our Allies pay their *Quota's* to the War, which was a Thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? What of the Care to retrench the exorbitant Expences of the *Spanish War*? What of those many Abuses and Corruptions at Home, which have been so narrowly enquired into, and in a good Part redress'd? Evils so deeply radicated, must require some Time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few Months. Besides, there are some Circumstances known by the Names of Honour, Probity, good Sense, great Capacity for Business; as likewise, certain Principles of Religion and Loyalty, the Want or Possession of all which, will make a mighty Difference even in the Pursuit of the same Measures. There is also one Characteristick which will ever distinguish the late Mi—y from the present, That the former sacrificing all Regards to the Increase of their Wealth and Power, found those were no otherwise to be preserved, but by Continuance of the War; whereas the Interest, as well as Inclinations of the present, dispose them to make use of the first Opportunities for a safe and honourable Peace.

The Writer goes on upon another parallel Case, which is, the modern Way of reflecting upon a Prince and Mi—y. He tells us, That *the Qu— was brought to discard her old Officers through the Multitude of Complaints, secret Teazings, and importunate Clamors of a Rout of People, led by their Priests, and spirited under-hand by crafty Emissaries*. Would not any one who reads this imagine, that the whole Rabble, with the Clergy at their Head, were whispering in the Qu—n's Ear, or came in Disguise to *desire a Word with her Ma—y*, like the Army of the two Kings of *Brentford*? The unbiased Majority of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, are call'd, by this Son of Obscurity, *a Rout of People*, and the Clergy their *Leaders*. We have often accus'd that Party for their evil Talent of Railing perpetually against the Clergy, which they discovered at first without any visible Reason or Provocation, as conscious of the Designs they had in View, and therefore wisely began by villifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observ'd formerly, that the Party-Malice against the Clergy hath been so blind and furious, as to charge them with Crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they are still in the same Disposition, and that this Writer hath received *Direction from his Superiors*, to pursue the old Style upon that Article. Accordingly, in the Paragraph I am now upon, he represents that Reverend Body as *Leaders, Cullies, and Tools*. First he says, That *Root of secret Teazers* (meaning the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom) were *led by the Priests*. Then he assures us, that the Qu— will, in a Year or two, begin to consider,

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Who it was that cheated those poor Priests. And in case Her M——y should have a Mind to bring in the old Mi——y again, he comforts his Party, That *the Priests are seldom wanting to become the Tools of cunning Managers.* I desire to know in what Sense he would have us to understand, that *these poor Priests* have been cheated? Are they cheated by a Fund establish'd for Building 50 Churches? Or by the Q——'s Letter, empowering them to proceed on the Business proper for a Convocation? What one single Advantage could they possibly lose by this Change? They are still indeed abus'd every Day in Print, but it is by those who are without the Power to hurt them; the Serpent has lost his Sting, is trodden under Foot, and its *bissing* is contemned. But he confidently affirms, That when it shall be thought fit to restore the old Mi——y, *the Priests will not be wanting to become the Tools of their cunning Managers.* This I cannot by any Means allow, unless they have some hidden Reserve of Cunning, which hath never yet been produced. The cunningest Managers I ever knew among them, are of all others most detested by the Clergy: Neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them *Tools*, except by making them *B—ps*; even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their *Tools* at a lower Rate.

But because this Author, and others of his Standard, affect to make use of that Word *Tool*, when they have a Mind to be shrewd and satyrical; I desire once for all to set them right. A *Tool* and an *Instrument*, in the metaphorical Sense, differs thus: The former is an Engine in the Hands of *Knaves*, the latter, in those of wise and honest Men. The greatest Mi——s are *Instruments* in the Hands of Princes, and so are Princes themselves in the Hands of God; and in this Sense the Clergy are ready to be *Instruments* of any Good to the Prince or People. But that the Clergy of *England*, since the *Reformation*, have at any Time been the *Tools* of a Party, is a Calumny which History and constant Experience will immediately confute. *Schismatick* and *Fanatick* Preachers have indeed been perpetually employ'd that Way with good Success; by the Faction against K. *Charles I.* to murder their Prince, and ruin the Monarchy; by K. *James II.* to bring in Popery: And ever since the Revolution, to advance the unmeasurable Appetite of Power and Wealth, among a Set of profligate Upstarts. But in all these three Instances, the established Clergy (except a very few, like *Tares among Wheat*, and those generally *sown by the Enemy*) were so far from being *Tools*, that in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned and deprived; and in the two others, they were great *Instruments*, under God, for preserving our Religion and Liberty.

In the same Paragraph, which contains a Project for turning out the present Mi——y, and restoring the last, he owns, that the Q—— is *now served with more obsequious Words, more humble Adorations, and a more seeming Resignation to her Will and Pleasure, than she was before.* And indeed, if this be not true, her M—— has the worst Luck of any Prince in Christendom. The Reverse of these Phrases I take to be *rude Expressions, insolent Behaviour, and a real Opposition to her M——'s most just and reasonable Com-*
mands,

mands, which are the mildest Terms that the Demeanor of some *late Persons* towards their Prince can deserve, in return of the highest Favours that Subjects ever received, whereof a hundred Particulars might be produced. So that, according to our Author's Way of Reasoning, I will put a parallel Case in my Turn. I have a Servant to whom I am exceeding kind, I reward him infinitely above his Merit: Besides which, he and his Family snap every Thing they can lay their Hands on; they will let none come near me, but themselves and Dependents; they misrepresent my best Friends as my greatest Enemies; besides, they are so saucy and malepart, there is no speaking to them; so far from any Respect, that they treat me as an Inferior. At last I pluck up Spirit, turn them all out of Doors, and take in new ones, who are content with what I allow them, tho' I have less to spare than formerly; give me their best Advice when I ask it, are constantly in the Way, do what I bid them, make a Bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful Answer. I suppose the Writer of the Letter would tell me that my present Domesticks were indeed a *little more civil*, but the former were *better Servants*.

There are two Things wherewith this Author is peculiarly angry. First, at the *licentious Way of the Scum of Mankind treating the greatest Peers in the Nation*. Secondly, that *these Hedge-Writers* (a Phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some Pains to invent) *seldom speak a Word against any of the late Mi—y, but they presently fall to compliment my L—d Tr—, and others in great Places*. On the first, he brings but one Instance, but I could produce a good many Hundred; what does he think of the *Observer*, the *Review*, and the *Medley*? In his own impartial Judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the *Scum of Mankind*, as the *Examiner*? And have they not treated *at least* as many, and *almost* as *great Peers*, in as infamous a Manner? I grant indeed, that through the great Defect of Truth, Genius, Learning, and common Sense among the Libellers of that Party, they being of no Entertainment to the World, after serving the present Turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great Man in *England*, distinguish'd for his Love to the Monarchy or the Church, who, under the Appellations of *Tory*, *Jacobite*, *High-flyer*, and other *Cant Words*, was not represented as a publick Enemy, and loaden by Name with all Manner of Obloquy. Nay, have they not even disturbed the Ashes, and endeavoured to blast the Memories of the Dead, and chiefly of those who lost their Lives in the Service of the Monarchy and the Church? His other Quarrel is at our *Flattering my L—d Tr—, and other Great Persons in Power*. To which I shall only say, for every Line written in Praise of the present Ministry, I will engage to furnish the Author with three Pages of the most fulsom Panegyricks on the least deserving Members of the last; which is somewhat more than by the Proportion of Time, while they were in Power, could fall to their Share. Indeed, I am apt to think that the Men of Wit at least, will be more sparing in their Incense of this Kind for the future, and say no more of any Great Man now at the Helm, than they believe

believe he deserves. Poems, Dedications, and other publick Encomiums, might be of use to those, who were obliged to keep up an unnatural Spirit in the Nation, by supplying it with Art; and consequently, the Authors deserved, and sometimes met Encouragement and Reward. But those Great Patriots, now at the Head of Affairs, are sufficiently supported by the *uncompelled* Favour of the Qu—, and the *natural* Disposition of the People. We can do them no *Service* by our Applauses, and therefore can expect no *Payment*: So that I look upon this kind of Stock to have fallen at least 90 *per Cent.* since the great Changes at Court.

He puts a few Questions, which I am in some Pain to Answer. *Cannot* (says he) *the Successors be excellent Men, unless the Predecessors be Villains? Cannot the Qu— change her Mi—s, but they must presently be such as neither God nor Man can endure? Do Noblemen fall from all Honour, Virtue and Religion, because they are so unhappy as to fall from their Prince's Favour?* I desire to say something in the first Place, to this last Question, which I answer in the Negative. However, he will own, that *Men should fall from their Prince's Favour, when they are so unhappy as to fall from all Honour, Virtue, and Religion*; tho' I must confess my Belief at the same Time, that *some certain Persons* have lately fallen from Favour, who could not, for a very manifest Reason, be said, properly speaking, to fall from any of the other three. To his other Questions I can only say, that the constant Language of the Whig-Pamphleteers, has been this Twelvemonth past, to tell us how dangerous a Step it was to change the Mi—y at so nice a Juncture; to shake our Credit, disoblige our Allies, and encourage the *French*. Then, this Author tells us, that those discarded Politicians *were the greatest Mi—s we ever had*: His Brethren have said the same Thing a hundred Times. On t'other Side, the Queen, upon long Deliberation, was resolv'd to part with them: The universal Voice of the People was against them: Her Majesty is the most mild and gracious Princess that ever reign'd: We have been constantly victorious, and are ruin'd; the Enemy flourishes under his perpetual Losses. If these be the Consequences of an *able, faithful, diligent and dutiful* Administration; of *that astonishing Success*, he says, *Providence hath crown'd us with*, what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide Field at present, I faithfully promise the Author of the Letter, his Correspondents, his Patrons, and his Brethren, that this Mystery of Iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the View of the World; when the most ignorant and prejudic'd Reader will, I hope, be convinc'd by Facts not to be controul'd, how miserably this poor Kingdom has been deluded to the very Brink of Destruction.

He would have it, that the People of *England* have *lost their Senses*; are *bewitch'd and cheated, mad, and without Understanding*; but that all this *will go off by Degrees*, and then his *Great Men* will recover their *Esteem and Credit*. I did, in one of my Papers, overthrow this idle, affected Opinion, which has been a thousand Times urg'd by those who most wish'd, and least believ'd it: I there shew'd the Difference between a *short Madness of the People*, and their

natural Bent or Genius. I remember when King James II. went from *England*, he left a Paper behind him, with Expressions much to the same Purpose; *hoping*, among other Things, that *God would open the Eyes of the Nation.* Too much Zeal for his Religion brought us then in Danger of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*; too much *Infidelity*, *Avarice*, and *Ambition*, brought us lately into *equal Danger* of *Atheism* and *Anarchy*. The People have not yet *open'd their Eyes*, to see any Advantage in the two former; nor I hope will ever *find their Senses* enough to discover the Blessings of the two latter. Cannot I see Things in another Light than this Author and his Party do, without being *blind*? Is my *Understanding lost* when it differs from theirs? Am I *cheated*, *bewitch'd*, and *out of my Senses*, because I think those to have been Betrayers of our Country, whom they call Patriots?

He hopes his seven Correspondents *will never want their Places*; but is in pain for the poor Kingdom, lest *their Places should never want them*. Now I have examin'd this Matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them hold their Places still, and are likely to continue in them. Two more were Governors of Islands; I believe the Author does not imagine those to be among the *Places* which will *want Men* to fill them. God be thanked, a Man may command the *Beef-Eaters* without being a Soldier; I will at any Time undertake to do it myself. Then, it would be a little hard, if the Queen should be at a Loss for a *Steward* to her Family, So that, upon the Whole, I see but one great Employment which is in any Danger of wanting a sufficient Person to execute it. We must do as well as we can: Yet I have been told, that the bare Business of *Presiding* in Council does not require such very transcendent Abilities; and I am mistaken, if till within these late Years, we have not been some Ages without that Office. So that I hope Things may go well enough, provided the *Keeper*, *Treasurer*, and both the *Secretaries* will do their Duties; and 'tis happy for the Nation that none of *their seven L—d—s* left any of *those Places* to want them.

The Writer of the Letter concludes it with an *Appeal to all the Princes and States of Europe, Friends and Enemies* by Name, to give their Judgment, whether they think the late *Mi—y* were wanting in *Faithfulness, Abilities, or Diligence* to serve their Prince and Country. Now, if he speaks by Order of his Party, I am humbly of Opinion, they have incurr'd a *Premunire*, for appealing to a Foreign Jurisdiction, and her Majesty may seize their Goods and Chattels whenever she pleases. In the mean Time, I will not accept his Appeal; which has been rejected by the *Qu—* and both Houses of Parliament. But let a fair Jury be impanell'd in any County of *England*, and I will be determin'd by their Verdict. First, he names the King of *France*, and all his Counsellors, with the *Pretender*, and all his Favourers and Abettors. These I except against: I know they will readily judge the late *Mi—y* to be faithful, able and diligent in serving *their Prince* and Country. The Councils of *some People* have, in their Way, serv'd very much to promote the Service of the *Pretender*, and to enable the *French King* to assist him; and is not he, in that Monarch's Opinion, as well as his own, *their lawful Prince*? I except
against

against the *Emperor* and the *States*; because it can be proved upon them, that the Plaintiffs and they have an *Understanding* together. I except against any Prince who makes unreasonable Demands, and threatens to recall his Troops if they are not complied with; because they have been forced of late to change their Language, and may perhaps be shortly obliged to observe their Articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the Appealers Sakes, to have their Case referred to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their Insolence to their Sovereign. But, above all, the King of *Spain* would certainly be against them, when he considers, with how scandalous a Neglect his Interests have been managed; and that the full Possession of his Kingdom was made a Sacrifice to those, whose private or Party Interest swayed them to the Continuance of the War. The Author had Reason to omit the *Grand Signior* and the *Czar* in the List of his Judges; the Decrees of those Princes are too sudden and sanguinary, and their Lessons to instruct Subjects in Behaviour to their Princes, by strangling them with a Bow-string, or flinging them to be devoured alive by Hogs, were enough to deter him from submitting to their Jurisdiction.

A true and summary Report of the Declaration of some Part of the Earl of Northumberland's Treasons, delivered publickly in the Court at the Star-Chamber by the Lord Chancellor, and others of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and Council learned, by her Majesty's special Commandment, together with the Examinations and Depositions of sundry Persons, touching the Manner of his most wicked and violent Murder, committed upon himself with his own Hand, in the Tower of London, the 20th Day of June, 1585. In ædibus C. Barker, Printer to the Queen of England, her most excellent Majesty.

To the Reader.

MALICE, among other essential Properties appertaining to her ugly Nature, bath this one not inferior to the rest and the worst, Incredulity, wherewith she commonly possesseth the Minds and Affections of all those that are infected with her, so blinding the Eyes and Judgment of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see or perceive the bright Beams of the Truth, although the same be delivered with never so great Purity, Proof, Circumstance and Probability. It is said, that no Truth passeth Abroad unaccompanied with her contrary, and as they go, Truth is ever constrained to yield the Precedence and Prebeminence to her Yoke-fellow Falshood, whose Lodging is always first made and prepared without a Harbinger in the corrupt Nature of Mankind, by whom she is first received, entertained, and harboured at all Times: Whereof in our daily Experience there happen many and dangerous Demonstrations, especially in Matters of the highest Moment, tending to excuse or accuse the Actions of the greatest Personages.

There was of late delivered in publick by Persons of Honour, Credit and Reputation, a large Declaration of certain Treasons practised by the late Earl of Northumberland, of the Manner of his untimely Death, being with his own Hand murdered in the Tower, and of the Causes that wrought him thereunto: the Particularities whereof are such and so many, as for the Help of my Memory (coming then to the Star-chamber by Occasion, and not looking for any such Presence of the Nobility and Privy Council as I found there at that Time, and not looking for any such Cause of that Nature to have been handled there that Day) I took Notes of the several Matters declared by the Lord Chancellor,
Mr.

Mr. Attorney, and Solicitor-General, the Lord Chief Baron, and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain: For, as I remember, they spoke in Order as they are here marshalled, and therefore I place them in this Sort, and not according to their Precedence in Dignity.

Upon the hearing of the Treasons, with their Proofs and Circumstances, and the desperate Manner of the Earl's Destruction delivered in that Place, and by Persons of that Quality, I supposed no Man to have been so void of Judgment, or the Use of common Reason, that would have doubted of any one Point or Particle thereof, until it was my Chance (falling in Company with divers Persons at sundry Times, as well about the City of London as Abroad) to hear many Men report variably and corruptly of the Manner and Matter of this publick Declaration, possessing the Minds and Opinions of the People with manifest Untruths: As, that the Earl had been unjustly detained in Prison, without Proof or just Cause of Suspicion of Treason: And, that he had been murdered by Device and Practice of some great Enemies, and not destroyed by himself. These slanderous Reports have ministred unto me this Occasion to set forth unto thy View and Consideration (gentle Reader) this short Collection of the said Treasons and Murder, as near unto the Truth as my Notes taken may lead and permit me, with the View of some of the Examinations themselves concerning this Cause, for my better Satisfaction since obtained: Which I have undertaken for two Respects; the one, to convince the false and malicious Impressions and Constructions received, and made of these Actions, by such as are in Heart Enemies to the happy Estate of her Majesty's present Government: the other, because it may be thought necessary for the preventing of a further Contagion, like to grow (by this creeping Infection) in the Minds of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these and the like Rumours, to receive the bad as the good, and they the most in Number. Wherein, if I have seemed more bold than wise, or intermeddled myself in Matters above my Reach, and appertaining unto me, I crave Pardon where it is to be asked, and commit myself to thy friendly Interpretation to be made of my simple Travel, and dutiful Meaning herein.

Upon the three and twentieth Day of June last, assembled in the Court of Star-chamber, Sir Thomas Bromley, Knt. Lord Chancellor of England, William Lord Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England, George Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Marshal of England, Henry Earl of Derby, Robert Earl of Leicester, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain, Henry Lord Hunfdon, Lord Governor of Berwick, Sir Francis Knollis, Knt. Treasurer, Sir James Crofte, Knt. Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt. Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, the Lord Chief Justice of her Majesty's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and others; the Audience very great of Knights, Esquires, and Men of other Quality, the Lord Chancellor began briefly and summarily to declare, that whereas Henry late Earl of Northumberland, for divers notable Treasons and Practices by him taken in Hand, to the Danger, not only of her Majesty's Royal Person, but to the Peril of the whole Realm, had been long detained in Prison, and looking into the Guilt of his own Conscience, and
perceiving

perceiving by such Means of Intelligence, as he, by corrupting of his Keepers, and other like Devices, had obtained, that his Treasons were by sundry Examinations and Confessions discovered, grew thereby into such a desperate Estate, as that thereupon he most wickedly destroyed and murdered himself; which being made known to the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, Order was thereupon taken, and Direction given to the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Baron of the Exchequer, to examine the Manner and Circumstances of his Death, which they with all good Endeavour and Diligence had accordingly performed. And lest, through the sinister Means of such Persons as be evil-affected to the present Estate of her Majesty's Government, some bad and untrue Conceits might be had, as well of the Cause of the Earl's Detainment, as of the Manner of his Death, it was therefore thought necessary to have the Truth thereof made known in that Presence: And then he required her Majesty's learned Council there present, to deliver at large the Particularities, both of the Treasons, and in what Sort the Earl had murdered himself. Then began John Popham, Esq; her Majesty's Attorney General, as followeth:

THE Earl of Northumberland, about the Time of the last Rebellion in the North, in the 11th Year of her Majesty's Reign (then called by the Title of Henry Percy, Knt.) had undertaken the conveying away of the Scottish Queen; for the which, as appeareth by a Record of the 14th Year of her Majesty's Reign, in the Court of her Majesty's Bench he was indicted, he confessed the Offence, and put himself to her Majesty's Mercy. At which Time, upon his said Confession, Submission, and faithful Promise of his Duty and Allegiance to her Highness from thenceforth, the Queen's Majesty, of her merciful Nature, was pleased not to look into his Offence with the Extremity of her Laws, but dealt therein, as by way of Contempt only, as may appear by the Record; the Effect whereof was then shewed in Court, under the Hand of one of the Clerks of her Majesty's said Bench, in hæc verba.

Middlesex. **M**emorandum, that Henry Peirce, late of Tinmouth, in the County of Northumberland, Knt. was indicted in the Term of Easter, in the 14th Year of her Majesty's Reign, for that he, with divers others, did conspire for the delivering of the Queen of Scots out of the Custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury: Upon which Indictment the same Henry Peirce did confess the Offence, and did put himself to the Queen's Mercy, and thereupon Judgment was after given by the Court, that the said Henry should pay to the Queen for a Fine for his said Offence, five Thousand Marks, as appeareth by the Record thereof in Court.

Per Micha. 14 & 15 Elizabethæ Reginae, Rotulo quinto inter placista Reginae. Concordat cum Recordo.

Per Jo. Ive.

B Y

BY this Record it may appear, that the Earl had his Hand in that Rebellion: But for a further Proof thereof, it is most manifestly discovered in a certain Tract, written by the Bishop of *Ross*, wherein he sheweth how faithfully he behaved himself in the managing of those Treasons, at and about the Time of that Rebellion, that the said Earl was, in Effect, as far plunged into the same, as the late Earl his Brother, howsoever he wound himself out of the Danger at that Time.

Notwithstanding these traiterous Practices, the Queen's Majesty was contented to remit all within a short Time, and then accepted most graciously of him both in Honour and Favour, though unworthily bestowed upon him; for that he utterly forgetting those Graces and Favours received at her Majesty's merciful Hands, with a graceless Resolution was contented to enter into a new Plot, now lately contrived, not only for delivering the *Scottish* Queen, but for the invading of the whole Realm, the Overthrow of the Government, as well concerning the State of Religion, as otherwise, the Danger of her Majesty's sacred Person, and advancing of the said *Scottish* Queen to the Regal Crown and Scepter of this Realm, whereunto her Majesty is lineally and lawfully born and descended, and wherein God of his Mercy continue her long, in happy State of Government, to the Increase of her own Glory, and the Comfort of her loving and obedient Subjects.

Then did Master Attorney enter into the Particularities of the Treasons, leaving many Parts thereof untouched, because the Case stood so as it was not then convenient to reveal them, as he said, in respect that they touched some other Persons undealt withal at that Time, shewing that *Throckmorton's* Treasons were not old, but fresh in every Man's Memory, and how far forth they reached unto the Earl, he declared. And for that the Treasons of *Throckmorton* tended especially to the invading of the Realm with foreign Forces, the Purpose of that Invasion long before intended, is proved by sundry Examinations and Confessions taken here within the Realm, as well of her Majesty's own Subjects as others, by Letters intercepted, written from and to the Conspirators Abroad and at Home, and by other good Advertisements and Intelligences had from foreign Parts, discovering the same. He declared, that in a Letter, written from Dr. *Sanders* to Dr. *Allen* out of *Spain*, in the Year 1577, it is set down, among other Things, that the State of *Christendom* stood upon the stout assailing of *England*.

That in a Letter sent to the same *Allen* from *Rome*, touching Audience given by the Pope to the Ambassadors of certain foreign Princes, between the Pope and whom a League was agreed on against the Queen's Majesty, there were inclosed certain Articles, containing in Effect, that the Realm should be invaded with 20000 Men, at the Charge of the said Pope and Princes, that her Majesty should be deposed, and some *English* Catholick elected King.

That

That it was confessed, that the coming over of so many Priests into the Realm, was to win great Numbers to the Catholick Party, to join (if Opportunity served) either with foreign Invasion, or with Tumult at Home.

That at *Narbonne* in *Provence*, there was met an *Englishman*, being the Head Preacher there, who gave Intelligence to one of her Majesty's Subjects, that the Realm should shortly be invaded by a foreign King, and the Popish Religion restored: And said further, that Priests came into *England*, and dispersed themselves in Countries, to make their Party strong.

A Message was sent in *November* 1581 to Dr. *Allen*, from a Subject of this Realm, by a Seminary Priest then returning beyond the Seas, that whereas he had received Word from *Allen* at *Allballow-Tide* before, that Men and all Things were in a Readiness, if the Place of Landing might be known; that *Allen* should forthwith send Word whether Things were in such Readiness or not; and if they were, he would then send him such perfect Instructions as he could.

One *Payne*, executed for Treason, confessed, that this Realm could not continue in the State wherein it was; for that the Pope had a special Care thereof, and would in a short Time, either by foreign Princes, or by some other Means, work a Change of Things here.

From hence, Mr. Attorney fell into the Treasons confessed by *Francis Throckmorton*, shewing, that the State of this Realm had been often presented to the Consideration of a foreign Prince, who, after long Harkening to the Motion, had resolved to yield what Furtherance he might, and to give all Aids necessary for the reforming of Religion, so they might be backed by such as were well affected within this Country.

That the Duke of *Guise* had solicited for two Years together the Pope and other Princes, to supply him with Forces: But being crossed by the Death of a great Personage, it was now grown to this Pass, if there could be a Party found in *England* to join in that Action, and convenient Places and Means for Landing, and other Things necessary, there should be a Supply for *Guise* of foreign Strength.

Francis Throckmorton was recommended from beyond the Seas to Don *Bernardino de Mendoza*, Ambassador Resident for the *Spanish* King here in *England*, who acquainted *Throckmorton* what Plot was laid for the Enterprize of the Duke of *Guise*, and that he was willed to confer with *Throckmorton* in the Matter; whothereupon acquainted the said Ambassador with the Plot of the Havens, and with the Noblemen and Gentlemen that he had set down as fit to be dealt withal in that Cause.

Throckmorton said, That the Bottom of this Enterprize (which was not to be known to many) was, that if a Toleration of Religion might not be obtained without Alteration of the Government, that then the Government should be altered, and the Queen removed.

That the *Scottish* Queen was made acquainted from the Duke of *Guise* with the Intention to relieve her by these Forces.

It was in Debate between *Tbrockmorton* and the *Spanish* Ambaffador, how the *Scottish* Queen might be delivered, as by an Enterprize to be made with a certain Number of Horfe: And it was told *Francis Tbrockmorton* by his Brother *Thomas Tbrockmorton*, that it was a principal Matter in Debate beyond the Seas, how she might be delivered with Safety; the Lack of Resolution wherein was the principal Stay of the Execution of the Attempt of Invasion.

Mendoza told *Francis Tbrockmorton* about *Bartholomew-Tide* 1583, that one *Moape* was come into *England* to found the Earl of *Northumberland*, and other principal Men in *Suffex*; and about the End of *September* following, the same *Mendoza* told him, that *Moape* was *Charles Paget*, and that he came not only to found the Men, but to view the Places, the Havens, the Provisions and Means, and Nearness and Commodity of Men's Abidings that should join with the foreign Forces.

It was devised, that such Noblemen and others as would be contented to assist the foreign Forces (being Justices of Peace and of Credit in their Countries) might, by Colour of their Authority, levy Men as for her Majesty's Defence, and yet employ them to assist the foreign Forces. The Lord *Paget* was made acquainted with this Devise, and answered, that it was a good Course, and that he had thought upon it before.

Mendoza told *Tbrockmorton*, that *Charles Paget* had been in *Suffex*, and had spoken with those that were there, and that he came to move the Earl of *Northumberland* and others.

The Night before *Tbrockmorton* was apprehended, he came to the Lord *Paget*, and desired him that he would not acquaint the Earl of *Northumberland* and certain others (whom he named) with such Matters as had passed between them two, touching the Practice of this Invasion: And the Lord *Paget* willed him to deal as wisely for his Part as he would for himself, and all should be well: But (quoth the Lord *Paget*) the Earl of *Northumberland* knoweth you well enough.

It was once agreed among the Confederates, that the Duke of *Guise* should land in *Suffex*, being over against *Diepe* and *Normandy*; which after was misliked, because those Parts lay too near to her Majesty's greatest Force and Store, and that the People thereabouts for the most Part were Protestants.

Master Attorney shewed further, that in *Summer* last, there was taken upon the Seas, sailing towards *Scotland*, a *Scottish* Jesuit, about whom there was found a Discourse, written in *Italian*, of a like Enterprize to be attempted against *England*, which should have been executed in *September* or *October* then last past; wherein Assurance is made, that the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, *Dacres* that is dead, whom they termed Lord *Dacres*, and of all the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen in the North Parts (where the Invasion should have been attempted) setting it down, that it is not said by Conjecture that these Men are assured; but that it is certainly known that they will join with the foreign Forces. In the said Discourse it is also af-

firm'd, that the Priests disperfed in the Realm can difpofe of the other Catholics of the Realm as they fhall be ordered; and that the Pope's Excommunication fhould be renewed, and pronounced againft her Majefty, and all thofe that fhall take her Part; and that all fuch fhould be holden Traitors that did not join with that Army by a Day.

When Mafter Attorney had thus proved the Purpofe of Invaſion, he proceeded to the Proof of *Charles Paget's* coming over about the Practice and Proſecution of that Enterprife. And firſt, That *Paget* came to *Petworth*, in *September 1583*, was ſecretly received, and brought in the Night late to the Earl of *Northumberland*, into his Gallery at *Petworth*, by one of the Earl's Servants; where the Earl and he had ſecret Conference together by the Space of a large Hour: From thence *Paget* was likewise conveyed back into the Town by the ſame Servant, and there lodg'd all that Night; and the next Night following was conveyed ſecretly to a Lodge in the Earl's Park, at *Petworth*, called *Conigar Lodge*, where he was kept with the like Secrecy by the Space of eight Days, or thereabouts; and the Servant by whom *Paget* was thus convey'd, was by the Earl enjoyn'd and commanded in no wiſe to diſcover *Paget's* being there.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the Arrival of *Charles Paget*, ſent for the Lord *Paget*, with the Privy of this Servant, who was made believe, that *Charles* came over to ſet Things in Order, and to paſs certain Deeds and Conveyances between the Lord *Paget* and him. The Lord *Paget* came to *Petworth*, ſtayed there two Nights, lodg'd in the Earl's Houſe, conferr'd with *Charles Paget* and with the Earl together ſundry Times.

The Earl, after his Apprehenſion, being at ſeveral Times examined what Cauſes or Affairs had paſſed between the Lord *Paget* and *Charles*, his Brother, when they were together at *Petworth*; answered one while, that they paſſed certain Deeds and Conveyances; and another while, that there was only a Will or Teſtament ſign'd and ſealed between them: He confeſs'd that he ſet his Hand to the Will, but knew not what the ſame contained: All which appeared to be falſe; for that it hath fallen out by Occaſion of Seizure of the Lands and Goods of the Lord *Paget* (after his Departure out of the Realm) that he had diſpoſed of his Lands and Goods by another Courſe of Aſſurance executed at *London*; and therefore, their Pretence of the paſſing of Deeds and Will at *Petworth*, was but a Deſiſe to ſhadow their traiterous Conſpiracies. And for better Proof thereof, it was alledg'd by Maſter Attorney, that *Charles Paget* returning from *Petworth* to the Houſe of one *William Davis*, near to the Place where *Paget* had landed in *Suffex*, and took ſhipping again at his Departure beyond the Seas, ſent to *William Shelley*, Eſq; reſiding then at his Houſe at *Michelgrove*, diſtant about a Mile from the Houſe of *William Davis*, to come unto him (who within few Days before had been at the Lodge at *Petworth*, with the ſaid *Paget*;) And now at their Meeting in a Coppice near to *Davis's* Houſe,

House, *Paget* enter'd into Speech and Discourse with him of divers Matters; and at the last, among other Things, he began to be inquisitive of the Strength and Fortification of *Portsmouth*, and what Forces and Strength her Majesty had in the other Parts *Westward*.

Paget broke out, and declared to him, that foreign Princes would seek Revenge against her Majesty of the Wrongs by her done unto them, and would take such Time and Opportunity as might best serve them for that Purpose; and said, that those Princes disdain'd to see the *Scottish* Queen so kept and used here as she was, and would use all their Forces for her Delivery. That the Duke of *Guise* would be a Dealer therein; and that the Earl of *Northumberland* would be an Assistant unto them; willing *Shelley*, whatsoever should happen, to follow the Earl of *Northumberland*; affirming, that there was not a Nobleman in *England* of Conduct and Government like to the said Earl: Saying further, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was affected to the *Scottish* Queen, and would do what he could for her Advancement.

That the Duke of *Guise* had Forces in a Readiness to be employed for the altering of the State of Religion here in *England*, and to set the *Scottish* Queen at Liberty.

Shelley gathered by these, and other Speeches which passed between him and *Paget*, that *Paget* had dealt with the Earl as a chief Party, and a Man forward in these Actions; and *Paget* confessed that he came over to break, and deal in these Matters.

Paget delivered further, that the Catholicks would all join for so good a Purpose; for that it would be a Means to reform Religion.

He said, the Stir should be in the *North* Parts, because *Sussex* was not convenient, as well for that there were no safe Landing-Places, as for that it was so near *London*, where the Queen's Majesty would be ready to resist them; and that whensoever any Stir should be, the Earl of *Northumberland* would not stay in *Sussex*, but would go into the *North* Parts.

When Master Attorney-General had in this Sort laid down the Particularities of the Treasons and traitorous Practices of the Confederates for this purposed Invasion, then *Thomas Edgerton*, Esq; her Majesty's Solicitor, to prove the Earl guilty of these Treasons by the Circumstances of his own Proceedings, shewed, that the Earl, knowing how far himself was touch'd with the said Treasons, and in what Degree of Danger he stood if they should have been reveal'd, found his only Hope of Safety to consist in the cunning concealing of them; and therefore he endeavoured to cover them by all the possible Means he could devise.

And first, by conveying away of the Lord *Paget*, a Man not only privy to the Practices and Treasons handled by *Francis Throckmorton*, but also to the Treasons of his Brother *Charles*; wherein the Earl and the Lord *Paget* were doubtless both Confederates with *Charles*, made acquainted by him

with the Causes of his coming over, as principal Men with whom he dealt in those Matters at *Petworth*.

The Occasion that provoked the Earl to convey away the Lord *Paget*, grew upon the Apprehension of *Throckmorton*, who being committed to the *Tower*, and charged with high Matters, was in Case to be dealt withal by Way of Extremity, to be made to confess the Treasons charged upon him; in revealing whereof, *Charles Paget's* coming to *Petworth*, and the Cause of his Repair thither could not be concealed.

No Man at this Time within the Realm could accuse the Earl of these Confederacies, but the Lord *Paget* only, who stood in Danger to be discover'd by *Francis Throckmorton*: The Safety therefore of the Earl rested altogether upon the Lord *Paget's* departing out of the Realm, which was procur'd by the Earl with so great Expedition, as that *Throckmorton* being committed to the *Tower* about the seventh Day of *November 1583*, the Earl made Means the twelfth Day to have the Lord *Paget* provided of shipping in all Haste by *William Shelley*; wherein the Earl used such importunate Intreaty, and sent so often to hasten the Preparation of the Ship, that the same was provided, and the Lord *Paget* embark'd by the twenty-third Day of the same Month following, or thereabouts.

The Departure of the Lord *Paget* was soon after discover'd, and how, and by whom he was conveyed away: Her Majesty, upon good Cause taking Offence thereat, the Earl, being then at *London*, had Notice thereof, and of the Confessions of *Throckmorton* (who began to discover the Treasons) came presently down to *Petworth*, sent immediately for *William Shelley*, who coming to him to *Petworth* the next Day about Dinner-Time, met the Earl in a dining Parlour, ready to go to his Dinner. The Earl took *Shelley* aside into a Chamber, and as a Man greatly distracted and troubled in Mind, entered into these Speeches: *Alas! I am a Man cast away*; and *Shelley* demanding what he meant by those Speeches, the Earl answered, *The Actions I have entered into, I fear, will be my utter Undoing*; and thereupon desired *Shelley* to keep his Counsel, and to discover no more of him than he must needs.

The Earl, moreover, at this Meeting, intreated *William Shelley* to convey away all such as he knew to have been employed, and were privy to the Lord *Paget's* going away, and of *Charles Paget's* coming over, which was accordingly performed by *Shelley*: And the Earl, for his Part, conveyed away a principal Man of his own, whom he had often used in Messages into *France*, and had been of Trust appointed by the Earl, to attend on *Charles Paget*, all the Time of his Stay at *Connigar Lodge*.

Master Solicitor, pursuing the Matters that made the Earl's Practices and Devises for the concealing of his Treasons manifest, declared further, that after the Earl and *Shelley* had obtained some Liberty in the *Tower* after their first Restraint, the Earl found Means to have Intelligence with *Shelley*, and was advertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first
Examinations

Examinations, taken before they were last restrain'd: Sithens which Time, the Earl, by corrupting of his Keeper, hath practised to have continual Advertisements as before, as well of Things done within the *Tower* as Abroad; insomuch as by his said Keeper, he had sent and conveyed twelve several Letters out of the *Tower*, within the Space of nine or ten Weeks, and one of those on *Sunday* the twentieth Day of *June* in the Morning, when he murdered himself the Night following.

By the same Corruption of his Keepers, he sent also a Message to *William Shelley*, by a Maid-Servant in the *Tower*, by the which he required him to stand to his first Confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should keep himself out of Danger. Whereunto *Shelley* return'd Answer, by the same Messenger, that he could hold out no longer, that he had concealed the Matters as long as he could, and willed the Earl to consider, that there was a great Difference between the Earl's Estate and his; for that the Earl, in respect of his Nobility, was not in Danger to be dealt withal in such such Sort as he the said *Shelley* was like to be, being but a private Gentleman, and therefore to be used with all Extremity to be made to confess the Truth: Wherefore he advised the Earl to deal plainly, and to remember what Speeches had passed at his House at *Petworth*, when *Charles Paget* came last thither.

James Price, by the same Corruption of the Earl's Keeper, came to *William Shelley* on the *Friday* or *Saturday* before *Trinity-Sunday* last, and told him, that the Earl was very desirous to understand how far he had gone in his Confessions: And at *Price's* Instance, *Shelley* did set down in Writing the Effect of the said Confessions, and sent the same to the said Earl, who, upon the Sight thereof, perceiving the Treasons revealed and discovered, and knowing thereby how heinous his Offences were, fearing the Justice and Severity of the Laws, and also the Ruin and Overthrow of his House, fell into Desperation, and so to the Destruction of himself; for Confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one *Jaques Pantins*, a Groom of the Earl's Chamber, who had attended on the Earl in the *Tower*, by the Space of ten Weeks before his Death, that he had heard the Earl often say, that Master *Shelley* was no faithful Friend unto him, and that he had confessed such Things as were sufficient to overthrow them both: That he was undone by *Shelley's* Accusations, affirming, that the Earl began to despair of himself, often with Tears lamenting his Cause, which the Earl said to proceed only of the Remembrance of his Wife and Children; saying further, that such Matters were laid to his Charge, that he expected no Favour; but to be brought to his Trial, and then he was but a lost Man; repeating often that *Shelley* had undone him, and still mistrusting his Cause, wished for Death.

Herewith Master Solicitor concluded; and then Sir *Roger Manwood*, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of her Majesty's *Exchequer*, entered into the Description of the Earl's Death, and in what Sort he had murder'd himself; shewing first, how the same had been found by a very substantial Jury,
chosen

chosen among the best Commoners of the City, empannell'd by the Coroner, upon the View of the Body, and diligent Enquiry by all due Means had according to the Law, and declared, That, upon the Discovery of the Intelligence conveyed between the Earl and *Shelley*, it was thought necessary, for the Benefit of her Majesty's Service, by such of her Highness's most honourable Privy Council, as were appointed Commissioners, to examine the Course of these Treasons; that *Jaques Pantins*, attending upon the Earl, and the Earl's corrupt Keepers should be removed: Whereupon *Thomas Bailiff*, Gentleman, sent to attend on the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the removing of *Palmer* and *Jaques Pantins* from about the said Earl (who from the Beginning of his last Restraint attended on him) for the Reasons lastly before-mentioned, was by the Lieutenant of the Tower, on the Sunday, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon (being the twentieth of June) shut up with the Earl, as appointed to remain with him, and serve him in the Prison for a Time, until *Palmer*, *Pantins*, and *Price*, then committed close Prisoners, might be examined how the Earl came by such Intelligences as were discovered to have passed between the Earl and *Shelley*, and between the Earl and others. *Bailiff* served the Earl at his Supper, brought him to his Bed about nine of the Clock; and after some Services done by the Earl's Commandment, departed from the Earl to an outer Chamber, where he lay Part of that Night: And being come into his Chamber, the Earl rose out of his Bed, and came to the Chamber-Door, and bolted the same unto him in the inner Side, saying to *Bailiff*, he could not sleep unless his Door were fast. About Twelve of the Clock at Midnight, *Bailiff* being in a Slumber, heard a great Noise, seeming unto him to be the falling of some Door, or rather a Piece of the House: The Noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his Bed, and crying unto the Earl with a loud Voice, said, My Lord, know you what this is? The Earl not answering, *Bailiff* cried, and knocked still at the Earl's Door, saying, My Lord, how do you? But finding that the Earl made no Answer, continued his Crying and Calling, untill an old Man that lay without spake to him, saying, Gentleman, shall I call the Watch, seeing he will not speak? Yea, quoth *Bailiff*, for God's Sake. Then did the old Man rise, and called one of the Watch, whom *Bailiff* intreated, with all possible Speed to call Master Lieutenant unto him. In the mean Time, *Bailiff* heard the Earl give a long and most grievous Groan, and after that, gave a second Groan; and then the Lieutenant being come called to the Earl, who not answering, *Bailiff* cried to the Lieutenant to break open the Earl's Chamber-Door, bolted unto him on the inner Side, which was done, and then they found the Earl dead in his Bed, and by his Bed-Side a Dagger, wherewith he had killed himself.

Sir *Owen Hopton*, Knight^a, examined upon his Oath, affirmed, that on Sunday last at Night, less than a Quarter of an Hour before One of the

Lieutenant of the Tower. 1585.

Clock

Clock after Midnight, he was called up by the Watch to come to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been called unto by Master *Bailiff* his Keeper, and would not speak (as the Watch told him :) Whereupon the said Sir *Owen* went presently to the Earl's Lodging, opened the outer Doors till he came to the Chamber where Master *Bailiff* lay, which was next to the Earl's Bed-Chamber. *Bailiff* said to this Examinee as he came in, that he was wakened with a Noise as it were of a Door, or some great Thing falling, and that he had called on the Earl, and could have no Answer: And this Examinee going to the Earl's Chamber-Door, finding the same bolted fast on the other Side, within the Earl's Lodging, so as he could not go into the Earl, this Examinee called on the Earl, telling him the Lieutenant was there, and prayed his Lordship to open the Door: But this Examinee having no Answer made unto him, and finding the Door fast bolted on the inner Side of the Earl's Chamber with a strong Iron Bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the Lodging where the said *Bailiff* lay, without breaking up the Chamber-Door, caused the Warders who were with this Examinee, to thrust in their Halberds, and to wrest the Door thereby, as much as they could, and withal to run at the Door with their Feet, and with Violence to thrust it open, which they did accordingly. And when this Examinee came into the Chamber, in turning up the Sheets he perceived them to be blooded; and then searching further, found the Wound, which was very near the Pap, not thinking at the first Sight, but that it had been done with a Knife. This Examinee went thereupon presently to write to the Court, and took the Warders into the outer Chamber, and left them there until he returned, bolting the Door of the Earl's Bed-chamber on the Outside; and as soon as this Examinee returned from writing of his Letter to the Court, he searched about the Chamber, and found a Dagger on the Floor, about three Feet from the Bed, near unto a Table, that had a Green Cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the Dagger: And after, turning down the Bed-cloaths, found the Box, in the which the Powder and Pellets were, on the Bed under the Coverlet; and saith, that the Chamber, where the Earl lay, hath no other Door but that one Door which was broken open as aforesaid, save one Door, that went into a Privy, which hath no Manner of Passage out of it; and that the Earl's Lodging Chamber, and the entering to the Privy, are both walled round about with a Stone Wall, and a Brick Wall; and that there is no Door or Passage out of or from the said Earl's Bed-chamber or Privy, but that only Door which was broken open by the Appointment of this Examinee. The Warders that were with this Examinee at the Entry into the Prison, and the breaking up of the Earl's Chamber-Door, and the doing of the other Things aforesaid, were *Michael Sibley*, *Anthony Davis*, *William Ryland*, and *John Potter*, and one *John Pinner*, this Examinee's Servant, was there also.

For

For the Proof and Confirmation of the several Parts and Points of this Deposition, *Sibley, Davis, Ryland, Potter, and Pinner* were deposed, and they *viva voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the Examination of the Lieutenant, concerning the coming of the Lieutenant to the Earl's Chamber, the breaking up of the Door, being bolted with a strong Bolt on the inner Side, the finding of the Earl dead upon his Bed, the Dagger lying on the Ground, the Powder and Pellets in a Box on the Bed under the Coverlet, with the rest of the Circumstances thereunto appertaining. They affirmed also, that there was but one Door in the Earl's Chamber, saving the Door of the Privy, which, together with the Chamber, was strongly walled about with Stone and Brick: And further, as I remember, the Lord Chief Baron confirmed the same, having viewed the Chamber himself where the Earl lodg'd, and was found dead.

Jaques Pantins, in his Examination of the twenty-first of *June*, confesseth, that *James Price* delivered the Dagger to the Earl his Master in this Examinee's Presence: Whereupon he presently suspected, that the Earl meant Mischief to himself, and therefore did his Endeavour to persuade the Earl to send away the Dagger, and told the Earl that he knew not how the Devil might tempt his Lordship, and that the Devil was great; but could by no Means prevail with the Earl in that Behalf: And saith moreover, that the Earl required him to hide the Dagger, and he thereupon hanged the same on a Nail within the Chimney in the Earl's Bed-Chamber, where the Earl, thinking the same not to be sufficiently safe in that Place, it was by the Earl's Appointment taken from thence, and put into a Slit in the Side of a Mattress that lay under the Earl's Bed, near to the Bed's Head; and that the same *Sunday* Morning that the Earl murdered himself at Night, he saw the Dagger lying under the Earl's Bed's Head. The Dagger was bought not many Days before of one *Adrian Mulan*, a Dagger-maker, dwelling in *East-Smithfield*, as by the said *Mulan* was testified *viva voce* upon his Oath, in the open Court, at the Time of the publick Declaration made of these Matters in the Star-Chamber.

All these Particularities considered, with the Depositions and Proofs of the Witness concerning the Earl's Death, *first*, how he came by the Dagger: *Secondly*, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret Manner: *Thirdly*, the Earl's bolting of his Chamber-Door on the Inside: *Fourthly*, the Blow of the Dagger. *Fifthly*, the breaking up of the Earl's Chamber-Door by the Lieutenant of the Tower: And *Lastly*, the finding of the Earl dead as aforesaid. Who is he so simple, that will think, or imagine, or so impudent and malicious, that will avouch and report, that the Earl of *Northumberland* should have been murdered of Purpose, by Practice or Devise of any Person, affecting his Destruction in that Manner? If Men consider the Inconvenience happened thereby, as well in Matter of State, as Commodity to the Queen's Majesty, lost by the Prevention of his Trial; who can in Reason conjecture the Earl to have been murdered of Policy or set Purpose, as the evil-affected seem to conceive? If the Earl had

had lived to have received the Censure of the Law for his Offences, all lewd and frivolous Objections had then been answered, and all his Goods, Chattles and Lands, by his Attainder, had come unto her Majesty, and the Honour and State of his House and Posterity been utterly overthrown: The Consideration and Fear whereof appeareth without all Doubt to have been the principal, and only Cause that made him lay violent Hands upon himself. If Objections be made, that to murder him in that Sort might be a Satisfaction to his Enemies, who could be pacified by no Means but with his Blood, that seemeth to be as improbable; for that it is commonly discerned in the corrupt Nature of Man, that when we are possess'd with so profound a Hatred, as to seek the Death of our Enemy, we imagine, and wish his Destruction to be had with the greatest Shame and Infamy that can be devised. Think you not then, that, if the Earl of *Northumberland* had any such Enemy, who knew the Danger wherein he stood, and that his Trial and Conviction by Law would draw upon him the Loss of his Life, Lands, and Goods, Fame, Honour, and the utter Subversion of his House, and would be so kind hearted unto him, as to help to take away his Life only, and save him all the rest; I suppose there is no Man of Judgment will believe it.

But to return to the Manner of the Earl's Death: It was declared by the Lord *Hunsdon*, and the Lord Chief Baron, that the Dagger wherewith the Earl murdered himself was charged with three Bullets, and so of Necessity with more than an ordinary Charge of Powder, to force that Weight of Bullets to work their Effect. The Earl lying upon his Back on the left Side of his Bed, took the Dagger charged in his Left-hand (by all Likelihood) laid the Mouth of the Dagger upon his left Pap (having first put aside his Waistcoat) and his Shirt being only between the Dagger and his Body, which was burn'd away the Breadth of a large Hand, discharged the same, wherewith was made a large Wound in his said Pap, his Heart pierc'd and torn in divers Lobes or Pieces, three of his Ribs broken, the Chine-Bone of his Back cut almost in sunder, and under the Point of the Shoulder-blade, on the right Side within the Skin, the three Bullets were found by the Lord *Hunsdon*, which he caused the Surgeon in his Presence to cut out, lying all three close together, within the Breadth and Compass of an Inch, or thereabout: The Bullets were shewed by his Lordship at the Time of the Publication made in the Court of the Star-Chamber.

And whereas it hath been slanderously given out to the Advantage of the Earl, as the Reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned, and kept in so streight, narrow, and close a Room, with such Penury of Air and Breath, that thereby he grew sickly, and weary of his Life; and that to have been the Cause chiefly why he murdered himself, (if it were so that he died by the Violence of his own Hand, which they hardly believe :) To answer that peevish and senseless Slander, there was much spoken by the Lord Chief Baron, who had viewed, and caused very exactly to be measured the

Chambers and Rooms within the Prison where the Earl lay, being Part of her Majesty's own Lodging in the *Tower*: The particular Length and Breadth of the said Chambers and Rooms, and the Quality of the Lights and Windows, expressed by the said Lord Chief Baron, I cannot repeat; but well I do remember, it was declared, that all the Day-time the Earl had the Liberty of five large Chambers, and too long Entries, within the utter Door of his Prison; three of which Chambers, and one of the Entries, lay upon two fair Gardens within the *Tower-Wall*, and upon the *Tower-Wharf*, with a pleasant Prospect of the *Thames*, and to the Country, more than five Miles beyond. The Windows were of a large Proportion, yielding so much Air and Light as more cannot be desired in any House; Note therefore, how maliciously those that favour Traitors and Treasons can deliver out these and the like slanderous Speeches, to the Dishonour of her Majesty, noting her Counsellors and Ministers with Inhumanity and uncharitable Severity, contrary to all Truth and Honesty.

When the Lord Chief Baron had finished this Discourse of the Manner of the Earl's Death, with the Circumstances, and had satisfied the Court and Auditory concerning the Quality of the Prison where the Earl remained, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Knight, her Majesties Vice-Chamberlain, who, as it seemed, had been specially employed by her Majesty, among others of her Privy Council, in the looking into and examining of the Treasons aforesaid, as well in the Person of the Earl as of others, and at the Time of the Earl's Commitment from his House in *St. Martin's* to the *Tower of London*, sent unto him from her Majesty, to put the Earl in Mind of her Majesty's manifold Graces and Favours, in former Times conferr'd upon him, proceeding from the Spring of her Majesty's princely and bountiful Nature, and not of his Deservings; and to advise him to deliver the Truth of the Matters so clearly appearing against him, either by his Letters privately to her Majesty, or by Speech to Master Vice-Chamberlain, who signified also unto him, that if he would determine to take that Course, he should not only not be committed to the *Tower*, but should find Grace and Favour at her Majesty's Hands, in the Mitigation of such Punishment as the Law might lay upon him. And here Master Vice-Chamberlain repeated at length the Effect of her Majesty's Message at that Time sent to the Earl, beginning first with the Remembrance of his Practice undertaken for the conveying away of the *Scottish* Queen about the Time of the last Rebellion (as hath been declared in the Beginning of this Tract) and that he confessing the Offence being capital, her Majesty nevertheless was pleased to alter the Course of his Trial by the Justice of her Laws, and suffered the same to receive a slight and easy Punishment by Way of *Multe*, or Fine of five-thousand Marks, whereof before this his Imprisonment (as it is credibly reported) there was not one Penny paid, or his Land touched with any Extent for the Payment thereof; which Offence was by her Majesty not only most graciously forgiven, but also most christianly for-

forgotten; receiving him not long after to the Place of Honour that his Ancestors had enjoyed, for many Years before him, and gave him such Entrance into her princely Favour and good Opinion, that no Man of his Quality received greater Countenance and Comfort at her Majesty's Hands then he; insomuch that in all Exercises of Recreation used by her Majesty, the Earl was always called to be one, and whensoever her Majesty shewed herself Abroad in Publick, she gave to him the Honour of the best and higheſt Services about her Person, more often than to all the Noblemen of her Court.

But the Remembrance of these most gracious and more then extraordinary Favours and Benefits received, nor the Hope given unto him by Master Vice-Chamberlain, of her Majesty's Disposition of Mercy towards him, nor the Consideration of the Depth and Weight of his Treasons against her Majesty, her Estate, her Crown and Dignity, with the Danger thereby like to fall upon him by the Course of her Highness's Laws, to the utter Ruin and Subversion of him and his House (standing now at her Majesty's Mercy) could once move his Heart to that natural and dutiful Care of her Majesty's Safety that he ought to have borne towards her, and she most worthily had merited at his Hands, or any Remorse or Compassion of himself and his Posterity; but resting upon Terms of his Innocency, having, as you may perceive, conveyed away all those that he thought could or would any Way accuse him, he made Choice rather to go to the *Tower*, abide the Hazard of her Majesty's high Indignation, and the Extremity of the Law for his Offences: A notable Augure of his Fall, and that God, by his just Judgment, had, for his Sins and Ingratitude, taken from him his Spirit of Grace, and delivered him over to the Enemy of his Soul, who brought him to that most dreadful and horrible End, whereunto he is come; from the which, God of his Mercy defend all Christian People, and preserve the Queen's Majesty from the Treasons of her Subjects, that she may live in all Happiness, to see the Ruin of her Enemies Abroad and at Home; and that she, and we, her true and loving Subjects, may be always thankful to God for all his Blessings bestowed upon us by her, the only Maintainer of his Holy Gospel among us.

*A Letter written to the Lower House of Parliament.
By Sir John Suckling.*

To my noble Friends in the Lower House of Parliament.

IF my Country had held me worthy to have served in this Parliament, I had now been a Member of your Lower House, as formerly I have been in sundry other Parliaments: But how unkindly soever she dealeth with me, I will ever shew my Thankfulness to her, and deliver, by Way of Observation, what I have heretofore learned in that grave and wise Assembly, for Admonishment to the elder, and a Path-way for the younger to walk in.

Parliaments, in my Time, have been wont to take up some Space at the first Meeting to settle the House, and to determine of unlawful Elections, and in this Point, they never had greater Cause to be circumspect than at this Time; for, by an Abuse lately crept in, there is introduced a Custom, which, if it be not foreseen and prevented, will be a great Derogation to the Honour, and weakening to the Power of the House, where the Law giveth a Freedom to Corporations to elect Burgeses, and forbiddeth any indirect Course to be taken in their Election; many of the Corporations are become so base-minded and timorous, that they will not hazard the Indignation of a Lord Lieutenant's Letter, who under-hand sticks not to threaten them with the Charge of a Musket, or a Horse in a Muster, if that he hath not the Election of the Burgeses, and not they themselves.

And commonly those that the Lords recommend, are such as desire it for Protection, or are so ignorant of the Place they serve for, as there being Occasion to speak of the Corporation for which they are chosen, they have asked their Neighbours sitting by, whether it were a Sea or a Land Town.

If you seek not to prevent this Kind of Choice, these Mischiefs will follow.

The Freedom of the Subject will be lessened.

The Privilege of Corporations will be abrogated.

Men outlawed, and Law-breakers, will be the Law-makers. The Voices of the House shall be at the Dispose of the Lords of the Upper House, and the Assembly of the Commons will be made needless; Gentlemen of far remote Countries may spare their Labour to come up; for their No's shall be contradicted with two Yea's, and that by such Men, if they be examined, as are not liable to Taxes or Subsidies, Loans, or other Payments; they shall enjoy their Ends, to wit, Liberty and Freedom, during
the

the Time of Parliament, and the Lords dispose of such Laws as they shall propose.

2. The next Thing that is required is Liberty of Speech, without which, Parliaments have little Force or Power: Speech begets Doubts, and resolves them, and Doubts in Schools gets Understanding; he that doubts much asketh often, and learns much, and he that fears the worst, soonest prevents a Mischief.

This Privilege of Speech is anciently granted by the Testimony of *Philip Comines*, a Stranger, who prefers our Parliaments, and the Freedom of the Subject in them, above all other Assemblies, which, if it be broke or diminished, is negligently lost since the Days of *Comines*.

If Freedom of Speech should be prohibited, when Men with Modesty make Repetition of the Grievances and Enormities of the Kingdom, when Men shall desire Reformation of Wrongs and Injuries committed, and have no Relation of evil Thought to his Majesty; but with open Heart and Zeal express their dutiful and reverent Respect to him and his Service; I say, if this Kind of Liberty of Speech be not allowed in Time of Parliament, they will extend no further than to a Quarter-Sessions, and their Meetings and Assemblies will be unnecessary; so all Means of Disorder now crept in, and all Remedies and Redresses, will be quite taken away.

As it is no Manners to contest with the King in his Election of Counsellors and Servants (for Kings obey no Men, but their Laws) so were it a great Negligence, and Part of Treason, for a Subject not to be free in Speech, against the Abuses, Wrongs and Offences, that may be occasioned by Persons in Authority, what Remedy can be expected from a Prince to the Subject, if the Enormities of his Kingdom be concealed from him, or what King so religious or just, in his own Nature, that may not hazard the Loss of his Subjects, without this Liberty of Speech in Parliament? For such is the Misfortunes of most Princes, and such is the Unhappiness of Subjects, where King's Affections are settled, and their Loves so far transported to promote Servants, as they only trust and credit what they shall inform.

In this Case, what Subject dares complain, or what Subject dares contradict the Words or Actions of such a Servant, if it be not warranted by Freedom of a Parliament, they speaking with Humility? For nothing obtaineth Favour so much with a King as diligent Obedience. The third surest, and safest Way betwixt the King and his People, and least Scandal of Partiality, is, with Indifference, with Integrity and Sincerity, to examine the Grievances of the Kingdom, without touching upon the Person of any Man, further than the Cause giveth Occasion; for otherwise, you shall contest with him that hath the Prince's Ears open to hearken to his enchanted Tongue; he informs secretly when you shall not be admitted to Excuse; he will cast your deserved Malice against him to your Contempt against the King, and seeking to lessen his Authority, he will make the Prince the Shield of his Revenge.

These

These are the sinister Practices of such Servants to deceive their Sovereigns. When these Grievances shall be authentically proved and made manifest to the World, by your Pains to examine, and Freedom to speak, no Prince can be so affectionate to a Servant, or such an Enemy to himself, as not to admit of this indifferent Proceeding; if his Services be allowable and good, they will appear with Glory; if bad, your Labours shall deserve Thanks, both of Prince and Country. When Justice shall thus shine, People will be animated to serve their King with Integrity, for they are naturally inclined to imitate Princes, in good or bad; the Words of *Cicero* will then appear, That malicious and evil Men make Princes poor, and one perfect good Man is able to make a Realm rich.

One Case I will instance that is common in the Mouths of all People, and generally (*Vox Populi, Vox Dei est*) if one of Quality, in the last Expedition to the Isle of *Rhee*, endeavoured to conceal the Number of Men lost in the last Encounter, and confidently affirmed their Number not to exceed three or four Hundred, until a Doctor of Physick, out of Tenderness of Conscience, and Duty to his Majesty, could not dissemble the vulgar and true Report, but acquainted his Majesty of two Thousand of his Subjects there lost. This was so contrary to the first Information, and so displeasing to the Informer and his Designs, that he caused the Physician's Remove from his Highness's Presence, who, yet remains in Kind of a banished Man.

The Truth of these two Reports is easily determined by the Clerks of the Bands of each Company, and is worthy to be discovered for Truth-Sake; Truth being so noble of itself, as it will make him honourable that pronounceth it; Lies may shadow it, but not darken it; they may blame, but never shame it.

By this small Precedent his Majesty shall see himself abused, and it may be a Means for him to reflect both upon Men and Matter. The Men slain are no less injured by concealing their Names, whose Lives were lost for King and Country.

The *Romans* would have held it the highest Honour for their Friends and Posterity so to die. And the Parliament may fear that those that stick not so palpably to wrong a King, may as unjustly cast Aspersions upon the House, and other his loving Subjects.

There is no Remedy left for these Mis-reports but a Freedom of Speech in Parliament; for there is no wise Man that speaks, but knows what and when to speak, and how to hold his Peace, whilst Subjects Tongues are ty'd, for Fear they may reach him a Rap whose Conscience cries guilty: The King and his People are kept from Understanding one another, the Enemy is heartened Abroad, and the malignant Humours of Discontent nourished at Home; and all for one who is like a Dragon, that bites the Ear of the Elephant, because he knows the Elephant cannot reach him with his Trunk; and Princes are abused by false Reports whispered in their Ears by Sycophants and Flatterers. *Diogenes* being asked what Beast bit forest, answered, Of wild Beasts the Backbiter's, of Tame the Flatterer's.

Now

Now to descend to Grievances, which are of two Kinds, some concerning the Kingdom in general, some in particular, which have Relation to the general.

The grievances in General are so many in Number, as will serve for every Member of your House to present two a Piece to your Views; and because I cannot be admitted among you myself, yet in Regard I have been a Member of you, I will presume so far, as to rank myself with you, and to tender the Number of two to your Consideration.

My first Complaint is of Titles of Honour, and that in two Kinds: First, in respect of the Parties themselves, their Estates and Parentage: Secondly, in respect of the Manner of their obtaining thereunto, which is mercenary, base, and corrupt, which in Reason should not hold, for, by Law, the Consideration is unlawful.

Trajan commends *Plutarch* for his Precepts in School, when he taught that Men should Labour to deserve Honours, but to avoid the getting of it basely; for if it were Reputation to have it by Desert, it was Infamy to buy it for Money; in that Age where Rich Men were honoured, good Men were despised.

Honour is not to be valued, according to the vulgar Opinion of Men, but priz'd and esteemed, as the Sur-name of Virtue, ingendered in the Mind; and such Honour no King can give, or Money can purchase. He that will strive to be more honourable than others, ought to abandon Passion, Pride and Arrogancy, that so his Virtue may shine above others; for Honour consists not in the Title of a Lord, but in the Opinion People have of his Virtue; for it is much more Honour to deserve and not to have it, than to have it and not deserve it.

There is one of three Things that commonly causeth a Man's Advancement, Desert, Favour and Power: The first makes a Man worthy of it, the other two are but Abuses; for Favour is but a blind Fortune, an Ounce of which at Court is better than a Pound of Wisdom; Fortune never favoureth, but flattereth; she never promiseth, but in the End she deceiveth; she never raiseth, but she casteth down again, this Advancement is meet to be called Luck than Merit; that Honour that is compassed by Power, takes unto itself Liberty, and desires not to be govern'd by Wisdom but Force; it knows not what it Desires, nor hath a Feeling of any Injury; it is neither moved with sweet Words nor pitiful Tears; such Men live not to do Evil, because they have no Desire to it; but when their Power faileth to do it, the true Honour amongst the Honourable is, where Fortune casts down, where there is no Fault, but it is Infamy, when Fortune raiseth, where there is no Merit.

Examine the State and Condition of Men raised to Honour these 25 Years past, and whether it be Desert, Honour or Power that hath preferred them, enter into the Mischiefs the Kingdom hath suffered, and doth suffer by it; and the Cause of his Majesty's great Wants will soon appear; recollect with yourselves how many poor, base, and needy Companions have been raised to
the

the highest Top of Honour, yea, how many *Will's*, *Jack's*, *Jockies*, *Georgies* and *James's* have attained to the Degrees of Dukes, Earls, Viscounts and Barons, then will it appear, whether Desert, Favour or Power advanced them; after this, examine their princely Expences in these 25 Years, their Estates in present, and what is requisite to maintain their future Degrees of Honour to themselves and their Posterity, and you shall find his Majesty's annual Revenues consumed and spent upon those unworthy Persons. Besides the impairing and impoverishing of the State, it brings with it the Contempt of Greatness and Authority; it breeds an inward Malice in Gentlemen better deserving of their Country, better able to maintain the Degree of Honour, without Charge to King or Kingdom, and whose Houses and Alliances may better challenge than the best of them.

It breeds Discontent in the meaner Sort of Subjects, to see his Majesty's Wealth and Revenues of the Kingdom thus wasted and consumed, whereby his Majesty is enforced to exact from them, who would otherwise be able to help himself.

The antient and great Nobility of the Land cannot choose but inwardly fret, to see themselves ranked, yea overtopp'd by these Men, that once would have thought it an Honour to be a Follower of theirs.

The second Abuse of Honour is the base and mercenary buying of it; observe commonly what these People are by Birth, and mark the Manner of their and their Fathers getting of Wealth to compass this Title, and you shall find them People most hateful, most odious to the Common-wealth by their Extortion, Usury, and other ungodly Kind of Getting, as you may instance in *Roberts*, *Craven*, *Sanderson*, and many others.

Can there be a greater Grievance to a noble Mind, than to see these upstart Families by their unsufferable Misery, Penury and Extortion, grown to Wealth, to precede the best of you in Rank, Degree and Calling, whose Ancestors have lost their Lives for King and Country; and yourselves in many Respects more able and capable of serving your Prince and Common-Wealth than they, and every Way better deserving.

The Character of a covetous Man, is that he getteth his Goods with Care and Envy of his Neighbours, with Sorrow to his Enemies, with Travel to his Body, with Grief to his Spirit, with Scruple to his Conscience, with Danger to his Soul, with Suit to his Children, and Curse to his Heirs, his Desire is to live poor, to die rich; but as these Vices are made Virtues, even so is he Honoured for them, with Title of Nobility.

It is a strange Ambition of some of them to purchase the Degrees of Earls, Viscounts and Barons of other Countries, as of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, only for the Name of a Lord, for no other Privilege they can challenge in *England*; if they commit any criminal Offences they shall be try'd by an ordinary Jury and hanged, if they stand in Danger of Arrest (as I think they are not much enrich'd by their Title) they are subject to Catch-poles, and a Dungeon in the Counter may be their Sanctuary.

And

And since their Pride makes them covet to divide themselves from you, and to become *Scots* and *Irish*, you can do no less in Requital, but make an Act, that so long as they hold the Title of Foreigners, they be made incapable to set in the House of Parliament, or to enjoy any Freedom more than His Majesty's Subjects of *Scotland* or *Ireland*.

Few of you are there, that have not seen Nobility highly prized in *England*, and much esteemed Abroad; and none of you now liveth but do see it abused, and Liberty with too great Familiarity in Use. The State of the Court, and Reputation of Lords, are much decay'd, and Bonednes with Contempt crept in and no Way to be redressed, but by a free and gentle Speech in Parliament, that so his Majesty may see the Mischief of it, and reform it, for it rests only in his Power, who only hath Power to create Honour.

When *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, entered with Arms upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and that with his Sword he might have any fitting Laws, yet were there four Privileges, which the *Portugals* besought they might enjoy; one whereof was, that the King would make no unworthy Person, Noble, or without their Approbation; which was granted them, and to this Day they hold that Freedom which keeps that Kingdom in the antient State, Honour and Dignity, that is to say, two Dukes, one Marquis, and eighteen Earls; and thus much for the Point of Honour.

The second Grievance I will recommend to your Views is the Carriage of our Wars, the excessive Charges vainly spent therein, the Unworthiness of the People imployed, the grave Experience neglected, the Designs not warranted by Reason and Discretion, and the Executions worse performed, with many other Circumstances that depend upon it.

But before I proceed herein, I must crave Leave to speak to two Points; the one, to declare the Property and Condition of Impostors and Deceivers of Princes; in the other, I must clear the House of Parliament of an Imputation cast upon it.

Abusers of Princes are they, that perswade him to War, to become poor, when they may live in Peace, and become rich, when they may be loved, cause them to be hated, when they may enjoy their Lives securely, put them in Hazard of cross Fortune rashly, and lastly, having Necessity to use their Subjects, puts them into that Necessity as they refuse to do for him; all this is Pride of the Perswader, as *Socrates* saith.

In the second, I will clear the Parliament (in which I was a Member) of an ungrateful Aspersion cast upon it, that is to say, that the Parliament was a Cause to draw his Majesty into War, and failed on their Parts to contribute towards it.

This has been often repeated, and the Parliament accused; the Contrary has been as often reiterated, and the Truth expressed how far the Parliament proceeded therein; but to stop the Mouths of such false Reports, and to free the Parliament of much Calumniation, I must use this Argument.

At the Assembly of *Oxford*, the Parliament being prorogued thither, Money was required of us towards furnishing his Majesty's Fleet, then preparing,

paring, upon many Reasons alledg'd, too tedious now to repeat; with one Consent it was refused; whereupon there was Offer made by him who next the King seemed to have best Authority, that if they would but contribute 40000*l*. they should chuse their Enemy, whereupon I infer, that before that Proposition there was no Enemy; and therefore no Wars.

The Motion of Money being denied, the Parliament instantly broke up, and seeing no Enemy was nominated, nor Money consented to by us, I see not how the House can be taxed for Peace-breakers, but rather the Name cast upon some young Men; for Youth by Nature is prone to Pride, especially where Experience wants; they are credulous in what they hear, that pleaseth them, and incredulous with what is told them by wise Men; they are Despisers of others Counsels, and very poor in their own. They are dangerous for Princes to rely on, for Self-will is of greater Force than Precepts.

Now to proceed, in *October* following the Fleet put to Sea, and what they did is apparent by Relation, written by their General at his Return.

The Voyage being ended, another followed next Summer, under the Command of that Noble Lord, the Earl of *Lindsey*, which through the Weakness and Disability of the Ships, was not able to perform what he had in Charge, and what he desired.

The last and most lamentable, was That to the Isle of *Rbee*, which I likewise refer to a Man I have seen, and to the Books printed and extant.

This with That to *Algiers*, to make up a Mess of Island-Voyages, I wish might be referred to Examination of choice, and experienced Soldiers by Land and by Sea to report their Opinions of it, that so their Errors, their wasteful Expences, their Negligences, their weak Designs, and Want of Experience may appear with the Success that might have proved, if Advice and Counsel had had Pre-eminence above Will and Arrogance; for he that is ignorant of Truth and Knowledge, and led away with Pride of his own Opinions, must needs err.

After it hath past your Approbation, it is worthy his Majesty's View, who then shall see the Difference of Actions well managed, and rash and heady Enterprizes, undertook by Ignorance, and performed with Folly.

Busineses of so great a Consequence ought to be considered of with Council, and not only of the Necessity, Profit and Honour, but of the Possibility that was like to follow; for an Action well begun is half ended.

My Experience in Discipline of War, by Land and Sea, can say no more than to refer it to others; for it is a Course I never was bred to in my Youth, and now too late in mine Age to practise; only one Thing I observe, that in the two Journies of *Cadesb* and *Rbee*: In the first, a Land-Soldier commanded at Sea, who knew not what belonged thereunto; and the other was carried by him that was Soldier neither by Land nor by Sea, and the Success proved accordingly in both, yet their Errors were never questioned, but they both highly advanced.

In my Opinion, the Charge they took upon them was as improper, as for a Merchant to become a Judge; for I have ever heard, that there are five Things

Things necessary in a General, to wit, Knowledge, Valour, Prevention, Authority, and Fortune, whereof the last but one, had been better spared at the Isle of *Rhee*; for also late Authority, joined with Wilfulness of the Commander, was the Bane of the Action, as the Relation tells us.

And it is no Marvel; for according to the old Saying (the best Fencer is not always the best Fighter, the fairest Tilter, not the best experienced Soldier, nor the Ear of a Favourite at Court, the best General of an Host) and whosoever takes upon him that Command, without Knowledge, beholds himself in a false Glass, and makes him seem what he is not; as on the contrary, Experience is the Mother of Prudence, and Prudence will not take Counsel, lest she join her Will with her Will: Hastiness causeth Repentance, and Frowardness causeth Hinderance.

For the Evils that follow upon these two Voyages, yourselves are sufficient Witnesses, and can judge of it; as, namely, Billetting of Soldiers in the Country, and bringing their Ships into Harbours, not abating the Entertainment of the one, nor the Ways of the other; and yet notwithstanding this needless Cost and Charges, our Ships and Coasts are daily infested in such Sort, as we dare not peep out of Harbour.

Were the Courage of Things now answerable to the Prudence and Precedents of former Times, we cannot pretend a Fear of Invasion, because our Ships are divided into several Harbours, and our Soldiers billeted in inward Countries; besides the Season of the Year giveth no Opportunity to the Enemy to attempt it.

Here is a Mass of Wealth carelessly consumed, whether the King or Subject bear it, and no Man bettered, but only those that have the Title of Soldiers, yet never had the Happiness or Honour to see what appertained to Service, they are taught instead of Work, by which they have lived and been bred, now to spend their Time in Idleness and Alehouses, and to forget their Occupation; their Example of Disorder encourageth others to follow their Liberty; People that are wont to live poorly, yet safely, are now by these Fellows and their Followers, robbed and spoiled, and no Remedy for Redress.

The Rich stand upon their Guard, and dare not resort to Church, lest in their Absence, their Houses be surprized and rifled.

The Justices have only the Name of Officers, but have no Power to punish Injustice; all Mens Prayers are now a-days to be defended from the Wrath of a mighty Man, and the Tumult of the People.

Garrisons in *England*, which have no strong walled Towns, nor is used but to the Disorder and loose Carriage of Soldiers, is more perilous, uncouth, and strange, than where War is practised. Innovations in all States are dangerous, especially where there is a Diminution of the Laws, or a Fear to execute Justice, through too much Liberty given to Soldiers; no Country but hath more Hurt by their Garrisons, than by their Enemies; Enemies only rob the Frontier, the other the whole Country; the Enemy may be resisted, the other not spoken against; the Enemy giveth a sudden Attempt,

tempt, and returneth; the others do every Day rob and spoil; the Enemy surprizeth with Fear; the others have neither Fear nor Shame.

The first Lessening the Greatness of the *Roman* Empire was by the Insolency of Soldiers, and the first Raifing of the House of *Ottoman* was by Permission and conniving at his Army.

What Man is so old in *England*, that hath seen, or what Youth so young, that ever thought to see, *Scotchmen* and *Irishmen* garrisoned in *England*, and no Enemy appear against us? Or who could have imagined he should ever see our own People tyrannized over in our own Kingdom, by those of our own Nation, and those *Scotch* and *Irish*, yea, and dare not so much as complain? Would our Forefathers have thought it Safety or Policy to draw 2000 *Scotchmen* and *Irish* in the *Isle of Wight*, for their Defence against *France*, when they of the *Isle* desired it not, nay when they opposed it? Would they have thought it Wisdom, that 2000 Mouths, besides the Inhabitants, should live on the Food of that Island, and so bring themselves into Want and Penury of Victuals? If they should in Earnest be attempted by an Enemy, would they have thought fit the Charge of it should be required of them, and yet they to suffer all Injuries from the Hands of strange Soldiers, where the meanest Boy in the Island is taught to manage Arms, better than the best of them that are billeted? No, but they would rather have thought it Discretion, upon the Return of those Voyages, to have caused the Men to repair to the Place where they were pressed, and to have ordered, that each Parish should have set them on Work for their Maintenance, with Command to be ready upon Warning to repair to the Place of Rendezvous: There is no Part or Place in *England* so remote from the Sea, but they must have resorted to the Port assigned before the Ships could be furnished or drawn together. They would have thought it more Wisdom to have retired to their own Harbours, and to have had their Men discharged, than to have continued this needless and expensive Course that is taken.

They would have judged it better to have supplied the *Isle of Wight* with 2000 Men out of the main Land, when they feared any Evil to the Island, than to send for them into *Scotland*, and to keep them in continual Entertainment.

They would have thought it more fit to have returned the barbarous *Irish* into the Country from whence they came, than to make them a Vexation to the Places and Parts where they remain; seeing no Shadow of Reason can be pretended for it.

England wants no Men, and hath as good and able Men as either of the other two Nations, if his Majesty had Occasion to use them; *England* with small Charge and Trouble can raise what Men his Majesty pleaseth to command, and that suddenly, and discharge them again without Trouble or Charge as quickly. The wise Men of *England* would have thought 2 or 300,000 *l.* better spared, than thus wastefully consumed, and Disorders committed; we may compute it to that Sum, and yet keep ourselves within Compass, and notwithstanding the Want of Money, and the Ways to exact it of the Subject

ject is all the Song now sung; he that sees and complains of the evil managing of Things is either imprisoned, banished the Court, or censured for a Discontent.

There is no *Englishman*, but knoweth the Heart of every other true-hearted *Englishman*, and with one Consent will all obey our Prince, and to his Person we all do Reverence, and we may truly say, no King is more happy in Subjects for their Love, nor no Subjects readier to serve their King with their Purfes and Persons, nor never People was better blessed with a King, who is endued with all Kind of Virtues, and stained with no Manner of Vice; his Mercy, his Temper, his Chastity, and his Meekness is such, as we may say of him, as of *David*, *he is a Man according to God's own Heart*; but if any Man shall poison this Opinion of ours, by sinister Reports, he is a Worker of Sedition, he hath a lying Tongue, and speaketh not Truth; he is worthy to be spewed out, not only of the Court, but even from the Face of the Earth. False Informers and Misguiders of good Kings are much more perilous, than if Princes themselves were evil; for commonly, as Worms breed soonest in soft and sweet Wood; so are the best Natures, inclined to Honour and Justice, soonest abused by false Flatterers.

The Evil they commit, under the Authority of good Princes, is accounted as done by the Prince himself, but commonly such People in the End pay for it; for he that desires not to do Good, cannot be wise, but will fall into a thousand Follies.

One of the first Propositions made to the House, will be for Money to support his Majesty's vast Expence at this Time, that the Enemy threatens Thunder against the Kingdom; your often Alarms upon such Pretences, may make you now too secure; for true it is, that the last Parliament-Books were published of invincible Preparation intended against us, and Nothing came of it, but beware you be not deceived by an old Saying, that when one usually tells Lies, he is not trusted when he speaks Truth; for certainly the Danger is much more than by the Power and Greatness of another Enemy.

In this Case, you must give for your own Sakes, that so you may be sure to enjoy what is yours; for your Sovereign's Sake, to maintain his Greatness and State; and for your Country's Sake, to keep it from Oppression of the Enemy; but with all, you ought to lay down the Condition of the Kingdom, and to shew that your Necessities cannot parallel with your Hearts and Desires, that your Minds will be carried with a Willingness to give, but your Hands will keep back your Hearts for Want of Ability to give.

Themistocles demanding Tribute of the *Athenians*, told them, he brought two Gods with him, that is to say, *Persuasion* and *Violence*; they answered they had two other Gods in their Country, Both great and powerful, which were *Poverty* and *Impossibility*, which hindered them from giving.

But, least this Answer should be poisoned, or misrepresented to his Majesty, and wrested to the worst Sense, I pray you to examine the Estate and Condition of every Man in particular, and their Impossibility of giving, will appear.

What

What can be hoped from the Merchant, that is prohibited the greatest Trade of Profit and Gain, and daily damnified by the Spoil of *Dunkirkers*?

What can we expect from the Owners of Ships, that have suffered more Shipwreck lately, than in one hundred Years before?

What can we look for from the Husbandmen, when Corn and Wool is under Foot? For it was an Observation of the wise Lord *Burleigh*, that every Shilling abated in a Stone of Wool was 100,000 *l.* Loss to the Kingdom.

What can be required from the Multitude, considering the little Commerce, the daily Payments to the King, to the Houses of Correction, to the Poor, to the maim'd Soldiers, to the often appearing at Musters, the altering of Beacons, and other Services at the Justices Command?

What can Knights or Gentlemen give, their Sheep dying, their Tenants decaying, and their Rents falling and failing?

What can be looked for from the Clergy, considering their Charge of Induction, their first Fruits, the Maintenance of their Wives, Children and Families; yea, although they came freely to their Benefices?

What can be expected from the Artificers or Tradesmen, when all the other either want or decay; now People will be contented with one Suit of Cloaths, that two heretofore would not have served; Shoes, Boots, and Hats, and all other Apparel they will husband after that Proportion?

There are two Sorts of People in the Common-wealth well able to give; the One, the Usurer, who commonly is free from all Payments, in regard the Necessities of most, making them beholding to them in one Kind or other, for themselves and their Friends; they in Requital shew them all possible Ease and Favour in publick Disbursements; the Other are Noblemen and Gentlemen, formerly spoken of, that have had their Advancements from the King and his Father, though not immediately, but collaterally; for, if you cast your Eyes upon divers Servants of great Persons, and remember what you have known them ten or twelve Years past, it would put you to an Admiration, yea some from Horse-keepers and other base Callings, are now promoted to the Degrees of Baronets, Knights, and the like; for though that new-devised Order of Baronets was first instituted for Money, yet such is the Fortune of the Servants; if one great Man that is their Master once prefer them to the King, the first Day they enjoy the Dignities of Baronets, when Gentlemen of great Rank and Quality, that have long served their Princes, cannot compass it, without Consideration-Money.

When these Things you shall collect, and seriously call to Mind, you would think yourselves these twelve Years last past asleep, and that you are now newly awakened, you shall hear of many Things past in that Space, as making and removing of Treasurers, Keepers, Secretaries, Judges, and all Manner of Counsellors and Officers, with a Million of such memorable and unlooked-for Accidents; but leaving these as Grievances and Vexations to the Subjects, let us come to a nearer Point, which is the Safety of the Kingdom, that the Enemy threatens so in Danger, we may truly say, that God hath so placed and seated this Isle of *England*, that Nothing but evil Counsel
can

can hurt it ; but true it is, Advice that is not warranted from Wisemen, proves more forceable and perilous than the Power of an Enemy.

The Scripture telleth us, that the Thought perisheth that taketh not Counsel.

A King of the *Lacedemonians* asked how a Kingdom might ever stand ? was answered two Ways, If a King take Counsel of wise, honest Men, that they speak freely, and do Justice uprightly ; there was never Censor that judged, Senator that ordered, Emperor that commanded, Counsel that executed, Orator that persuaded ; nor any other mortal Man, but sometimes he committed Errors, and deserved either Blame or Punishment for his Misdoings, and if he were wise, desired what to do.

St. Gregory saith, no Man can give so faithful Counsel, as he who loves one more than his Gifts ; then who are, or can be so true Counsellors to our noble King, as a House of Commons, that hath no Relation to a King's Gift, but only to his Honour, flourishing Estate, and Safety ?

This is the Time to amend evil Counsellors past, and to let evil Counsellors see their Errors. This is the Time for all Men to put to their Helps, some with their Hands to fight ; others with their Advice to counsel ; and for mine Advice, this it is, that you present to his Majesty in all Humbleness your willing Minds and Hearts to repair, and fit to Sea his Majesty's Navy, yourselves to have Power to make them able and serviceable with the Advice of experienced Men, that you may call unto you. This a Matter of great Importance at this present, for the Safety of King, Realm, and Subject ; for the Strength of the Kingdom much depends upon this Bulwark, which we may well term the Walls of *England*.

His Majesty shall find himself much eased by its Business ; shall be carried without his Trouble or Care ; Money shall not be sought, but that ever be provided by you, his Majesty may dispose of the rest of his Revenue at his Pleasure.

By your Frugality and Husbandry, his Majesty shall have Occasion to judge of Things past, of yours in present, and hereafter it will serve for a Precedent to walk after ; it will stop the Mouths of malignant Tongues, that inform his Majesty of the Unwillingness of the Subject to give, and it will make it apparent that their true Grief is not in the Matter of giving, but to see the evil employing of it, when it is given.

If any Man shall pervert this good Meaning and Motion of yours, and inform his Majesty, it is a Derogation from his Honour to yield to his Subjects upon Conditions, his Majesty shall have good Cause to prove such Mens Eyes malicious and unthankful, and thereby to disprove them in all their other Actions ; for what can it lessen the Reputation of a Prince, whom the Subjects only and wholly obeyeth, that a Parliament, which his Majesty doth acknowledge to be his highest Counsel, should advise him, and he follow Advice of such a Counsel ? What Dishonour rather were it to be
advised.

advised and ruled by one Counsellor alone, against whom there is just Exception taken of the whole Common-wealth?

Marcus Purius saith, That that Common-wealth is ever lasting, where the Prince seeks to get Obedience and Love, and the Subjects to gain the Affection of the Prince; and that Kingdom is unhappy where their Prince is served out of Ends and Hope of Reward, and hath no other Assurance of them, but their Services.

The End of Volume the Third.

E R R A T A. In the Account of the Earl of *Northumberland's* Death in the *Tower*, for *Dagger*, read *Dagge*.





Somers, John Somers, 1651-1716

A Collection Of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, On The Most Interesting and
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